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HORACE
THE ODES, EPODES
AND
CARMEN SAECULARE

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY,

BY

CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE, PH.D.

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF GREEK AND LATIN
IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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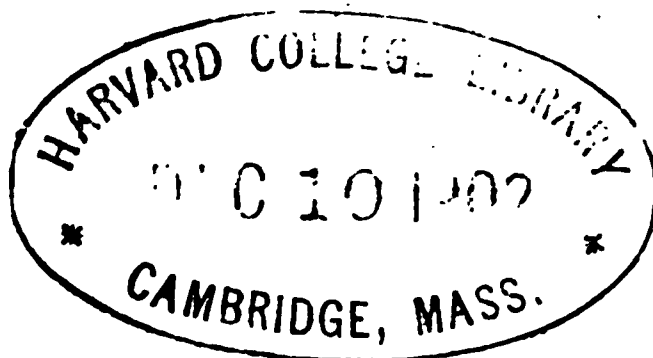
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Prof. E. H. Moore

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MOORE, HORACE.

W. P. I

MEMORIAE PATRIS

PREFACE

IN preparing this edition of Horace's lyrical poems, I have had in mind the needs of freshmen and sophomores. The introduction is intended to give the necessary information as to the poet's life and writings. The text is the vulgate, although in some passages I have preferred the better manuscript tradition. As young students require no little help if they are to understand as well as translate the Epodes and Odes, I have not limited my commentary to the baldest aids, but have tried to give such assistance in interpretation as may help students to some appreciation of Horace's art and charm. The best illustrations naturally are furnished by the poet's own works; but I have endeavored to show his relations to his Greek models by quoting from them as freely as my space and judgment allowed. To all the more difficult Greek passages I have appended translations, both for the benefit of those who cannot call themselves *docti sermones utriusque linguae*, and in the hope that these translations may secure the originals more attention than students generally give to them. I have further given a number of quotations from the later Latin poets to indicate in some degree the ready acceptance which Horace's skillful phrases found among his successors. In writing my notes I have drawn freely on the fund of illustrative material which is now common property; like every other editor, I am indebted to Keller

and Holder's first volume; and I have used most of the important foreign annotated editions, especially Orelli's fourth edition, and those of Schütz, Kiessling, and Mueller. Although for obvious reasons I have avoided consulting any American edition, I am aware that my debt to Professor Smith's excellent book, which I have used in my teaching for some years, must be greater than I know. In the three or four places where I have detected direct indebtedness, I have acknowledged it.

The notes to the earlier Epodes are rather full, as I firmly believe that at least Epodes 1, 2, 7, 9, and 16 should be read before the Odes; but since many teachers do not hold this view, I have adapted my commentary on the first book to meet the needs of beginners there also.

I am under obligations to many for criticism and help. My thanks are especially due Miss S. H. Ballou, Instructor in the University of Chicago, for the valuable assistance she gave me in the earlier part of my work; also to Professor Morris, who kindly gave me the benefit of his criticisms on my notes to the first two books of the Odes; but above all to Professor Morgan, whose suggestions and criticisms have been of the greatest value at every stage. Notice of errors and suggestions of every kind will be gratefully received by me.

CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
June 1, 1902.

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INTRODUCTION

1. **Early Life and Education.** — Quintus Horatius Flaccus was born Dec. 8, 65 B.C., at Venusia, a colony founded in the time of the Samnite Wars, on the borders of Apulia, near Lucania. His father had been a slave, but was free at the time of Horace's birth, so that the son was *ingenuus*. His mother is never mentioned, and it is probable that she died while the child was too young to remember her. His father was by profession a *coactor*, a collector of moneys for goods sold at public auctions, who by his thrift acquired a property sufficient to provide his son with the best education obtainable in his time. In later years Horace paid a most sincere tribute of gratitude to his father's devotion and sagacity. From him he learned a rude but practical code of morals, and it is undoubtedly to his influence that we may attribute the poet's marked characteristics of moderation, temperance, and self-control; to his father's training was also due Horace's habit of observing men and manners, which bore fruit in the shrewd and searching comments on life which have endeared him to many generations of men.

Up to the age of nine or ten Horace enjoyed such education as the local school in Venusia afforded. Then his father, whose sole ambition was to provide his son with the best education that could be had, unselfishly gave up his business at Venusia, and took the boy to Rome. Here he gave him proper attendants, provided him with suitable dress that he might not be ashamed among his high-born and wealthy schoolfellows, and with rare devotion attended the boy himself as *paedagogus*.

During the next nine or ten years Horace received the ordinary literary and rhetorical training ; under the rod of the schoolmaster Orbilius, whom he has immortalized with the adjective *plagosus* (*Epist.* 2, 1, 70), he studied Latin literature, reading the works of Livius Andronicus and other old Roman poets, for whom he apparently felt little admiration ; his studies also included the *Iliad* and probably other Greek classics, and we can hardly doubt that this early study of Greek literature roused that enthusiasm for it which lasted all his life.

In his twentieth year Horace went to Greece to finish his studies at Athens, which had become a kind of university town to which it was the fashion for young men of his generation to resort. Among his fellow students were Cicero's son, Marcus, and M. Valerius Messala. During the next two years he heard lectures by the leaders of the various philosophic schools, without being seriously attracted by any one system. Speculative thought had little interest for him, or indeed for his fellow countrymen in general ; questions relating rather to conduct interested the Roman mind, and while Horace never gave himself up to any system of ethics, Epicureanism attracted him at first ; on growing older he turned more and more to the teachings of the Stoics, as the Stoic maxims and paradoxes in his odes abundantly testify ; yet no one had a keener sense than he for what was absurd in Stoic practice. His good sense always tempered his philosophy, and in all matters of conduct he steered a middle course. It is also most probable that during his stay in Athens he continued his study of the Greek poets, particularly of Archilochus and the early lyricists, especially Alcaeus and Sappho, who afterward became his chief models. At this time he was ambitious to excel in Greek verse, but wisely forsook the practice later ; yet his consummate skill in handling his own language must have been due to his early exercises in Greek. By studying in Athens he had further the negative advantage of escaping the influence of Alexandrianism which prevailed at Rome and affected all con-

temporary poets. There, too, he made many friendships which lasted him through life.

In the autumn of 44 B.C. Brutus came to Athens, where the people received him with enthusiasm as a liberator. The young Roman nobles and Horace as well were attracted to his cause. Why the freedman's son was given the office of military tribune in the conspirators' army—a position for which he had no training—it is hard to say, and the appointment not unnaturally aroused envy at the time. It is probable, however, that Horace had already made some reputation among his fellow students as a skillful versifier, and Brutus' love of literature induced him to prefer the youth. Of Horace's military service we know little; his writings show a familiarity with some islands of the Aegean and the famous cities of Asia, which was probably gained at this time, and it is certain that he shared in the defeat at Philippi in 42 B.C. No doubt he gave as good an account of himself during his two years of service as his fellows; the ironical description of his flight at Philippi (*C.* 2, 7, 9 f.) is imitated from Archilochus and Alcaeus, and is not to be taken seriously.

The defeat of the conspirators' cause brought a crisis to Horace's life, and at the age of twenty-three taught him the meaning of the vicissitudes of fortune; it seems also to have cured him of any political or social ambitions he may have cherished. He gradually accepted the new order of things, at first despairing of the state; but later, after the battle of Actium had freed Rome from external dangers, he enthusiastically proclaimed the permanence of the Empire and celebrated the beneficence of Augustus' rule. But his entire life after his experience at Philippi was that of a man of letters, who mixed much with men rather as an observer than as a participant in their life. His later history falls into three periods of about ten years each: first, from his return to Rome to 29 B.C., the period during which he published his two books of *Satires* and the collection of *Epodes*; second, 29–19 B.C., the period of his maturity, in which his genius reached its height. During

these ten years he published the first three books of *Odes* (23 B.C.) and the first book of the *Epistles* (20 B.C.). Of his personal history during the last decennium (19-8 B.C.) we know but little. He was less productive than in the two previous periods, publishing only the *Carmen Saeculare* (17 B.C.), the fourth book of *Odes* (after 13 B.C.), and the two literary epistles, which, with the *Ars Poetica*, form a second book of *Epistles*.

2. **Return to Rome.** — The general amnesty granted by Octavian after the battle of Philippi allowed Horace to return to Italy. His father evidently died before his return, and he came back to find that Venusia, where his estate was situated, had been included in the districts assigned to the veterans of the victorious army, so that he was thrown on his own resources. His means sufficed to buy him a position as clerk to the quaestors, by which his support was secured. In his leisure he turned to writing Latin verses.

Horace had now at the age of twenty-four acquired considerable experience in the good and ill fortunes of life, and had lived through some important national crises. During his school days in Rome he had seen the rupture between Caesar and Pompey, and was old enough to understand something of the serious danger to the state which it involved; Caesar's supreme position was well established before he went to Athens, and he had had a part in the final struggle between the would-be 'liberators' and the dictator's successors. While he never after showed any desire to have a share in politics, it is most probable that these experiences of his early manhood caused him to think and feel earnestly on matters of state, so that in later life, when he had heartily accepted the new régime, he expressed himself on subjects touching the well-being of the nation with a warmth which no other theme except personal friendship called forth. He lived to see the national dangers removed, the Empire firmly established, and to enjoy the blessings of peace under the rule of Augustus.

3. **The Satires.** — As has been said above, Horace had practiced Greek verses in the courses of his studies. He now turned to composition in his native language. When he began to write, Varius Rufus was the epic poet of the day, having won that position by his epic poem on the death of Julius Caesar, published before 39 B.C.; Asinius Pollio was distinguished in tragedy; and Vergil was beginning to be known for his bucolic poems. The field of satire as practiced by Lucilius (ca. 180-103 B.C.), comments in verse on the most miscellaneous topics, appealed to Horace, and in the leisure which his official duties left him he began to write in hexameters after the manner of his model. He understood that politics could no longer be frankly treated, and, with few exceptions, he avoided personal attack; but his nature and training had made him a keen observer of the life about him. This life he chose for his subject, and handled its different phases in the familiar tone of a man of the world; he always speaks as one of the company at whose weaknesses he laughs, never preaching or setting himself up as superior to his fellow-mortals. Horace was blessed with a keen sense of humor as well as clear insight, so that these sketches have always been held in high esteem, not only for their cleverness and wit, but also because no other works in Latin literature give us such vivid pictures of the actual life in which the author shared. While Horace made a great advance on the metrical art of his model, he never called his satires poetry. His own name was *sermones*, 'familiar talks,' and he declared that they were only distinguished from prose by the rhythm. They were written at various times during the decennium following his return, and many were undoubtedly known before they were gathered together into books. The first book was published before 33, the most probable date is 35/34; the second in 30 B.C.

4. **The Epodes.** — At the time when he began to write satire, Horace also attempted to introduce into Latin a new form of verse, the epodic couplet, consisting of two verses, the second of which

forms a refrain (*epōdus*, ἐπωδός) to the first. In this he was a conscious imitator of Archilochus, who, in the seventh century B.C., had perfected this form in iambic measure, and used it as the sharpest weapon of personal attack. The name which Horace, following Archilochus, gave his verses — *iambi* — can apply properly to only the first ten of the seventeen in the present collection. The remaining seven are in different measures, but only one, the seventeenth, lacks the epodic form; so that in time the name *Epodes* drove out Horace's designation. While Horace shows himself equal to his model in form, he exhibits little of the passion ascribed to Archilochus. Eight epodes show the invective spirit, two exhibit a coarseness of thought and expression which does not appear later, but others have nothing aggressive in them. The first, for example, is a plea to be allowed to accompany Maecenas to Actium; the ninth is a song of joy over the victory gained there; the seventh and sixteenth deal with the conditions of the state; the second is an idyl on the joys of country life; and the others have little of the invective spirit. They were written at various times between 40 and 31 B.C.; the sixteenth is probably to be referred to the earlier date, and the ninth is later than the battle of Actium, Sept. 2, 31 B.C.

5. **Horace and Maecenas.** — Horace's verses brought him into notice soon after his return, and gained him the friendship of Vergil and Varius, who introduced him to Maecenas, apparently in the spring of 38 B.C. Nine months later, in the winter of 38/37 B.C., Maecenas invited him to join the inner circle of his friends. From this time Horace was free from material cares; and about the year 33 B.C. he received from his patron a farm in the valley of the Digentia, among the Sabine hills, which was thereafter his favorite home and constant source of happiness. Maecenas was already at this time the trusted friend and adviser of Octavian. In 36 B.C., when Octavian set out from Rome for his campaign against Sextus Pompey, and in 31 B.C., during the final struggle with Antony and Cleopatra, Maecenas was left

as his representative with almost complete power ; and with the exception of a temporary estrangement in 23 B.C., when he indiscreetly betrayed to his wife Terentia the discovery of the plot which her brother, Licinius Murena, was forming against Augustus, he remained the emperor's most trusted adviser. Naturally, when Augustus' position was firmly established, Maecenas was to a certain extent displaced by the members of the imperial family ; but the friendship between him and Augustus continued to the end. With all his opportunity and power, Maecenas declined political preferment, and remained a 'knight' throughout his life. He had a native taste for literature, was a master of the Greek language, and wrote some mediocre verses himself ; but it was by his wise patronage of men of letters that he won a permanent place in the grateful memory of men. He had no doubt a political purpose in his patronage also, for he saw that literature might be used to support and establish the new régime. Yet he imposed no fettering conditions on those to whom he gave his favor : we know (*Epod.* 14) that he urged Horace to publish his Epodes ; that Vergil wrote the Georgics at his suggestion ; that he advised Propertius to undertake some larger themes ; but nowhere is there any hint that he ever exacted any return for his favor which would not have been spontaneously made. Of the circle he gathered about him, Vergil, Horace, and Propertius achieved most permanent fame. Others were L. Varius Rufus, Plotius Tucca, Quintilius Varus, Domitius Marsus, and C. Melissus. Maecenas' favor assured Horace the friendship of these and many others besides that of Octavian, so that after 37 B.C. he had entrance into the best society of his time. His friendship with Maecenas was commingled with gratitude to him for the material aid he had given ; but the relation between the two men had so genuine a basis that Horace could accept Maecenas' gifts without hesitancy, aware that his friendship was a full return in Maecenas' mind. His acceptance, too, involved no loss of independence, and in many passages he makes it clear that he would readily resign all

the benefits conferred on him rather than lose his freedom in the slightest degree.

6. The Odes. — The second period of Horace's literary activity, 29-19 B.C., was devoted chiefly to lyric composition. He had long been a student of Greek poetry, and the models he now followed were chiefly Alcaeus and Sappho (600 B.C.), whose measures he adopted as his own, and from whose works he drew many themes. While these two poets had the greatest influence on him, still, as the notes to the odes will show, we find evidence of the influence of Homer, Pindar, Bacchylides, Anacreon, Stesichorus, and the three tragedians. He drew also from the Alexandrians, but chiefly from Callimachus and Theocritus. Yet he followed no model slavishly, and even in his closest studies from the Greek, he made the themes his own. The earliest ode to which a date can be assigned with certainty is 1, 37, written in 30 B.C., on hearing of the death of Cleopatra. A few may have been written before this, but not many. For seven years Horace gave himself almost exclusively to lyric verse. His mastery of form and language was now complete, and his developed taste set a high standard of perfection. The eighty-eight lyrics which belong to this period were never equaled in variety and perfection among the Romans, and alone would entitle their author to the immortality he has enjoyed. Many of these odes, — Horace called them simply *carmina*, — especially those addressed to friends, were privately circulated before they were collected into the present three books; these were published in 23 B.C., as is clear from internal evidence.¹

¹ The young Marcellus died at the end of 23 B.C., but it is hardly probable that Horace would have published the reference to him in 1, 12, 45 f. in its present form after his death; further, in 2, 10 (and possibly 3, 19), Horace mentions Licinius Murena, the brother-in-law of Maecenas, who was involved in a conspiracy against Augustus in the latter half of 23 B.C. The publication must have been earlier than the discovery of this plot. The latest reference is to the death of Quintilius Varus in 1, 24, which Hieronymus records in 23 B.C.; and it is probable that 1, 4, in which L. Sestius is addressed, was written about July, 23 B.C., when Sestius entered on his office as consul suffectus.

7. **Arrangement and Character of the Odes.** — In arranging his lyrics for publication, Horace placed at the beginning eleven odes, each in a different metre, illustrating all the measures employed by him in the three books with the exception of the unique rhythms in 2, 18 ; 3, 12.¹ Within this group certain other principles of arrangement can be detected. The first word is Maecenas, and the opening poem virtually dedicates the three books to their author's friend and patron, to whom he had already inscribed his *Satires* and *Epodes*. The second ode celebrates Octavian as the divine restorer of order in the state ; the third is a farewell poem to Vergil ; the fourth is addressed to Sestius, consul in the year of publication. The others are arranged to secure variety in subject as well as measure, a principle that is observed generally throughout the three books, so that grave themes are relieved by light, and a succession of similar metres is for the most part avoided. The second book opens with an ode to Asinius Pollio, celebrating his literary powers and touching sadly on the Civil Wars of which Pollio was about to undertake a history. In the first six odes of the third book, Horace comes forward as the teacher of the new generation, and deals earnestly with the problems and dangers of the state. This is the largest group of odes on related themes, and the Alcaic metre is used in all ; but, as if to avoid wearying his reader, Horace did not insert another ode in the same measure until the seventeenth. He had also some regard for chronological sequence, but this was always subordinate to the principle of variety. Each book, too, has certain characteristics. In the first there are a larger number of studies from the Greek than in the other two ; about half the odes are on themes of love and wine ; nowhere is any serious philosophy of life presented ; and only five (2, 12, 14, 35, 37) show deep concern with the state. As if to emphasize his character as the singer of light themes, and at the same time to offset the serious notes in odes 35 and 37, Horace

¹ The tenth ode, while in Sapphic measure like the second, still exhibits certain metrical peculiarities.

placed at the end of his book the dainty verses, *Persicos odi, puer, apparatus*, which picture him at ease and free from care.

The odes of the second book show more reflection, a deeper sense of the poet's personal relationship to his friends, a more serious and a graver attitude toward life. His didactic odes here lay stress on wise conduct, and the checking of untoward desires, rather than on the means of securing enjoyment. The twenty odes, with two exceptions, are composed in the Alcaic and Sapphic measures.

In the third book, Horace appears as the poet of the new Rome established by Augustus. He shows a conscious pride in his position as the priest of the Muses, and his didactic odes have a graver and severer tone ; yet he relieves his serious themes here, as in the other books, by lighter and charming verses nowhere excelled. The unity of the entire collection he emphasized by the form of his epilogue in which he repeats the lesser Asclepiadic measure used in the opening ode of the first book, but not elsewhere in the first three books. With proud assurance he claims that by his verse he has defeated death itself and won immortal fame.

8. The First Book of Epistles. — With the publication of his odes, in 23 B.C., Horace seems to have felt that his great work was done, and for some years he wrote no lyrics ; he did, however, return to his earlier habit of recording in verse his observations on life and manners, *sermones*, which he now presented in the form of epistles. In some the epistolary form is only a cloak, but others are genuine letters, one a letter of introduction. Some offer a practical philosophy of life, others give rules of conduct, still others celebrate the delights of quiet country life, one is in praise of wine. The opening letter is to Maecenas, and announces Horace's intention to abandon poetry and devote himself to philosophy. The collection, twenty epistles in all, was published after the middle of 20 B.C.

9. The Carmen Saeculare and Fourth Book of Odes. — Horace was not allowed to desert the lyric muse. The death of Vergil in

19 B.C. left him the chief poet of his day, and even those who had long scoffed at the freedman's son were at last ready to acknowledge his preëminence. His position received official recognition in 17 B.C. from the Emperor, who commissioned him to write a hymn for the great Secular festival of that year. A little more than two years later, at the personal request of Augustus, he celebrated the victories of the young Neros, Tiberius and Claudius, over the Alpine tribes; in two other odes he sang the praises of the Emperor's beneficent rule. With these he joined eleven other lyrics, mostly reminiscent of his earlier themes; two of them, however, hymn the power of poesy. He published the collection in 13 B.C. It was not dedicated to Maecenas, as all his earlier publications had been; such dedication would have been out of place in a book the most important odes of which celebrated the imperial house. The significant fact is that, while Horace was ready to serve Augustus with his art, he did not dedicate the book to him. That his friendship with his patron was unbroken is abundantly proved by the eleventh ode in honor of Maecenas' birthday.

10. The Second Book of Epistles. — Soon after the publication of the first book of epistles, a young friend of Horace, Julius Florus, asked him for some new lyrics. In answer Horace wrote another epistle, in which he says that he has renounced lyric verse; he is too old for it; the distractions of the city prevent composition, and careful work is no longer appreciated; he will therefore devote himself to philosophy, and seek that golden mean which alone can bring happiness.

We hear from Suetonius that Augustus chided Horace for having failed to address any of his *sermones* to him. This reproach Horace could not neglect, and about 14 B.C. he wrote an epistle to the Emperor, in which he discussed popular taste in literary matters, and defended the modern school to which he belonged against those who had a blind admiration only for the ancient and ruder literature. These two epistles he united with a third addressed to the Pisones, father and two sons, naturally putting the letter to

Augustus in the first place, and published the three about 13 B.C. This third epistle is of uncertain date, but probably written about 19-17 B.C. It is a didactic treatise on the art of poetry, but deals chiefly with dramatic poetry, and with the qualifications — genius and hard work— essential for the poet. The common name, *Ars Poetica* (or *De Arte Poetica Liber*), in all probability was not given it by Horace, but became attached to it before Quintilian's day. By Hadrian's time the epistle had become separated from the two with which it was originally published, and formed the tenth book in an edition of which the four books of *Odes*, with the *Carmen Saeculare*, the *Epodes*, the two books of *Satires*, and two of *Epistles* were the first nine. In the Mss. it regularly follows the *Odes*; H. Stephanus in the sixteenth century restored it to its original position.

11. Chronological Table of Horace's Works. —

Satires, Book 1	35-34 B.C.
Epodes	30
Satires, Book 2	30
Odes, Books 1-3	23
Epistles, Book 1	20
Carmen Saeculare	17
Odes, Book 4	ca. 13
Epistles, Book 2	ca. 13

12. Last Years and Death. — Of the last years of Horace's life we know nothing. Maecenas died in the spring of 8 B.C.; his dying charge to the Emperor, *Horati Flacci ut mei esto memor*, bears witness to the unbroken friendship between the two men. Horace survived his patron but a few months, dying after a brief sickness at the close of the same year. He was buried near the tomb of Maecenas on the Esquiline.

13. Personal Characteristics. — Horace has left us at the close of his first book of *Epistles* an interesting description of himself at the age of forty-four : —

*corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum,
irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem.*

“Short in stature, prematurely gray, fond of the sun, quick to take offense, but readily appeased.” This agrees with the account given in Suetonius’ life, where we are told that the Emperor joked the poet on his short, stout figure. In Horace’s later years his health was poor. While fond of mixing with society, he had a greater love for quiet country life, and against the protests of Maecenas spent much time on his Sabine farm or at his beloved Tibur. Praeneste, Baiae, and Tarentum were also favorite places of residence. He remained a bachelor, and was never deeply moved by love. Of all his flames named in his verses, only Cinara was certainly a creature of flesh and blood. The rest existed in his fancy only, or were borrowed from some Greek.¹ While he can sing very prettily of love, his verses have none of Catullus’ fire ; they were for Horace pretty works of art, but did not spring from his own passion. Likewise when he calls his friends to a carouse, we may be sure that temperance, not license, was the chief feature of his *comissatio*.

The subjects of his verse, whether lyric or *pedestris*, as he calls his muse in a passage in his *Satires*, were of the most varied sort ; hardly a feature of the life about him was left untouched, and more proverbial sayings bearing on the ways and weaknesses of men have been drawn from Horace’s works than from those of any other Latin writer. Certain aspects of nature appealed to him ; and in a number of odes he shows the deepest interest in the welfare of the state. While he frequently shows a jovial spirit, yet there is, especially in the *Odes*, a melancholy that constantly reappears and overshadows his merrier moods. Many of his lyrics deal with death and the cheerless grave ; and his philosophy of enjoyment and moderation has more in it of resignation than of eager anticipation. Horace does not show that pathetic melan-

¹ See Gildersleeve in *Am. Jour. of Phil.*, 18, 121 f.

choly which characterizes Vergil's poetry ; his melancholy is personal, that of a sensitive individual, who has learned not to expect too much of this life, and has no hope beyond. Yet Horace avoids intruding his melancholy on his audience, as he shrinks from preaching, even in his most earnest moods.

The highest enthusiasms and deepest feelings were not given to Horace ; but this very fact has in no slight degree made him a place in the affections of ordinary men, who feel that he is one of them.

14. Fame.— While Horace never gained among his contemporaries the honor enjoyed by Vergil, whose imperial epic appealed to the pride, as well as the imagination, of the Romans, still he lived to see himself pointed out by the passers on the street as the lyric poet of Rome, a fact to which he refers in *C.* 4, 3, 22 f., not without a touch of pride. Augustus' requests (cf. § 9), too, show the position in which Horace stood. Many lesser poets honored him as their master and model, but their verses have all disappeared ; also the spurious works which Suetonius says were circulated under his name. His poems were early used in schools, certainly before Quintilian's day ; in Juvenal's time, busts of Vergil and Horace adorned schoolrooms ; so that for nearly nineteen centuries the works of Horace have formed part of liberal education in western Europe. Learned criticism and interpretation by grammarians began at least as early as Nero's reign. But the best proof of Horace's influence in antiquity is to be seen in the numerous reminiscences, conscious and unconscious, of his verses that are found in almost every Roman writer after him. In the commentary of this book only a few such reminiscences are quoted, but enough to suggest how constantly his phrases reappear in later writers. In fact no other Roman poet but Vergil influenced posterity to any like degree. Even in the period of readjustment, which we call the Middle Ages, the works of Horace were still read in schools, especially the *Satires* and *Epistles*, and verses of moral import were learned by heart ; the *Odes* and *Epodes* were less used, and the *Carmen Saeculare* not unnaturally

was almost entirely neglected.¹ Yet the number of Mss. earlier than the thirteenth century — nearly twenty date from the eighth, ninth, and tenth — attest the esteem in which all the works were held in mediaeval cloisters.

In the Renaissance and modern times Horace's popularity has been great. Over seventy editions, partial or complete, were printed before 1500. There have been many would-be imitators of Horace's lyric verse in the last four centuries, but no better proof of the perfection of his art can be found than in the marked inferiority of all attempts, both ancient and modern, to repeat his measures. It is not exaggeration to say that no one since Horace's day has written Latin Alcaics or Sapphics that deserve to be compared with their models. Naturally Horace's influence on modern writers of lyric verse has been marked. To illustrate this here is not possible, but there is hardly a lyricist who has not felt his spell. Among contemporary English writers, Austin Dobson's methods and verses remind us most of the Roman bard. Yet Horace's lasting popularity is attested, not so much by literature, as by the regard in which men of varied pursuits hold him. His wisdom, his moderation and good-humored satire, coined into perfect form, have won him an unique place in the affections of mankind.

15. Manuscripts, Scholia, and Editions. (*a*) **Mss.** — There are more good manuscripts of Horace preserved than of any other Latin writer except Vergil; they number about 250, dating from the eighth (or ninth) to the fifteenth century. All seem to come from a common early archetype, but the cross lines of tradition are so numerous that it is impossible to classify them satisfactorily. The most important are: —

(1) *Codex Blandinius Vetustissimus*. This manuscript was formerly in the Abbaye de St. Pierre on Mt. Blandin, near Ghent, but was burned when the Abbey was destroyed by fire in 1566. It was one of the four manuscripts borrowed from the monastery

¹ On Horace in the Middle Ages, see the interesting monograph by M. Manitius, *Analekten zur Geschichte des Horaz im Mittelalter*, Göttingen, 1893.

in 1565, and collated for his edition of Horace by Cruquius (Jacques de Crusque), professor at Bruges. He states in his edition of 1578 that this manuscript dated from the seventh century, and the readings which he gives from it show that, whatever its age, it was of prime importance for the text. Keller and Holder deny its very existence, and charge Cruquius with falsehood, but the evidence against them is such that we cannot doubt the existence and value of the codex. Cruquius was at times careless, but his account can in the main be accepted.

(2) *Codex Bernensis* 363, in the city library at Bern, Switzerland; written by an Irish scribe in the ninth century. The best single extant manuscript of Horace. Reproduced in photographic facsimile under the direction of De Vries, 1897.

(3) *Codex Sueco-Vaticanus* 1703, in the Vatican Library, written in the eighth century.

These two manuscripts are considered by Keller to be the most important; some claim high rank for others, especially *Parisinus* 7900 A, s. IX/X; *Parisini* 7974 and 7971, s. X; *Parisinus* 7972, s. IX/X, and *Leidensis* 28, s. X; but in establishing the text the readings of Cruquius' '*Vetustissimus*' are ordinarily of first importance.

For a description of the other manuscripts, reference may be made to the critical edition by Keller and Holder, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1864–1870; vol. 1 in 2d ed., 1899.

(b) *Scholia*. — Comment on the works of Horace began in the first century of our era, with brief introductory notes, giving in each case the name of the person addressed, the metre, and a brief notice of the contents and character of the poem. Under Nero, M. Valerius Probus prepared a critical edition of Horace's works. Among early commentators were also Modestus and Claranus, who flourished apparently in Domitian's reign; to the time of Hadrian belong the *Life*, by Suetonius, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, and the edition in ten books (cf. p. 22), by Q. Terentius Scaurus. Under the Antonines, Helenius Acro wrote an explanatory commentary.

The work of all these commentators has been lost, save in so far as it is incorporated in the following scholia : —

(1) The scholia of *Pomponius Porphyrio*, a grammarian of the third century apparently, who devoted himself chiefly to grammatical and rhetorical interpretation.

(2) The scholia which bear the name of *Acro*. This collection was drawn from many sources, one of which was Porphyrio, from whom much was taken. Acro's name was not attached to these scholia until the fifteenth century.

(3) The scholia of the *Commentator Cruquianus*. These are the comments gathered together by Cruquius from many sources, and are of slight value.

(c) **Editions.** — The place and date of the *editio princeps* is unknown, but it was published in Italy before 1471. Bentley's edition in 1711 made a new era in Horatian criticism. Of the modern critical and explanatory editions, the following are important : —

Keller and Holder, editio maior, 2 vols. Leipsic, 1864–1870 ; vol. 1 (*Odes, Epodes, and C. S.*) in 2d ed. by Keller, Leipsic, 1899 ; *editio minor*, 1878. Keller, *Epilegomena zu Horaz*, Leipsic, 1879–1880, is also important for its collection of variant readings and discussion of them.

Orelli, 4th ed. by Hirschfelder and Mewes, 2 vols., with Latin commentary and complete word index, Berlin, 1886, 1892.

Kiessling, 2d ed., 3 vols. Berlin, 1890–1897 ; vol. 1 in 3d ed., 1898.

Wickham, Odes and Epodes, 3d ed. Oxford, 1896 ; *Satires and Epistles*, 1891.

L. Müller, Satires and Epistles, Leipsic, 1891–1893. *Odes and Epodes*, 1900.

The scholia are not yet fully available in good editions. A beginning has been made by Keller and Holder, *Porphyrii commentum rec. A. Holder*. Innsbruck, 1894. The scholia of the Commentator Cruquianus are now best printed in Keller and Holder's large edition, vol. 1, 2d ed., pp. 343–370.

16. Translations and Important Books.—No classical author has been translated more often than Horace. Among the better complete translations of the *Odes* and *Epodes* into English are the following : —

SIR THEODORE MARTIN, *The Odes of Horace translated into English verse*, 2d ed., London, 1861.

JOHN CONINGTON, *The Odes and Carmen Saeculare of Horace*, 3d ed., London, 1865.

LORD LYTTON, *The Odes and Epodes of Horace*, London, 1869.

W. E. GLADSTONE, *The Odes of Horace translated into English*, New York, 1894.

C. W. COOPER, *Horace's Odes Englished and Imitated by Various Hands*, London, 1880.

Among books useful for criticism, interpretation, and illustration, the following may be named : —

W. Y. SELLAR, *Horace and the Elegiac Poets*, Oxford, 1892.

This is the most important single book in English on Horace.

J. W. MACKAIL, *Latin Literature*, pp. 106-119, New York, 1900.

This is a work of real genius, the best short history of Latin literature.

ANDREW LANG, *Letters to Dead Authors*, pp. 223-234, London, 1886.

GASTON BOISSIER, *The Country of Horace and Vergil*; translated by D. H. Fisher, London, 1896.

SCHREIBER-ANDERSON, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, London, 1895.

BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, 3 vols., Munich, 1889.

17. Language and Style.—Horace was well aware that his poetic genius was not great ; but he possessed a highly cultivated sense for poetic form and fitting expression, and a fondness for his art, which led him to take infinite pains in the elaboration of his verses. With wise judgment he therefore chose commonplace

themes and treated them with all the grace his taste and skill could give. He shows little deep thought or intense feeling ; his verses are either exercises suggested by Greek lyrics, commonplaces of philosophy, Stoic or Epicurean, pretty but passionless treatment of themes of love, and society verse. Some tributes to friends show greater feeling, as do certain odes dealing with interests of state ; yet in this latter class some seem like perfunctory verses written to please. In his later odes, in which he celebrates Augustus as the restorer of peace and prosperity, he exhibits a warmth of sentiment that he does not show elsewhere in the poems which concern the imperial house. Yet if his themes are commonplace, his treatment of them is so unapproachably felicitous that his phrases have become part of the world's vocabulary. Horace, therefore, deserves the high place he occupies in men's regard, not for his poetic inspiration, but because he has given beautiful and permanent expression to ordinary truths, which are of universal concern.

His vocabulary is not large, partly because the Latin language in comparison with the Greek is poor in words, partly because he chose to be restrained and moderate in statement ; and the difficulty of using the Alcaic and Sapphic measures in Latin doubtless restricted the range of expression. He occasionally repeats a happy phrase, either exactly or with slight variation. His admiration for the Greeks never led him to violate the genius of his own language ; he did not attempt long compounds, avoided Greek words for the most part, and seldom used a construction that was foreign to the Latin idiom.

The study of Horace's style, therefore, is chiefly concerned with the art with which he formed his phrases and fitted them to his measures. The following paragraphs deal briefly with the *Order of Words, Prosody, Metres, and Syntax*.

18. Order of Words. — An inflected language admits greater freedom in the arrangement of words than is possible in one which is uninflected, so that an idea is often held in suspense until it has

been brought into relation with associated ideas. It is therefore necessary for the student to learn to carry in his mind incomplete ideas through groups of words of varying length. Such groups are common to both prose and poetry; but in prose they are usually brief, combinations of three words being most frequent, e.g. *ab exiguis profecta initiis*, although larger groups are not unknown. But in poetry the arrangement and grouping of words is much more highly developed. The following examples illustrate the more common arrangements in Horace's lyrics, which the student must train himself to grasp as units.

19. Groups of three words : —

1, 1, 1 *atavis edite regibus*
 1, 15, 8 *regnum Priami vetus*
 1, 22, 22 *terra domibus negata*
 2, 5, 12 *purpureo varius colore*
 2, 7, 2 *Bruto militiae duce*

It should be noticed that in these groups the first and third words agree grammatically and inclose the word they modify; and that the places of adjective and noun are varied at pleasure. In the following larger groups the relation of the words is shown by varying type so far as possible.

20. Groups of four words may have the following great variety of arrangement : —

2, 3, 9 *pinus ingens albaque populus*
 2, 6, 5 *Tibur Argeo positum colono*
 1, 24, 9 *multis ille bonis flebilis*
 1, 19, 11 f. *versis animosum equis | Parthum*
 2, 8, 11 f. *gelidaque divos | morte carentis*
 1, 1, 22 *ad aquae lene caput sacrae*
 1, 12, 22 f. *saevis inimica virgo | beluis*
 3, 8, 13 f. *cyathos amici | sospitis centum*
 4, 1, 4 f. *dulcium | mater saeva Cupidinum*

(a) Often a verb or verbs form part of the group, e.g. : —

1, 1, 34 *Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton*
 1, 5, 9 *te fruitur credulus aurea*

1, 14, 14 f. nil *pictis timidus navita puppibus* | fidit
1, 14, 19 f. *interfusa nitentis* | vites *aequora Cycladas*
1, 22, 17 f. *pigris ubi nulla campis* | *arbor aestiva* recreatur *aura*
1, 28, 19 f. *nullum* | *saeva caput Proserpina* fugit
2, 3, 11 f. quid *obliquo* laborat | *lympa fugax* trepidare *rivo* ?
2, 4, 11 f. tradidit *fessis leviora* tolli | *Pergama Grais*.
2, 11, 11 f. quid *aeternis minorem* | *consiliis animum* fatigas ?
2, 12, 2 f. nec *Siculum mare* | *Poeni purpureum sanguine*
3, 1, 5 f. *regum timendorum in proprios greges* | *reges in ipsos im-*
perium est Iovis
3, 1, 16 *omne capax* movet *urna nomen*
3, 5, 21 f. vidi ego *civium* | *retorta tergo brachia libero*

latentis proditor intimo | gratus puellae risus ab angulo.

1, 18, 3 *siccis* omnia nam dura deus proposuit
1, 34, 1 *parcus* deorum cultor et infrequens
2, 9, 9 f. *tu* semper urges flebilibus modis | *Mysten* ademptum

1, 28, 5 f. animoque rotundum | percurisse polum *morituro*
2, 9, 15 ff. nec impubem parentes | Troilon aut Phrygiae sorores |
flevere semper
4, 9, 25 f. vixere fortes ante Agamemnona | *multi*

I, I, 14 *Myrtoum* pavidus nauta secet *mare*
I, 2, 39 f. acer et Marsi peditis *cruentum* | *voltus* in *hostem*

Also 3, 4, 9-12.

me fabulosae Vulture in Apulo
nutricis extra limina Pulliae
ludo fatigatumque somno
fronde nova *puerum palumbes*

Observe that the entire strophe is bound into a single group by the two initial and final words.

25. Occasionally a number of emphatic positions are employed in a single strophe or other closely connected group : —

2, 10, 9 ff. *saepius* ventis agitur *ingens*
pinus et *celsae* || *gravio*re casu
decidunt turres feriuntque *summos*
fulgura montis

26. Emphasis is also secured by placing contrasted words in juxtaposition : —

1, 6, 9 *tenu*es *grandia*
1, 3, 10 qui *fragilem truci* commisit *pelago ratem*

27. Also by placing words in similar or opposite positions in the verse or strophe : —

1, 1, 9 f. illum si *proprio* || condidit *horreo* | quicquid de *Libycis* || ver-
ritur *areis*
1, 26, 2 f. tradam *protervis* || in mare Creticum | portare *ventis* ||
2, 2, 23 quisquis *ingentis* || oculo inretorto | spectat *acervos*.
2, 3, 1 f. aequam memento rebus *in arduis* | servare mentem, non
secus *in bonis*
2, 10, 13 **sperat** *infestis* || **metuit** *secundis*

Also in 1, 10, where the initial *te, te, tu* of the second, third, and fifth strophe emphatically repeat the *Mercuri* of the first strophe. Cf. likewise 2, 9, 1.9.13.17 *non semper, tu semper, at non, flere semper*.

28. Emphasis is further secured : —

(a) By immediate repetition in the same clause : —

2, 17, 10 *ibimus ibimus*, utcumque praecedes.
Epod. 4, 20 *hoc hoc* tribuno militum.

- 1, 2, 7 omne *cum* Proteus pecus egit
 1, 2, 18 f. vagus *et* sinistra | labitur ripa
 1, 7, 15 albus *ut* . . . deterget nubila . . . Notus
 1, 22, 17 pigris *ubi* nulla campis | arbor aestiva recreatur aura
 1, 18, 3 siccis omnia *nam* dura deus
 2, 6, 6 sit meae sedes *utinam* senectae
 3, 1, 17 f. destrictus ensis *cui* super impia | cervice pendet

Likewise *-que* may be forced from its natural position by the requirements of the metre : —

- 2, 19, 32 ore pedes tetigit*que* crura

32. A dissyllabic preposition sometimes follows its noun : —

- 3, 3, 11 quos *inter* Augustus recumbens

33. Sometimes the preposition is placed next the verb : —

- 2, 16, 33 te greges centum Sicalae*que circum* | mugiunt vaccae
 3, 27, 51 f. *utinam inter* errem | nuda leones

PROSODY

The following points in the prosody of Horace's lyrics should be noted : —

34. The prosody of certain proper names varies : *Ētrusco* 1, 2, 14 ; 3, 29, 35, *Ētrusca* *Epod.* 16, 4 and 40 ; *Dīanam* 1, 21, 1, *Dīana* 3, 4, 71 ; *Prōserpina* 1, 28, 20, *Prōserpina* 2, 13, 21 ; *Ōri-onis* 1, 28, 21, *Ōrion* *Epod.* 15, 7 ; *Ītalos* 3, 30, 13, *Ītalo* 2, 7, 4 ; *Āpūliae* *Epod.* 3, 16, *Āpūli* 2, 42 and usually.

35. The final syllable of the present and perfect indicative active in the thesis occasionally retains its archaic long quantity in Books 1-3 : *perrupīt* 1, 3, 36 ; *manēt* 1, 13, 6 ; *ridēt* 2, 6, 14 ; *timēt* 2, 13, 16 ; *arāt* 3, 16, 26 ; *figīt* 3, 24, 5. It is once long in the arsis before the caesura 3, 5, 17 *perirēt* || *immiserabilis*.

36. In *Epod.* 9, 17 *vertērunt* occurs, but elsewhere in the lyrics the third person plural of the perfect indicative always ends in *-ērunt*.

37. A final syllable ending in a short vowel is not made long by two consonants at the beginning of the next word.

38. **Synizesis** occurs in *anteit* 1, 35, 17; *antehac* 1, 37, 5; *Pompei* 2, 7, 5; *vietis* *Epod.* 12, 7; *dehinc* *Epod.* 16, 65; probably also in *pueris* 2, 18, 34 (cf. § 56); *laqueo* *Epod.* 2, 35 (cf. § 58); *inferius* 5, 79; *mulierculum* 11, 23 (cf. § 58).

39. **Hardening** of vocalic *i* to a consonant is found in *consilium* 3, 4, 41 and *principium* 3, 6, 6. In both these cases the final syllable is elided.

40. **Syncope** occurs frequently in the perfect indicative forms. Also in *puertiae* 1, 36, 8; *lamnae* 2, 2, 2; *periclo* 3, 20, 1; *surpuerat* 4, 13, 20; *repostum* *Epod.* 9, 1; *vincla* 9, 9 and 17, 72. Possibly in *pav(i)dum* *Epod.* 2, 35 and *pos(i)tos* 2, 65 (cf. § 58).

41. **Dialysis** occurs only in *siluae* 1, 23, 4 and *Epod.* 13, 2.

42. **Elision** is confined chiefly to short syllables; in his earliest lyrics Horace apparently tried to avoid it altogether, but later he was less careful. There is no elision in the Second Archilochian Strophe of *Epod.* 13 or in the hexameters of *Epod.* 16. With the exception of *me*, *te*, and a single case of *iam*, *Epod.* 17, 1, monosyllables are never elided.

43. **Hiatus** is found after the monosyllabic interjections *o* and *a*, which naturally cannot be elided. Also in *capiti inhumato* 1, 28, 24, *Esquilinae alites* *Epod.* 5, 100, *Threicio Aquilone* 13, 3; and between the *cola* of Dactylo-Trochaic verses (cf. § 64 ff.). Also in *male ominatis* 3, 14, 11, if the reading be correct.

METRES

44. **Logaoedic Verses.**—The greater number of the *Odes* are in logaoedic rhythms, consisting of trochees (— ∪), irrational spondees (— >), and cyclic dactyls (— ∪ ∪ or — ∪ ∪).¹ The mu-

¹ Elementary Latin prosody and the lyric metres of Horace are satisfactorily treated in the school grammars commonly used. A brief account is given here solely for convenience, and no attempt is made to provide the elementary knowledge which must be gained from the grammars. One point, however, may be noted. The common method of marking an irrational spondee (— >) leads pupils to think that it is not to be distinguished from a trochee,

sical time is $\frac{3}{8}$. While Horace adopted his measures from the Greeks, he is more strict than his models in certain points. He always uses an irrational spondee in place of a trochee before the first cyclic dactyl ($- > | \sim \cup$, and not $- \cup | \sim \cup$); and if an apparent choriambus $\sim \cup | \text{—}^1$ is followed by a second apparent choriambus in the same verse, the caesura regularly separates the two.

The following logaoedic verses are used by Horace :

45. The *Adonic* :

$\sim \cup | \text{—} \cup$
terrui | *urbem*

(This may also be read $\sim \cup | \text{—} | \text{—} \wedge$)

46. The *Aristophanic* :

$\sim \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} >$
Lydia | *dic per* | *omnes*

(This may also be read $\sim \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} | \text{—} \wedge$)

47. The *Pherecratic* (read as a syncopated tetrapody catalectic) :

$\text{—} > | \sim \cup | \text{—} | \text{—} \wedge$
grato | *Pyrrha sub* | *an* | *tro*

48. The *Glyconic* :

$\text{—} > | \sim \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \wedge$
sic te | *diva po* | *tens Cy* | *pri*

i.e. that both equal $\text{♩} \text{♩}$; whereas the irrational spondee must be represented in musical notation by $\text{♩} \cdot \text{♩}$. Furthermore the musical equivalent of the cyclic dactyl, as commonly expressed, $\sim \cup = \text{♩} \cdot \text{♩} \text{♩}$, is hardly correct; it should rather be $\text{♩} \cdot \text{♩} \cdot \text{♩}$. In the schemes as here given the form $\sim \cup$ is used when the caesura does not fall within the foot or falls between the two short syllables, $\sim || \cup$; when the caesura occurs after the long syllable the foot is written $\text{—} || \sim$.

¹ This combination was regarded by the later Roman writers as a choriambus, $\text{—} \cup \cup \text{—}$, and many still give the name 'choriambic' to metres in which this succession of syllables occurs.

49. The *Lesser* (decasyllabic) *Alcaic* :

$\curvearrowright \cup \mid \curvearrowright \cup \mid \angle \cup \mid \angle >$
flumina \mid constite|rint a|cuto

50. The *Greater* (hendecasyllabic) *Alcaic* :

$\text{⋈} : \angle \cup \mid \angle > \parallel \curvearrowright \cup \mid \angle \cup \mid \cup \wedge$
per:mitte \mid divis \parallel cetera \mid qui si|mul

In Books 1-3 the anacrusis is usually long ; in Book 4 always so. In 1, 37, 14 ; 4, 14, 17 diaeresis is neglected ; caesura occurs after a prefix in 1, 16, 21 *ex||ercitus* ; 1, 37, 5 *de||promere* ; 2, 17, 21 *in||credibili*.

51. The *Lesser Sapphic* :

$\angle \cup \mid \angle > \mid \angle \parallel \cup \mid \angle \cup \mid \angle >$
iam sa|tis ter|ris \parallel nivis \mid atque \mid dirae

In Books 1-3 the masculine caesura is regularly used ; in the *Carmen Saeculare* and Book 4 the feminine caesura is more frequently allowed, e.g. :

$\angle \cup \mid \angle > \mid \curvearrowright \parallel \cup \mid \angle \cup \mid \angle >$
Phoebe \mid silva|rumque \parallel po|tens Di|anae

52. The *Greater Sapphic* :

$\angle \cup \mid \angle > \mid \angle \parallel \cup \mid \angle \parallel - \cup \mid \angle \cup \mid \angle >$
te de|os o|ro Syba|rin \parallel cur prope|res a|mando.

Or we may write the second half of the verse as a syncopated tetrapody catalectic :

$\parallel \curvearrowright \cup \mid \angle \cup \mid \angle \mid \angle \wedge$

It should be observed that this corresponds with the Aristophanic verse (cf. 46).

53. The *Lesser Asclepiadic* :

$\angle > \mid \curvearrowright \cup \mid \angle \parallel \curvearrowright \cup \mid \angle \cup \mid \cup \wedge$
Maece|nas ata|vis \parallel edite \mid regi|bus

C. 1, 1 ; 3, 30 ; 4, 8.

In 4, 8, 17, caesura is disregarded, but the text is in doubt ; in 2, 12, 25 caesura occurs after the prefix in *de||torquet*.

54. The *Greater Asclepiadic* :

$\text{—} > | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \parallel \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \parallel \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \wedge$
Nullam | Vare sa|cra || vite pri|us || severis | arbo|rem.

C. 1, 11, 18 ; 4, 10.

It should be observed that this differs from the preceding rhythm (53) in having a syncopated dipody $\parallel \text{—} \cup | \text{—} |$ inserted between the two tripodies. In 1, 18, 16, caesura occurs after the prefix in *per||lucidior*.

Iambic and Trochaic Verses. — The following iambic and trochaic verses are used by Horace :

55. The *Iambic Dimeter* :

$\text{—} > | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup |$
 $> \cup \cup \cup \cup |$

Or in anacrustic form : ¹

$\text{—} : \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \wedge$

The irrational spondee may be substituted in the first and third feet. Resolution of the thesis is found in four verses (*Epod.* 2, 62 ; 3, 8 ; 5, 48 ; 15, 24), and then is limited to the first foot for the apparent dactyl, $> \cup \cup$; while tribrachs may be used in the first two feet, e.g. :

$> \text{—} \cup | > \parallel \text{—} \cup \cup$
Oblivio | nem sensibus Epod. 14, 2.
 $\cup \text{—} \cup \cup | > \text{—} \cup \cup$
videre prope|rantis domum Epod. 2, 62.
 $> \cup \cup \cup | > \parallel \text{—} \cup \text{—}$
ast ego vicis|sim risero Epod. 15, 24.

56. The *Iambic Trimeter Catalectic* :

$\text{—} > | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \parallel \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \wedge$
trahuntque sic|cas || machinae | carinas.

Or with anacrusis :

$\text{—} : \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \wedge$

¹ Whenever iambic verses occur in logaoedic or composite rhythms, they are to be written with anacrusis.

In *C.* 2, 18, 34 possibly resolution occurs in the second foot *regumque pueris*, > : ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪—, unless, as is probable, we should read by synizesis, *pūeris* (cf. 38).

57. The *Pure Iambic Trimeter* : —

∪ ∠ ∪ ∠ | ∪ || ∠ ∪ ∠ | ∪ ∠ ∪ ∪
suis et ip|sa||Roma vi ribus ruit

58. The *Iambic Trimeter* (with substitutions and resolutions) : —

∪ ∠ ∪ ∠ | ∪ || ∠ ∪ ∠ | ∪ ∠ ∪ ∪
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ || ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ |
 > ∪ ∪ > || ∪ ∪
 ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪ ∪

Epod. 17. The caesura occurs after the prefix in *im||plumibus*, *Epod.* 1, 19; and *in||aestuet*, *Epod.* 11, 15. The irrational spondee is not infrequently substituted in the first, third, and fifth feet; the tribrach is used chiefly in the second and third feet, rarely in the first and fourth; the dactyl is found in the first foot, rarely in the third; and the anapaest is possibly to be read in the first foot twice (*Epod.* 2, 35 *pavidum*, 65 *positos*) and three times in the fifth (*Epod.* 2, 35 *laqueo*, 5, 79 *inferius*, 11, 23 *mulierculum*); yet some of these cases may be read by synizesis as iambs (cf. 38).

Examples of trimeters with various substitutions : —

∪ ∠ ∪ ∠ | > || ∠ ∪ ∠ | ∪ ∠ ∪ ∪
per et Dia|nae||non moven|da numina
 > ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ | > || ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ | > ∠ ∪ ∪
vectabor hume|ris||tunc ego ini|micis eques.
 > ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ | ∪ || ∠ ∪ ∠ | > ∠ ∪ ∠
Canidia par|ce||vocibus | tandem sacris
 > ∠ ∪ ∠ | > || ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ | > ∠ ∪ ∪
optat quie|tem||Pelopis in|fidi pater.
 ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ || ∠ ∪ ∠ | ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪ ∪
pavidumque lepo|rem||advenam | laqueo gruem,
 ∪ — ∪ —
 or *pav(i)dumque, laqueo* (cf. 38, 40).

59. The *Euripidean* : —

$\text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup \cup \wedge$
non ebur ne|que aureum

60. The *Nine-syllable Alcaic* : —

$\text{—} : \text{—} \cup | \text{—} > | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup$
sil:vae la|boran|tes ge|luque

This consists of two trochaic dipodies with anacrusis. The second foot is always irrational.

Dactylic Verses.61. The *Lesser Archilochian* : —

$\text{—} \cup \cup | \text{—} \cup \cup | \text{—} \wedge$
arbori|busque co|mae

62. The *Dactylic Tetrameter catalectic* : —

$\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \cup \cup | \text{—} \cup \wedge$
saeua ca|put Pro|serpina | fugit

In *C.* 1, 28, 2 a spondee is found in the third foot.

63. The *Dactylic Hexameter* : —

$\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} || \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—}$

The feminine caesura in the third foot is occasionally found, and the masculine caesura sometimes falls in the fourth or second foot. The four cases of spondees in the fifth foot are due to proper names (*C.* 1, 28, 21; *Epod.* 13, 9; 16, 17 and 29).

Dactylo-trochaic Verses.

64. In these the *cola*, rhythmical sentences, are separate; so that the verses are compound, having a change of time ($\frac{2}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$, or *vice versa*) within them. *Syllaba anceps* is allowed at the end of the first colon in the *Iambelegus* and *Elegiambus*.

65. The *Greater Archilochian* (a dactylic tetrameter acatalectic + a trochaic tripody) : —

$\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} || \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \cup \cup || \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} >$
solvitur | acris hi|ems||gra |ta vice || veris | et Fa|voni.

The caesura is found regularly after the third thesis, and a diaeresis after the dactylic colon. The fourth foot is always a dactyl.

66. The *Iambelegus* (a trochaic dimeter catalectic with anacrusis + a lesser archilochian) : —

$\text{⋈} : \text{⋈} \cup \mid \text{⋈} \text{⋈} \mid \text{⋈} \cup \mid \text{⋈} \parallel \text{⋈} \cup \cup \mid - \cup \cup \mid \text{⋈} \wedge$
tu:vina | Torqua|to mo|ve || consule | pressa me|o.

No substitutions but those indicated are allowed in the first colon ; and spondees are not allowed in the second.

67. The *Elegiambus* (the cola of the *Iambelegus* reversed) : —

$\text{⋈} \cup \cup \mid \text{⋈} \cup \cup \mid - \wedge \parallel \text{⋈} : \text{⋈} \cup \mid \text{⋈} \text{⋈} \mid \text{⋈} \cup \mid \text{⋈} \wedge$
scribere | versicu|los || a:more | percus|sum gra|vi.

STROPHES

Most of the *Odes* are arranged in stanzas or strophes of four verses each ; in a few the distich or the single verse is the metrical unit. In the *Epodes*, with the exception of the seventeenth, which is written in iambic trimeters, the epodic distich (cf. 4) is the unit.

The lyric strophes used by Horace are these : —

68. The *Alcaic Strophe* — two Greater Alcaics (50), one Nine-syllable Alcaic (60), and a Lesser Alcaic (49) : —

$\text{⋈} : \text{⋈} \cup \mid \text{⋈} > \parallel \text{⋈} \cup \cup \mid \text{⋈} \cup \mid \text{⋈} \wedge \quad 1-2$
 $\text{⋈} : \text{⋈} \cup \mid \text{⋈} > \mid \text{⋈} \cup \mid \text{⋈} \text{⋈} \quad 3$
 $\text{⋈} \cup \mid \text{⋈} \cup \mid \text{⋈} \cup \mid \text{⋈} \text{⋈} \quad 4$

This strophe is the most frequent ; found in *C.* 1, 9. 16. 17. 26. 27. 29. 31. 34. 35. 37 ; 2, 1. 3. 5. 7. 9. 11. 13. 14. 15. 17. 19. 20 ; 3, 1-6. 17. 21. 23. 26. 29 ; 4, 4. 9. 14. 15. In 2, 3, 27 and 3, 29, 35 there is elision at the end of the third verse.

69. The *Sapphic Strophe* — three Lesser Sapphics (51), and an Adonic (45) : —

$$\begin{array}{r} \angle \cup | \angle > | \angle \parallel \cup | \angle \cup | \angle \asymp \quad 1-3 \\ \cup \cup | \angle \asymp \quad 4 \end{array}$$

After the Alcaic the most frequent strophe; found in *C.* 1, 2. 10. 12. 20. 22. 25. 30. 32. 38; 2, 2. 4. 6. 8. 10. 16; 3, 8. 11. 14. 18. 20. 22. 27; 4, 2. 6. 11; *C. S.* The feminine caesura is found in a few cases (cf. 51). In a number of strophes Horace follows Sappho in treating the third and fourth verses as one, so that in three places (*C.* 1, 2, 19; 1, 25, 11; 2, 16, 7) words run over from one verse to the next as now printed; elision at the end of the third verse is found, 4, 2, 23 and *C. S.* 47; hiatus between the verses occurs but four times (*C.* 1, 2, 47; 1, 12, 7 and 31; 1, 22, 15); and in most cases the dactyl of the fourth verse is preceded by a spondee at the close of the third.

Elision occurs three times also at the end of the second verse (*C.* 2, 2, 18; 2, 16, 34; 4, 2, 22).

70. The *Greater Sapphic Strophe* — an Aristophanic verse (46) followed by a Greater Sapphic (52) : —

$$\begin{array}{r} \cup \cup | \angle \cup | \angle \asymp \\ \angle \cup | \angle > | \angle \parallel \cup | \angle \parallel \cup \cup | \angle \cup | \angle > \end{array}$$

C. 1, 8.

71. The *First Asclepiadic Strophe* — a Glyconic (48) followed by a Lesser Asclepiadic (53) : —

$$\begin{array}{r} \angle > | \cup \cup | \angle \cup | \angle \wedge \\ \angle > | \cup \cup | \angle \parallel \cup \cup | \angle \cup | \angle \wedge \end{array}$$

C. 1, 3. 13. 19. 36; 3, 9. 15. 19. 24. 25. 28; 4, 1. 3. Elision at the end of the Glyconic is found 4, 1, 35.

72. The *Second Asclepiadic Strophe* — three Lesser Asclepiadics followed by a Glyconic : —

$$\begin{array}{l} \angle > | \curvearrowright \cup | \angle \parallel \curvearrowright \cup | \angle \cup | \underline{\cup} \wedge \quad 1-3 \\ - > | \sim \cup | - \cup | \asymp \wedge \quad 4 \end{array}$$

C. 1, 6. 15. 24. 33 ; 2, 12 ; 3, 10. 16 ; 4, 5. 12.

73. The *Third Asclepiadic Strophe* — two Lesser Asclepiadics, a Pherecratic (47), and a Glyconic : —

$$\begin{array}{l} \angle > | \curvearrowright \cup | \angle \parallel \curvearrowright \cup | \angle \cup | \underline{\cup} \wedge \quad 1-2 \\ \angle > | \curvearrowright \cup | \angle | \underline{\cup} \wedge \quad 3 \\ \angle > | \curvearrowright \cup | \angle \cup | \underline{\cup} \wedge \quad 4 \end{array}$$

C. 1, 5. 14. 21. 23 ; 3, 7. 13 ; 4, 13.

74. The *Iambic Strophe* — an Iambic Trimeter (58) followed by an Iambic Dimeter (55) : —

$$\begin{array}{l} \asymp \angle \cup \angle | \asymp \parallel \angle \cup \angle | \asymp \angle \cup \underline{\cup} \\ \asymp \angle \cup \angle | \asymp \angle \cup \underline{\cup} \end{array}$$

Epod. 1-10.

75. The *First Pythiambic Strophe* — a Dactylic Hexameter (63) followed by an Iambic Dimeter (55) : —

$$\begin{array}{l} \angle \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \parallel \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \asymp \\ \asymp \angle \cup \angle | \asymp \angle \cup \underline{\cup} \end{array}$$

Epod. 14 and 15.

76. The *Second Pythiambic Strophe* — a Dactylic Hexameter followed by a Pure Iambic Trimeter : —

$$\begin{array}{l} \angle \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \parallel \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \asymp \\ \cup \angle \cup \angle | \cup \angle \cup \angle | \cup \angle \cup \underline{\cup} \end{array}$$

Epod. 16.

77. The *Alcmanian Strophe* — a Dactylic Hexameter followed by a Dactylic Tetrameter (62) : —

$$\begin{array}{l} \angle \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \parallel \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \asymp \\ \angle \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \cup \cup | \angle \asymp \end{array}$$

C. 1, 7. 28 ; *Epod.* 12.

SYNTAX

The following paragraphs deal briefly with the constructions in the lyrics of Horace, which depart most from prose usage.

THE ACCUSATIVE

84. The perfect passive participle is used as a middle with a direct object, sometimes accompanied by an instrumental ablative: 1, 1, 21 *membra . . . stratus*, 'stretching his limbs.' 1, 2, 31 *nube candentis umeros amictus*, 'wrapping thy shining shoulders in a cloud.' 3, 8, 5 *doctus sermones*, 'learned in the lore.'

85. The common prose use of the accusative neuter of adjectives of number or amount is extended to other adjectives which express the manner of the action: 1, 22, 23 *dulce ridentem, dulce loquentem*, 'sweetly smiling, sweetly prattling.'

86. The object accusative is used with many verbs which were ordinarily intransitive before Horace's time: 2, 13, 26 ff. *sonantem . . . plectro dura navis, dura fugae mala, dura belli*, 'sounding with his plectrum the hardships of the sea, the cruel hardships of exile, the hardships of war.' 4, 12, 5 *Ityn flebiliter gemens*, 'sadly mourning Itys.' 4, 13, 19 *spirabat amores*, 'breathed forth love.' *Epod.* 14, 11 *flevit amorem*, 'wept his love.'

THE DATIVE

87. The dative of agent is used with the perfect participle: 1, 32, 5 *barbite Lesbio modulate civi*, 'lyre tuned by Lesbian citizen.' Also with verbs expressing feeling or perception: 1, 1, 24 f. *bella matribus detestata*, 'wars which mothers hate.' Rarely with present passives: as 3, 25, 3 f. *quibus antris audiar?* 'by what grottoes shall I be heard?'

88. The dative of place, as well as of person, is used to denote the direction of motion: 4, 4, 69 f. *Carthagini iam non ego nuntios*

mittam superbos, 'no longer shall I send proud messengers to Carthage.' Cf. 1, 24, 15 *num vanae redeat sanguis imagini?* 'would the blood return to the empty shade?'

89. The dative is also used with verbs expressing union, comparison, difference, etc.: 1, 1, 15 *luctantem Icaris fluctibus Africum*, 'the Afric struggling with the Icarian waves.' 1, 1, 30 *me . . . dis miscent superis*, 'make me one with the gods above.' 1, 24, 18 *nigro compulerit gregi*, 'has gathered to his dark flock.'

THE GENITIVE

90. An adjective is often modified by a partitive genitive: 1, 10, 19 *superis deorum*, equivalent to *superis deis* in prose. 1, 9, 14 *quem fors dierum cumque dabit*, equivalent to *quemcumque diem*.

91. In imitation of a Greek construction, a genitive is used modifying a neuter plural adjective: 2, 1, 23 *cuncta terrarum*, 'all the world.'

92. The objective genitive is used with a larger number of adjectives than in prose: 1, 3, 1 *diva potens Cypri*, 'goddess that ruleth Cyprus.' 1, 34, 2 f. *insanientis sapientiae consultus*, 'adept in a mad philosophy.' 2, 6, 7 *lasso maris et viarum*, 'weary of journeys by sea and land.' 3, 27, 10 *imbrium divina avis*, 'bird prophetic of storms.' 4, 6, 43 *docilis modorum*, 'taught the strains of.'

93. In a few cases the genitive of 'specification' is used: 2, 22, 1 *integer vitae*, 'pure in life.' 3, 5, 42 *capitis minor*, 'inferior as an individual' = 'deprived of civil rights.' And once 2, 2, 6 the genitive is almost causal: *notus animi paterni*, 'known for his paternal spirit.'

94. The objective genitive is used with verbs of ceasing, wanting, etc., in imitation of the Greek construction: 2, 9, 18 *desine querellarum*, 'cease thy complaints.' 3, 17, 16 *famulis operum solutis*,

‘the servants freed from toil.’ 3, 27, 69 *abstineto irarum*, ‘give up thy wrath.’

THE ABLATIVE

The simple ablative, without a preposition, is used somewhat more freely than in prose.

95. The simple ablative is used to express the place where an action occurs: 1, 2, 9 *summa haesit ulmo*, ‘clung in the top of the elm.’ 1, 9, 10 f. *ventos aequore fervido deproeliantis*, ‘winds struggling over the yeasty deep.’ 1, 32, 8 *religarat litore navim*, ‘anchored his ships off the shore,’ also belongs here.

96. Once in the *Odes* the ablative of agent is used without a preposition: 1, 6, 1 f. *scriberis Vario . . . Maeonii carminis alite*, ‘thou shalt be sung by Varius, that bird of Maeonian song.’ With this we may compare *Epist.* 1, 19, 2 *carmina, quae scribuntur aquae potoribus*, ‘verses written by teetotalers,’ although most editors and grammarians regard *potoribus* as dative of agent. While the phrase *Vario . . . alite* approaches the ablative absolute, the difference between it and such cases as *S.* 2, 1, 84 *iudice laudatus Caesare* must not be overlooked.

97. The instrumental ablative is found once with a verbal noun: 3, 4, 55 *truncis iaculator*, ‘he who threw trunks of trees.’

98. With *muto* and a direct object the ablative is used to denote both that which is given and that which is received in exchange; the context alone shows the relation: 1, 17, 1 f. *Lucretilem mutat Lycaeο*, ‘exchanges Lycaeus for Lucretilis.’ The opposite 1, 16, 25 f. *ego mitibus mutare quaero tristia*, ‘I seek to substitute kind feelings for bitterness.’

‘TRANSFERRED’ ADJECTIVES

99. An adjective which naturally expresses some quality of a person or thing is sometimes transferred to an object or action which is associated with that person or thing: 1, 3, 38 ff. *neque | per nostrum patimur scelus | iracunda Iovem ponere fulmina;* 1, 15, 33 f. *iracunda . . . classis Achillei*.

THE ἀπὸ κοινοῦ CONSTRUCTION

100. Occasionally a word is so placed with reference to two other words that it may grammatically be connected with either, while logically it is necessarily so connected: 2, 11, 11 f. *quid aeternis minorem | consiliis animum fatigas?* In this *consiliis* belongs equally to *minorem* and to *fatigas*.

THE VERB

101. A singular verb is frequently used with two or more subjects: 3, 16, 29 ff. *rivus aquae silvae . . . segetis certa fides . . . fallit*.

102. The future indicative is occasionally used with permissive or hortatory force: 1, 7, 1 *laudabunt alii claram Rhodon*, 'others may praise,' etc.; 1, 12, 57 ff. *te minor latum reget aequus orbem*, etc., 'let him rule,' etc.

103. The perfect is used like the Greek gnomic aorist, to express what has always been true or customary, *i.e.* a general truth or customary action: 1, 28, 20 *nullum saeva caput Proserpina fūgit*, 'cruel Proserpina never passes by (*i.e.* never has, and therefore, by implication, never does pass) a mortal.'

PROHIBITIONS

104. Horace occasionally employs the archaic form of prohibition, consisting of the imperative with *ne*: 1, 28, 23 *ne parce harenae*, 'spare not the sand.'

Occasionally a circumlocution is employed: 1, 9, 13 *fuge quærere*, 'avoid asking'; 1, 38, 3 *mitte sectari*, 'give up hunting.'

INFINITIVE

105. The 'historical' infinitive is found but once in the *Epodes*, not in the *Odes*: *Epod.* 5, 84 *puer iam non . . . lenire verbis impias*, 'the boy no longer tries to move the wretches by words.'

106. The 'exclamatory' infinitive is found but twice in the *Epodes*, not in the *Odes*: *Epod.* 8, 1 *rogare te*, etc., 'the idea of your asking!'; 11, 11 f. *contrane lucrum nil valere candidum | pauperis ingenium?* 'to think that against mere gold the purity of a poor man's character has no power!'

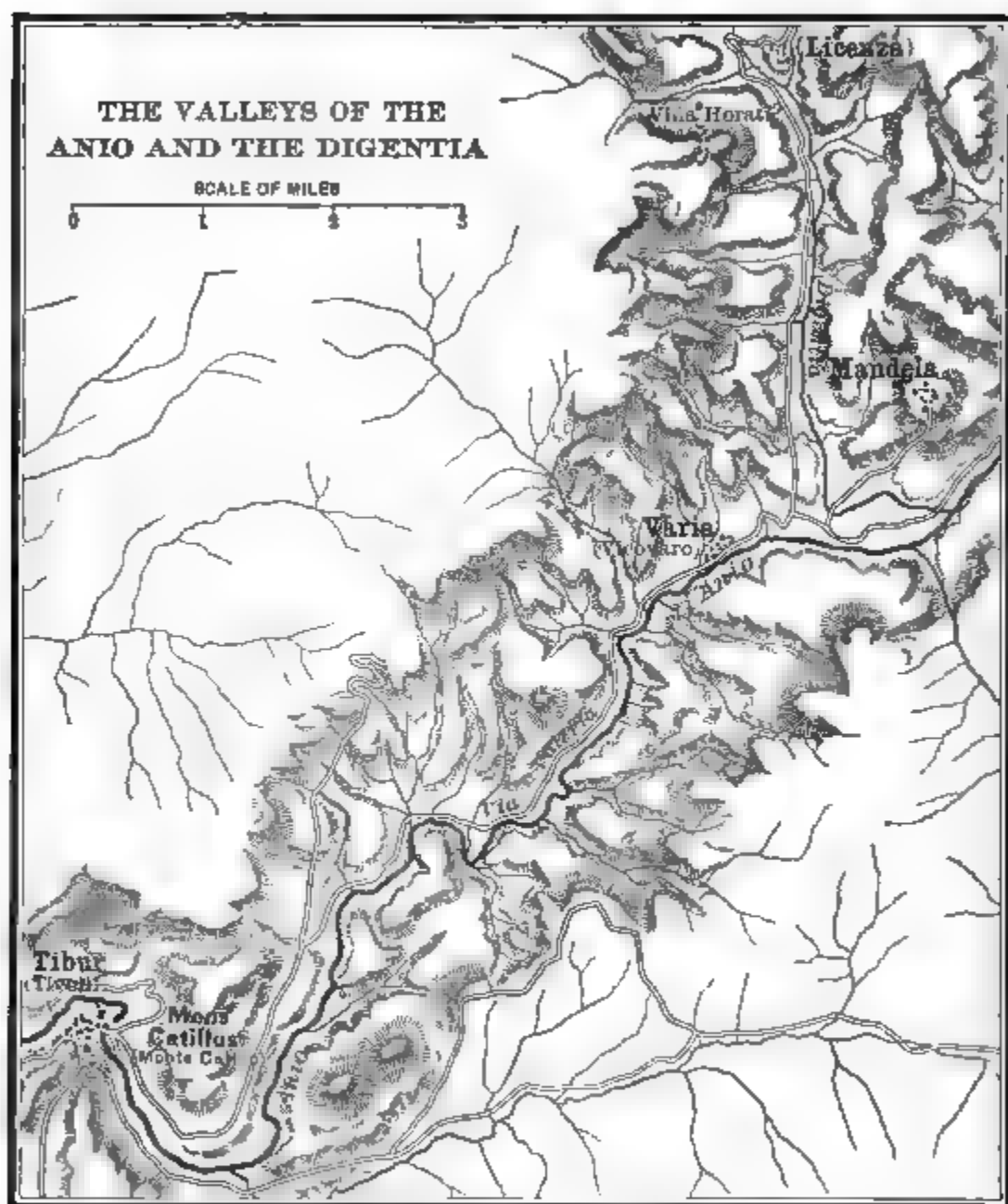
107. The infinitive of purpose is found occasionally: 1, 2, 7 f. *pecus egit altos | visere montis*, 'he drove the flock to visit the high mountains'; 1, 12, 2 *quem sumis celebrare?* 'whom dost thou take to celebrate in song?'; 1, 26, 1 ff. *tristitiam et metus | tradam protervis in mare Creticum | portare ventis*, 'gloom and fear will I give to the bold winds to carry to the Cretan sea'; *Epod.* 16, 16 *malis carere quaeritis laboribus*, 'you seek to escape,' etc.

108. The infinitive is used with a large variety of adjectives to complete their meaning: 1, 3, 25 *audax omnia perpeti*, 'with courage to endure all'; 1, 10, 7 *callidum . . . condere*, 'skilled to hide'; 1, 15, 18 *celerem sequi*, 'swift in pursuit'; 1, 35, 2 *praesens . . . tollere*, 'with power to raise'; 3, 21, 22 *segnes nodum solvere*, 'slow to undo the knot'; 4, 12, 19 *spes donare novas largus*, 'generous in giving new hope'; etc.

109. The passive infinitive is also used as a verbal noun in the ablative: 1, 19, 8 *lubricus adspici*, 'dazzling'; 4, 2, 59 *niveus videri*, 'white in appearance.'

THE PARTICIPLE

110. The future active participle is often used to express purpose, readiness or ability, and prophecy, being equivalent to a clause: 1, 35, 29 *iturum Caesarem*, 'Caesar, who proposes to go'; 2, 6, 1 *Septimi, Gadis aditure mecum*, 'Septimius, thou who art ready,' etc.; 4, 3, 20 *O mutis quoque piscibus donatura cycni . . . sonum*, 'O thou who couldst give,' etc.; 2, 3, 4 *moriture Delli*, 'Dellius, who art doomed to die.'



HORATI CARMINA

LIBER PRIMVS

I

This ode forms the prologue to the three books of lyrics published by Horace in 23 B.C. After the first two lines addressed to Maecenas, which virtually dedicate the whole collection to him, Horace rehearses the various interests of men, that at the end he may present his own ambition. 'Some men seek fame in athletic games or in politics (3-8), others have lower aims — riches, ease, war, or hunting (9-28); but as for me, I have the loftiest aim of all, Maecenas — to wear the ivy wreath and be the Muse's dear companion (29-34).' The ode was clearly written after the collection was fairly complete; that is, not long before the actual publication. Metre, 53.

Maecenas atavis edite regibus,
o et praesidium et dulce decus meum :

1. **Maecenas**: for Maecenas' position at Rome and Horace's relations with him, see Intr. 5. — **atavis**: *ancestors*, in a general sense, in apposition with *regibus*. — **edite regibus**: Maecenas was descended from an ancient line of princes of the Etruscan city of Arretium. Horace and his contemporaries emphasize the contrast between their patron's noble birth and the equestrian rank he preferred to keep at Rome. Cf. 3, 16, 20 *Maecenas, equitum decus*

and note; 3, 29, 1 *Tyrrhena regum progenies*; S. 1, 6, 1 ff.; Prop. 4, 9, 1 *Maecenas, eques Etrusco de sanguine regum*. This habit is referred to by Martial 12, 4, 1 f. *quod Flacco Varioque fuit summoque Maroni* | *Maecenas atavis regibus ortus eques*.

2. **o et**: monosyllabic interjections are ordinarily not elided. Intr. 42. — **praesidium . . . decus**: not merely a formal compliment, for there is a warmth in the second half of the expression that is com-

Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
collegisse iuvat metaque fervidis
5 evitata rotis, palmaque nobilis
terrarum dominos evehit ad deos;
hunc, si mobilium turba Quiritium

parable to the feeling expressed in *Epod.* 1. Cf. the more formal phrase 2, 17, 3f. *Maecenas, mearum | grande decus columnaque rerum*; also *Epist.* 1, 1, 103 *rerum tutela mearum*. Vergil makes a similar acknowledgment of his obligation, *G.* 2, 40f. *o decus, o famae merito pars maxuma nostrae, | Maecenas*. Horace's phrase proved a striking one and is frequently adopted by later writers.

3 ff. Note how Horace secures variety in the expressions by which he designates the various classes: **sunt quos**, **hunc**, **illum**, etc. He has also arranged his typical examples with care, contrasting one aim in life with the other, and in each case bringing out the point which would be criticised by one not interested in that particular pursuit.

— **sunt quos . . . iuvat**: equivalent to **aliquos iuvat**. Cf. v. 19 **est qui**. The indicative with this phrase defines the class, rather than gives its characteristics. — **curriculo**: from *curriculus*, *chariot*. — **Olympicum**: *i.e.* at the great games held every four years at Olympia in Elis. Yet Horace probably uses the adjective simply

to make his statement concrete. Cf. note to v. 13. He is speaking here of athletic contests in general.

4. **collegisse**: *to have raised in a cloud*. Cf. *S.* 1, 4, 31 *pulvis collectus turbine*. — **meta**: the turning post at the end of the *spina*, which was the barrier that ran through the middle of the circus, and round which the horses raced. See Schreiber-Anderson's Atlas, pl. 31, 1 and 2, for illustrations of the race course.

5. **evitata**: *just grazed*. The skill of the charioteer was shown in making as close a turn as possible about the *meta* without meeting disaster. — **palmaque**: equivalent to **quosque palma**. The palm, which was the regular prize for the Olympic victor from the time of Alexander, was adopted by the Romans about 293 B.C. Livy 10, 47, 3 *translato e Graecia more*. — **nobilis**: with active meaning, modifying **palma**, *the ennobling*.

6. **dominos**: in apposition with **deos**. The victory exalts the victors to heaven, where dwell the rulers of the world. Cf. 4, 2, 17 f. *quos Elea domum reducit | palma caelestis*.

7 ff. Political ambition. — **hunc**: sc. *iuvat*. — **mobiliū**: *fickle*; cf.

10

certat tergemini tollere honoribus ;
illum, si proprio condidit horreo
quicquid de Libycis verritur areis.
Gaudentem patrios findere sarculo
agros Attalicis condicionibus
numquam demoveas, ut trabe Cypria
Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare ;

Epist. 1, 19, 37 *ventosa plebs*. — *tergemini*: the three necessary steps in the republican *cursus honorum*, the curule aedileship, praetorship, and consulship.

9f. *proprio*: with *quicquid*, referring to the avarice which is frequently connected with great wealth. For the expression, cf. 3, 16, 26 f. *si quicquid arat impiger Apulus | occultare meis dicere horreis*. — *Libycis*: Africa, especially the fertile district of *Byzacium* about Utica and Hadrumetum, was at this time the granary of Rome; later, Egypt became the most important source of supply.

11 ff. A modest establishment, in contrast to a great estate in Africa. — *patrios*: in this word there is a suggestion of contentment and calm security, as in *Epod.* 2, 3 *paterina rura*. This security is again contrasted with the vicissitudes and perils of the sailor. — *sarculo*: a hoe used for stirring and loosening the soil. It suggests the small farm that Horace has in mind, too small to make it worth while to use a plow. — *Attalicis condicionibus*: *with the terms a prince could*

offer; *regis opibus*, says Porphyrio. The Attali, kings of Pergamon, were famous for their wealth. In 133 B.C. King Attalus III, at his death, bequeathed his kingdom, with his treasures, to the Romans. This lent to his name the glamour of wealth which we associate with the name of Croesus.

13. *demoveas*: potential subj., — *you could never allure*. — *trabe*: *bark*. The part is used for the whole. Cf. Verg. *A.* 3, 191 *vela damus vastumque cava trabe currimus aequor*; Catull. 4, 3 *natantis impetum trabis*. — *Cypria*: Horace regularly employs a particular rather than a general adjective, thereby making his expressions more concrete and his pictures more vivid — a device learned from the Alexandrine poets. So we have in the following verse *Myrtoum*, 15 *Icariis*, 19 *Massici*, 28 *Marsus*; and often.

14. *pavidus*: especially applicable to the landsman turned sailor. — *secet mare*: a common figure from Homer's day. Cf. *Od.* 3, 173 ff. *αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἡμῖν | δείξε, καὶ ἡνώγει πέλαγος μέσον εἰς Εὐβοίαν | τέμνειν*.

- 15 luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum
 mercator metuens otium et oppidi
 laudat rura sui: mox reficit ratis
 quassas, indocilis pauperiem pati.
 Est qui nec veteris pocula Massici
 20 nec partem solido demere de die
 spernit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
 stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae.
 Multos castra iuvant et lituo tubae
 permixtus sonitus bellaque matribus
 25 detestata. Manet sub Iove frigido

15 ff. Against the struggles of the sea, the trader sets the peaceful quiet of his native country town; yet it has this roseate hue for him only when he is in the midst of danger.

16 f. *oppidi rura*: 'the country districts surrounding the village in which he was born.'—*mox*: his fear quickly passes, and he returns to his old pursuit of money getting.

18. *pauperiem*: a life of small estate; not to be confused with *egestas* or *inopia*. Cf. 1, 12, 43 f. *saeva paupertas et avitus apto | cum lare fundus*, also Sen. *Epist.* 87, 40 *non video quid aliud sit paupertas quam parvi possessio*.—*pati*: with *indocilis*. Intr. 108.

19 ff. Between the merchant (15–18) and the soldier (23–25) is inserted an example of the man who gives himself over to a life of ease and enjoyment, to cups of good old wine and the noonday siesta.—*Massici*: a choice wine from Mt. Massicus, on the southern border

of Latium.—*solido . . . die*: *uninterrupted, unbroken*; i.e. for such strenuous men as the merchant or the soldier, who give their days to trade or arms. Cf. Sen. *Epist.* 83, 3 *hodiernus dies solidus est: nemo ex illo quicquam mihi eripuit*.

21 f. *stratus*: a middle participle,—*stretching his limbs*, etc. Intr. 84.—*sacrae*: for the fountain heads of streams were the homes of the water divinities. Cf. Sen. *Epist.* 41, 3, *magnorum fluminum capita veneramur, . . . coluntur aquarum calentium fontes*.

24 ff. *matribus*: dat. with *detestata*; *abhorred*. Cf. *Epod.* 16, 8 *parentibusque abominatus Hannibal*.—*manet*: equivalent to *pernoctat*.—*sub Iove*: *under the sky*. Jupiter is often used by the poets for the phenomena of the sky. Cf. Enn. *Epich. Frg.* 6 M. *istic est is Iupiter quem dico; quem Graeci vocant | derem, qui ventus est et nubes, imber postea | atque ex imbre*

venator tenerae coniugis immemor,
 seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus,
 seu rupit teretis Marsus aper plagas.
 Me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium
 30 dis miscent superis; me gelidum nemus
 Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
 secernunt populo, si neque tibus
 Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia
 Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.
 35 Quod si me lyricis vatibus inseres,
 sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

frigus, ventus post fit, aer denuo.
 —teneræ: young.

28. teretis: stout, close twisted.

29. me: note the emphatic position of this word here and in the following verse. Against the background of other men's aims, Horace now places his own ambition.—doctarum...frontium: i.e. of poets, the σοφοὶ αἰδοί, taught by the Muses.—hederæ: sacred to Bacchus, on whose protection and favor the poets depend. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 3, 25 *prima feres hederæ victricis præmia*, and Verg. *E.* 7, 25 *pastores, hedera nascenti* ~~hædæ~~ *hædæ poetam*.

30. miscent: make me one with. Cf. Pind. *Isth.* 2, 28 f. Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς | ἄλσος· ἱν' ἀθανάτοις Αἰνῆ-σιδάμουν | παῖδες ἐν τιμαῖς ἐμειχθεν.

32 f. secernunt: set apart. The poet must rise superior to common folk and common things to fulfill his sacred office.—Euterpe...Polyhymnia: Horace follows the Greeks of the classical period in not

ascribing to each muse a special department of literature or learning.

34. Lesboum: Lesbos was the home of Alcaeus and Sappho, Horace's chief models among the earlier Greek lyricists.

35 f. vatibus: applied to poets as inspired bards. Horace may mean specifically the nine great lyric poets of Greece. vates was the earliest word for poet among the Romans, but was displaced by the Greek *poeta* until the Augustan period. Cf. Verg. *A.* 6, 662 *quique pii vates et Phoebæ digna locuti*.—sublimi feriam, etc.: a proverbial expression from the Greek τῇ κεφαλῇ ψάγειν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Cf. Ovid *Met.* 7, 61 *vertice sidera tangam*, and Ausonius' imitation of Horace, 3, 5, 52 P. *tunc tangam vertice caelum*. Also Herrick's 'knock at a star with my exalted head,' and Tennyson's lines, *Epilogue*, 'Old Horace? "I will strike," said he, | "The stars with head sublime."'

2

‘We have been terrified enough with snow and hail, with lightning and with flood, portents that show Heaven’s wrath and threaten ruin to our impious state. What god will come and save us? Apollo? Venus? Mars? or Mercury? Aye, thou art already here. Remain long among us, enjoy triumphs, the name of father and of chief; check and punish the Medes, divine leader Caesar.’

While the first ode of the collection dedicates the poems to Maecenas, the second is a declaration of loyalty and devotion to the emperor. The first six strophes review the portents that followed on the murder of Julius Caesar. Cf. Porphyrio’s comment on the opening words, — *post occisum C. Caesarem, quem Cassius et Brutus aliique coniurati interfecerunt, multa portenta sunt visa. Haec autem omnia vult videri in ultionem occisi principis facta et poenam eorum, qui bella civilia agere non desinebant.* With v. 25 Horace turns from the sins of the Romans to the means of help. The following three strophes call on Apollo, Venus, and Mars in turn to save their people. Finally, v. 41 ff., Horace appeals to Mercury, who has taken on an earthly form, that of the emperor. The ode culminates with v. 49 ff., the direct appeal to Octavian; but the identification of Octavian with Mercury is not fully announced until the last word of the ode.

The choice of the gods invoked was undoubtedly determined by the subject of the ode. Apollo was the patron divinity of the Julian gens; his first and only temple at Rome to the time of the one built by Augustus was dedicated in 431 B.C., by Cn. Julius (Livy 4, 29); the members of the gens sacrificed to him at Bovillae, according to an ancient rite, *lege Albana* (C.I.L. 1, 807), and Octavian believed that the god had especially favored him at the battle of Actium. Cf. Prop. 5, 6, 27 ff., *cum Phoebus linquens stantem se vindice Delon | . . . adstitit Augusti puppim super et nova flamma | luxit in obliquam ter sinuato facem.* Verg. A. 8, 704, *Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo.* Venus, *mater Aeneadum*, as *genetrix* was the especial protectress of Julius Caesar. Augustus is himself called (C. S. 50), *clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis.* Mars is naturally appealed to as the father of Romulus’ people. The final identification of the emperor is especially interesting, for it bears on the social and economic relations of the times. Under Octavian, with the restoration of peace, trade improved and prosperity returned, so that nothing could be more natural than to regard the man who was bringing this about as the incarnation of the god of trade.

The Pompeian dedicatory inscriptions quoted by Kiessling admirably

illustrate the growth of this identification, at least in the Campanian city. In three of these records (*C.I.L.* 10, 885–887), the first two of which can be dated 14 B.C., the persons attached to the cult of Mercury are called *ministri Mercurii Maiae*; then no. 888, of uncertain date, has *ministri Augusti Mercuri Maiae*; and finally nos. 890–910, beginning with 2 B.C., have only *ministri Augusti*. Later, the conception of Augustus as identical with Apollo prevailed.

The date of composition falls between the return of Octavian from the East in 29 B.C. (cf. v. 49, *magnos — triumphos*) and Jan. 13th, 27 B.C., when his imperium was renewed, and he received the new title, Augustus. The most probable date is late in 28 B.C., when Octavian's suggestion of giving up his power (Dio C. 53, 4, 9) may well have awakened fears of the return of civil strife. Metre, 69.

Iam satis terris nivis atque dirae
grandinis misit pater, et rubente
dextera sacras iaculatus arcis
terrui urbem,

5 terruit gentis, grave ne rediret
saeculum Pyrrhae nova monstra questae,

1 ff. the repetition of -is is striking and may suggest the hiss of the storm. Cf. *Il.* 21, 239, *κρύπτων ἐν δίνῃσι βαθείῃσιν μεγάλῃσι*. Snow and hail are not unknown at Rome in winter, but an especially severe storm might well pass for a portent. — *dirae*: *portentous*, with both *nivis* and *grandinis*, marking them as *prodigia*. The word is especially used of things of bad omen. — *pater*: used absolutely, *the all-father*. Cf. 3, 29, 43 ff. *cras vel atra | nube polum pater occupato | vel sole puro*. — *rubente dextera*: *his red right hand*; i.e. glowing with the thunderbolt. Cf. Pind. *O.* 9, 6 *Δία . . . φοινικοστερόπαν*.

3. *iaculatus*: transitive, *striking at*. — *arcis*: specifically the two heights of the Capitoline hill, on the northern one of which was the arx proper, on the southern the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; hence *sacras*. However, Horace may mean in general the summits of Rome's seven hills. Cf. Verg. *G.* 2, 535 *septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces*.

4 f. *terrui . . . terruit*: note the anaphora by which the sentences are connected. Cf. 2, 4, 3 ff. *serva Briseis niveo colore | movit Achillem; | movit Aiace*. Intr. 29. — *gentis*: *mankind*.

6. *saeculum Pyrrhae*: i.e. the deluge from which Pyrrha with

omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos
visere montis,

10 piscium et summa genus haesit ulmo,
nota quae sedes fuerat columbis,
et superiecto pavidae natarunt
aequore dammae.

Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis
litore Etrusco violenter undis

her husband Deucalion alone escaped to repeople the earth. For the story see Ovid *Met.* 1, 260 ff. — nova: new, and therefore *strange*.

7. omne: of every sort. — Proteus: the shepherd of the sea who tends Neptune's flocks. Cf. Verg. *G.* 4, 395 *armenta et turpis pascit sub gurgite phocas*.

8. visere: infinitive of purpose. Intr. 107. Cf. 1, 26, 1 ff. *tristitiam et metus | tradam protervis in mare Creticum | portare ventis*.

9. summa ulmo: cf. Ovid *Met.* 1, 296 *hic summa piscem deprendit in ulmo*. The description may have been suggested by Archilochus. *Frg.* 74, 6 ff. *μηδείς ἔθ' ὑμῶν εἰσορῶν θαυμαζέτω, | μηδ' ὅταν δελφῖσι θῆρες ἀνταμείψωνται νομόν | ἐνάλιον καί σφιν θαλάσσης ἡχέεντα κύματα | φίλτερ' ἡπείρου γένηται*, 'No one among you should ever be surprised at what he sees, not even when the wild beasts take from the dolphins a home in the sea and the echoing waves of the deep become dearer to them than the firm mainland.'

11 f. superiecto: sc. *terris*; *the* *whelming flood*.

13 f. vidimus: *i.e.* with our own eyes, in the period between Caesar's murder and the date of writing. — flavum: the fixed epithet of the Tiber. Cf. 1, 8, 8 *cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere*, and 2, 3, 18 *villaque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit*; also Verg. *A.* 7, 31 *multa flavus arena*. It has been adopted by the modern poets. — retortis . . . undis: a glance at the map of Rome will show that the bend in the river above the island would naturally throw the Tiber's stream, in time of flood, over the Velabrum between the Capitol and Palatine, and thence into the Forum proper. — litore: abl. of separation. litus is frequently equivalent to *ripa*; *e.g.* Verg. *A.* 8, 83 *viridique in litore conspicitur sus*. The popular belief, however, seems to have been, that such floods were caused by waves or tides driving back the waters of the river. Cf. Ovid *Fast.* 6, 401 f. *hoc, ubi nunc fora*

15

ire deiectum monumenta regis
templaque Vestae,

Iliae dum se nimium querenti
iactat ultorem, vagus et sinistra
labitur ripa Iove non probante u-
xori^{us} amnis.

20

*sunt, udae tenuerè paludes, | amne
redundatis fossa madebat aquis.*

15 f. **deiectum**: supine of purpose. — **monumenta regis**: the Regia, the official residence of the pontifex maximus, built according to tradition by Numa. Cf. Ovid *Fasti* 6, 263 f. *hic locus exiguus, qui sustinet atria Vestae, | tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae*, and Plut. *Numa* 14, ἐδείματο πλησίον τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ τὴν καλουμένην Ῥηγίαν. — **templaque Vestae**: at the foot of the Palatine. For an account of the temple and of the house of the Vestal Virgins, the atrium Vestae, see Lanciani, 'Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries,' p. 134 ff. The foundations of this temple are only twenty-six feet above the mean level of the Tiber. That the ancient accounts of the flooding of the Forum are not exaggerated was shown by the flood of December, 1900, which rose quite as high as the one Horace describes. There is an especial significance in the mention of the Regia and the temple of Vesta, for they were both connected with the most ancient and sacred traditions

of the Romans. Within the temple of Vesta were the *pignora imperii* on whose preservation, it was believed, the Roman empire's existence depended. With the plurals **monumenta** and **templa**, cf. 3, 27, 75 *tua nomina* for *nomen*.

17. **Iliae**: the mother of the twins Romulus and Remus. Horace here, as in 3, 3, 32, according to Porphyrio, follows the older tradition represented by Ennius. This made Ilia the daughter of Aeneas and sister of Iulus, from whom the Julii derived their line. After the birth of the twins she was thrown into the Tiber in punishment for her infidelity to her Vestal vows, but was saved by the river god and became his wife. — **nimium**: with **ultorem**; the river is over eager to avenge his bride's complaints. Cf. **uxorius**, below.

19 f. **ripa**: ablative denoting the route taken, *over the bank*. But cf. *Epod.* 2, 25 *ripis*, *between the banks*. — **u||xorius**: Intr. 69. Horace here follows the example of Sappho, who frequently treated the third and fourth verses of this strophe as one, e.g. *Frg.* 2, 3 f. ἄδν φωνεύ||σας ὑπακούει; 11 f.

Audiet civis acuisse ferrum,
quo graves Persae melius perirent,
audiet pugnas vitio parentum
rara iuventus.

25 Quem vocet divum populus ruentis
imperi rebus? Prece qua fatigent
virgines sanctae minus audientem
carmina Vestam?

ἐπιπρόμ || βεισι δ' ἄκοναι. Other examples in Horace are 1, 25, 11 *inter* || *lunia*; 2, 16, 7 *ve* || *nale*. In the third and fourth books this is avoided. For the careful arrangement of the words in 18–20, see Intr. 21.

21–24. Civil strife with its disastrous results: 'the second generation will hear with wonder the story of their fathers' wanton wickedness.' Notice that the strophe forms a single group of words that must be understood as a whole. Intr. 24. By the suspension of the subject of the principal verbs until the end, Horace produces a highly dramatic effect.

— *civis*: in the sense of fellow citizens, 'that citizens sharpened sword against citizens.' — *graves Persae*: the troublesome enemies of the Romans. Crassus' disaster at Carrhae was still unavenged, and the Roman standards had not yet been returned. — *perirent*: imperfect subj. of unfulfilled obligation, *ought rather to have perished*.

23 f. *vitio parentum rara iuventus*: the civil wars of 48–31 B.C. cost so many lives that Italy did not recover its population for many generations, if indeed it ever did. Cf. Verg. *G.* 1, 507 f. *squalent abductis arva colonis | et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem*; also Lucan 7, 398 f. *crimen civile videmus | tot vacuas urbes*, and 535 ff. A modern parallel is the depopulation of France by the Napoleonic wars.

25 ff. Horace now turns from the portents sent by the gods, outraged at the nation's crime, to seek for some divine aid; for against divine wrath human resources are of no avail. — *ruentis*: *rushing to ruin*. This strong word is a favorite with Horace. Cf. *Epod.* 7, 1 *quo, quo scelesti ruitis* and n. — *rebus*: dat. with *vocet*, *call to aid*. — *fatigent*: *importune*.

27. *minus audientem*: a euphemistic phrase. Vesta turns a deaf ear to the supplicating prayers (*carmina*) of the Virgins, for she is offended at the murder of Caesar, the pontifex maximus, who

30 Cui dabit partis scelus expiandi
Iuppiter? Tandem venias, precamur,
nube candentis umeros amictus,
augur Apollo;
sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens,
quam Iocus circum volat et Cupido;
35 sive neglectum genus et nepotes
respicis, auctor,
heu nimis longo satiate ludo,
quem iuvat clamor galeaeque leves
acer et Marsi peditis cruentum
40 voltus in hostem;

had charge of her worship. Cf. Ovid *Fast.* 3, 698 f. *meus fuit ille sacerdos. | sacrilegae telis me petiere manus.* With *minus* intimating a negative, cf. *Epod.* 5, 61 f. *minus | venena Medea valent;* and the similar use of *male* 1, 9, 24 *male pertinaci.*

29. *partis*: equivalent to *munus*, a technical word corresponding to our 'part' in play, 'role,' etc. — *scelus*: the sin of fratricide.

30. *tandem*: 'since prayers have so long been of no avail.' Cf. *neglectum genus*, v. 35 below. — *precamur*: parenthetical; *venias* is grammatically independent of it.

31 f. *nube . . . numeros amictus*: the Homeric *νεφέλη εἰλυμέρος ὤμων*, *Il.* 5, 186; for the construction of a middle participle with the acc., cf. 1, 22 *stratus*. Intr. 84. — *Apollo*: for the sig-

nificance of Apollo here, see introductory note to this ode.

33 f. *sive tu mavis*: sc. *venias*. — *Erycina ridens*: *laughing* (φιλομυεΐδης) *queen of Eryx*. — *Iocus*: *Mirth*, the Greek Κῶμος, with Cupido the regular companion of Venus. Cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 113 *Amor, Voluptas, Venus, Venustas, Gaudium, Iocus, Lūdus*. — *circum*: postpositive. Intr. 33.

35 f. *neglectum*: cf. n. to v. 30. — *auctor*: the appeal is to Mars as the author of the Roman race.

37. *ludo*: 'the cruel sport of war.' Cf. 2, 1, 3 *ludumque Fortunae*.

38 ff. For the skillful arrangement of the words, see Intr. 21, 24. — *clamor*: *the battle shout*. — *lēves*: *smooth*. — *Marsi*: the Marsi were a mountain folk living in central Italy, east of Rome. They were noted for their bravery. Cf. Verg. *G.* 2, 167 *genus acre virum*,

sive mutata iuvenem figura
 ales in terris imitaris almae
 filius Maiaie, patiens vocari
 Caesaris ultor,

45 serus in caelum redeas diuque
 laetus intersis populo Quirini,
 neve te nostris vitiis iniquum
 ocior aura

 tollat; hic magnos potius triumphos,
 50 hic ames dici pater atque princeps,

Marsos. Appian, *B. C.* 1, 46 has the proverb οὔτε κατὰ Μάρσων οὔτε ἄνευ Μάρσων γενέσθαι θρίαμβον.

41. *mutata* . . . *figura*: *i.e.* 'putting off the divine for a human figure.' — *iuvenem*: this word gives the first hint of the point toward which Horace has been working, that is, that Octavian is a god come down to save the state.

42. *imitaris*: *dost take on the form of.*

43 f. *vocari*: dependent on *patiens*. Intr. 108. — *Caesaris ultor*: Octavian declared his chief object in life to be the punishment of Caesar's murderers. Suet. *Aug.* 10 *nihil convenientius ducens quam necem avunculi vindicare. Mon. Anc.* 1, 9 *qui parentem meum interfecerunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie*, and also Ovid *Fast.* 3, 709 f. *hoc opus, haec pietas,*

haec prima elementa fuerunt | Caesaris, ulcisci iusta per arma patrem.

45 f. This possibly gained especial significance from Octavian's sickness in 28 B.C. Some years later Ovid offered a similar prayer, *Met.* 15, 868 ff. *tarda sit illa dies et nostro serior aevo, | qua caput Augustum, quem temperat, orbe relicto | accedat caelo.*

47. *vitiis*: modifying *iniquum*.

49. *triumphos*: *i.e.* new and greater triumphs than the three celebrated in 29 B.C. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 22 *triumphos tris egit, Delmaticum, Actiacum, Alexandrinum, continuo triduo omnes.* A triumph over the troublesome Orientals (v. 51) was at this time especially desired.

50. *pater atque princeps*: not official designations, but titles of reverence and loyalty, — *pater* as divine protector, cf. 1, 18, 6 *Bacche pater*; *princeps* as the first citizen.

neu sinas Medos equitare inultos
te duce, Caesar.

Augustus was officially named *pater patriae* in 2 B.C.

51. **Medos**: the Orientals are *Persae* (v. 22), **Medi**, or **Parthi** indifferently in Horace.—**equitare**: *ride on their raids*.

52. The last line contains the climax of the ode. It is Caesar who divinely leads and protects the state. With the position of the last two words cf. 4, 6, 43 f. *reddidi carmen docilis modorum | vatis Horati*.

3

A *propempticon*, or farewell poem, to Vergil. ‘Ship that bearest Vergil to Greece, deliver him safe, I pray. (1–8.) That mortal was overbold who first dared tempt the sea (9–24); of old man stole fire from Heaven and by that act brought on himself disease and early death (25–33); he essays the air itself and does not shrink to pass the very bars of Acheron (34–36). Nothing is safe from him; through pride and sin he still calls down the wrath of Jove.’ Cf. with this the ill-natured propempticon to Mevius, *Epod.* 10.

Vergil’s only voyage to Greece, so far as we know, was in 19 B.C., four years after the first three books of the Odes were published. Therefore we must believe that a visit to Athens was at least planned by him before 23 B.C. or that Horace is here addressing another Vergil than the poet. The second alternative can be rejected. No other Vergil could have been called by Horace *animae dimidium meae* without receiving mention elsewhere, save possibly 4, 12, 13. For Horace’s relation to Vergil, see Intr. 5; Sellar’s *Virgil*, pp. 120–126.

It is remarkable that after the first eight verses which contain the propempticon proper, Horace, who was usually so tactful, should quickly revert to the old philosophical and theological notions of the sinfulness of human enterprise without observing how out of place such ideas were here, when Vergil was just about to show such enterprise by undertaking this voyage.

It is probable that the form of the propempticon was suggested by a poem of Callimachus, of which two verses are preserved. *Frg.* 114 *ἄ ναῦς, ἃ τὸ μόνον φέγγος ἐμὶν τὸ γλυκὺ τᾶς ζωᾶς | ἄρπαξας, ποτί τυ Ζανὸς ἱκνεῦμαι λιμενοσκόπῳ*. . . . ‘O ship that hast snatched from me my life’s one sweet light, in name of Zeus, guardian of harbors, I

beseech.' . . . Statius' poem, *Silvae* 3, 2, is chiefly an expansion of Horace's verses. In modern poetry we may compare Tennyson's verses, *In Memor.* 9, 'Fair ship, that from the Italian shore | Sailest the placid ocean plains | With my lost Arthur's loved remains, | Spread thy full wings, and waft him o'er.' Metre, 71.

Sic te diva potens Cypri,
 sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera,
 ventorumque regat pater,
 obstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga,
 5 navis, quae tibi creditum
 debes Vergilium, finibus Atticis

1. **sic**: expressing the condition on which the prayer is made: 'on this condition may Heaven and the winds favor thee, namely, that thou deliverest Vergil safe.' Here **sic** is expanded in the optative subj. **reddas** and **serves**. Often an imperative or a conditional sentence follows. *E.g.* *Epist.* 1, 7, 69 f. '*sic ignovisse putato | me tibi, si cenas hodie mecum.*' Similarly in English, *e.g.* Tennyson, *In Memor.* 17, 'So may whatever tempest mars | Mid-ocean, spare thee, sacred bark;' and the formula in oaths, 'So help me God.'

—**diva potens Cypri**: Κύπρου μεδέουσα, *Venus marina*, the protectress of sailors. Cf. 3, 26, 5. 9; 4, 11, 15. For the objective genitive with **potens**, cf. 1, 6, 10 *lyrae musa potens*; 1, 5, 15 *potenti maris deo*, *i.e.* Neptune.

2. Castor and Pollux. It was believed that the presence of these two guardians of sailors was attested by the electrical phenome-

non known to us as St. Elmo's fire. Cf. 1, 12, 27 ff.; Lucian *Navig.* 9 ἔφασκεν ὁ ναύκληρός τινα λαμπρὸν ἀστέρα Διοσκούρων τὸν ἕτερον ἐπικαθίσαι τῷ καρχησίῳ καὶ κατευθῆναι τὴν ναῦν; Stat. *Silv.* 3, 2, 8 ff. *pro-ferte benigna | sidera et antemnae gemino considite cornu | Oebalii fratres*; and in English, Macaulay, *Regillus*, 'Safe comes the ship to haven | Through billows and through gales, | If once the great Twin Brethren | Sit shining on the sails.' On coins a star is represented over the head of each of the heroes.

3 f. **ventorum . . . pater**: Aeolus, who is *Od.* 10, 21 ταμίης ἀνέμων. —**Iapyga**: the wind blowing from the west or northwest across Iapygia, as Apulia was anciently called, was favorable for voyages to Greece.

5 ff. Vergil is like a treasure intrusted to the ship, and therefore owed by it. Note the emphasis on **Vergilium** before the caesura.—

reddas incolumem precor
 et serves animae dimidium meae.
 Illi robur¹ et aes triplex
 10 circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
 commisit pelago ratem
 primus, nec timuit praecipitem Africum
 decertantem Aquilonibus
 nec tristis Hyadas nec rabiem Noti,
 15 quo non arbiter Hadriae
 maior, tollere seu ponere volt freta.

finibus: dat. with reddas, *deliver*.
 — **animae dimidium meae:** a proverbial expression of affection. Cf. 2, 17, 5 *te meae partem animae*; Meleager *Anth. Pal.* 12, 52 Νότος, ὦ δυσέρωτες, | ἡμῖν μέν ψυχᾶς ἄρπασεν Ἀνδράγαθον.

9 ff. Horace now turns to reflections on the rash presumption of mankind that seem to us extravagant; but man's attempt to subdue the sea may well have been thought impious in a primitive age. These verses reflect this ancient feeling. See intr. n. Cf. Soph. *Antig.* 332 ff. πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ, κοῦδέν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει. | τοῦτο καὶ πολιοῦ πέραν πόντου χειμερίῳ νότῳ | χωρεῖ, περιβρυχίοισιν | περῶν ὑπ' οἰδμασιν. 'Wonderful things there are many, and yet none more wonderful than man. This marvelous creature, driven by the stormy south wind, crosseth even the gray sea, passing half buried through the wave that would engulf him.'

— **robur et aes triplex:** trans-

lated by Herrick 'A heart thrice wall'd with Oke, and brasse, that man | Had, first, durst plow the Ocean.' Horace was imitated by Seneca *Med.* 301 ff. *audax nimium qui freta primus | rate tam fragili perfida rupit | terrasque suas post terga videns | animam levibus credidit auris*.

12 f. **praecipitem Africum:** the headlong *Afric wind*, the Sirocco; called *Epod.* 16, 22 *protervus*. — **Aquilonibus:** dative; cf. 1, 15 *luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum*.

14. **tristis Hyadas:** bringing rain and so 'gloomy.' Cf. Verg. *A.* 3, 516 *pluviasque Hyadas*, and of the Auster (Notus) *G.* 3, 279 *pluvio contristat frigore caelum*. — **Noti:** equivalent to *Auster*.

15. **arbiter:** ruler; cf. 3, 3, 5 *Auster | dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae*.

16. **ponere:** equivalent to *componere*. Observe the use of the single *seu* in an alternative statement.

Quem mortis timuit gradum,
 qui siccis oculis monstra natantia,
 qui vidit mare turbidum et
 20 infamis scopulos Acroceraunia?
 Nequiquam deus abscidit
 prudens Oceano dissociabili
 terras, si tamen impiae
 non tangenda rates transiliunt vada.
 25 Audax omnia perpeti
 gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.
 Audax Iapeti genus
 ignem fraude mala gentibus intulit.

17. *mortis . . . gradum*: for the conception of death as stalking abroad and pursuing men, cf. v. 33 below; 1, 4, 13; 3, 2, 14.

18. *siccis oculis*: *i.e.* 'unterrified.' A man who is not moved by the awful terrors of the sea, lacks all reverence for Heaven's power and is prepared to defy the very gods. Cf. Milton, 'Sight so deform what heart of oak could long | Dry eyed behold?'

20. *Acroceraunia*: the long promontory on the northwest of Epirus, which had an ill repute (*infamis scopulos*) with sailors because of the number of shipwrecks there.

21 f. *nequiquam*: emphatic, *in vain it is that*, etc. — *prudens*: *in his wise providence*. — *dissociabili*: *estranging*; active as 1, 1, 5 *nobilis*.

23 f. *impiae . . . rates*: the ships are reckless of Heaven's displeasure, since they bound over the water which God has ordained should not be touched (*non tangenda . . . vada*).

25 ff. Three examples of human recklessness follow the general statement: the theft of fire (27–33), Daedalus' attempt on the air (34 f.), Hercules' invasion of Hades (36). — *audax . . . audax*: emphatic anaphora, Intr. 28c. — *perpeti*: dependent on *audax*. Intr. 108. — *ruit*: *rushes at random*, characterizing the recklessness of man, as *transiliunt* does in v. 24. — *vetitum*: sc. *a diis*.

27. *Iapeti genus*: Prometheus. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 50 ff. κρύψε δὲ πῦρ · τὸ μὲν αὐτὶς εὐς παῖς Ἰαπετοῖο | ἔκλεψ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς πάρα μητιόεντος | ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι, λαθὼν Δία τερπικέρανον. For

30 Post ignem aetheria domo
subductum macies et nova febrium
terris incubuit cohors,
semotique prius tarda necessitas
leti corripuit gradum.
Expertus vacuum Daedalus aera
35 pennis non homini datis;
perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor.
Nil mortalibus ardui est;
caelum ipsum petimus stultitia, neque

genus, equivalent to 'child,' 'descendant,' cf. *S.* 2, 5, 63, *ab alto demissum genus Aenea*, i.e. Octavian; and collectively of the Danaids, *C.* 2, 14, 18 *Danai genus*.

29 ff. *post ignem* . . . *subductum*: after the theft of; *subductum* is equivalent to *subreptum*.

—*macies et nova febrium* . . . *cohors*: the legend has been preserved to us by Serv. ad Verg. *E.* 6, 42 (*ob Promethei furtum*) *irati di duo mala immiserunt terris, febres et morbos; sicut et Sappho et Hesiodus memorant*.

—*incubuit*: brooded over. Cf. *Lucr.* 6, 1143 (he is speaking of sickness), *incubuit tandem populo Pandionis omnei*.

32 f. Note the cumulative force of *semoti* and *tarda*: 'inevitable death was far removed and slow in its approach.' Before Pandora came men lived, according to *Hesiod Op.* 90 ff. *πρώην μὲν ξώεσκον ἐπὶ χθονὶ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων | νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ*

χαλεποῖο πόνοιο, | νούσων τ' ἀργαλέων, αἵτ' ἀνδράσι κῆρας ἔδωκαν. — *prius*: with both *semoti* and *tarda*. *Intr.* 100.

—*necessitas leti*: the Homeric *Μοῖρα θανάτοιο*.

34 f. Cf. Verg. *A.* 6, 14 f. *Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna, | praeperitibus pennis ausus se credere caelo*. — *non* . . . *dati*: i.e. *non concessis*, implying that wings were forbidden man.

36. *perrupit*: for the quantity, see *Intr.* 35. — *Herculeus labor*: for the use of the adjective, cf. 2, 12, 6 *Herculeae manu* and the Homeric *βίη Ἡρακλείη*.

37. *ardui*: steep and hard, modifying *nil*. Cf. *Petron.* 87 *nil est tam arduum, quod non improbitas extorqueat*.

38. In his blind folly man attempts to emulate the Giants, who with brute force tried to storm the citadel of Heaven. Cf. 3, 4, 49–60, 65, and nn.

per nostrum patimur scelus

40

iracunda Iovem ponere fulmina.

40. *iracunda* . . . *fulmina*: the transference of an epithet from the person to the action or thing is not uncommon. Cf. 1, 12, 59 *inimica fulmina*; 1, 15, 33 *ira-*

cunda classis Achillei; *Epod.* 10, 14 *impiam Aiakis ratem*. Intr. 99.

— *ponere*: equivalent to *deponere*.

4

‘The earth is freed from winter’s thrall; Venus leads her bands, the Nymphs and Graces dance; Vulcan stirs his fires (1–8). Now crown thy head with myrtle and with flowers, now sacrifice to Faunus. Life is glad and lures one on to hope (9–12). But Death is near at hand, my Sestius; to-morrow Pluto’s dreary house will shut thee in; no delight in wine or love is there (13–20).’

To L. Sestius Quirinus, probably a son of the P. Sestius whom Cicero defended. He was a partisan of Brutus, and very likely Horace’s acquaintance with him began with the time of their service together in Brutus’ army. Later Sestius accepted the new order of things without giving up his loyalty to Brutus’ memory, and was appointed consul suffectus (July-December, 23 B.C.) by Augustus. Cf. Dio Cass. 53, 32.

Few of the odes are more skillfully planned. The underlying thought is one expressed by Horace in many forms: ‘the world is pleasant and offers many joys; take them while you may, for death is near.’ With this Book 4, Ode 7 should be compared. The verses are apparently based on a Greek model, possibly the same as that of Silentarius in the *Anth. Pal.* 10, 15; or did Silentarius follow Horace? ἤδη μὲν ζεφύροισι μεμυκότα κόλπον ἀνοίγει | εἶαρος εὐλείμων θελξινόοιο χάρις· | ἄρτι δὲ δουρατέοισιν ἐπωπλίσθησε κυλίνδροις | ὁλκὰς ἀπ’ ἡρόνων ἐς βυθὸν ἐλκομένη. ‘Now the grace of charming spring which brings back fair meadows opens the bay that roars under Zephyrus’ blasts. Only yesterday did the merchantman glide on the rollers, drawn down from the land to the deep.’ The date of composition is uncertain, but cf. v. 14 and n. which may fix the date at 23 B.C. The position here gives Sestius, who was consul in 23, the fourth place in honor after Maecenas, Augustus, and Vergil. Metre, 81.

Solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni,
trahuntque siccas machinae carinas,
ac neque iam stabulis gaudet pecus aut arator igni,
nec prata canis albicant pruinis.

5 Iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente luna,
iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes

1. **solvitur** . . . **hiems**: 'the fetters of winter are broken.' Cf. 1, 9, 5 *dissolve frigus*, and the opposite Verg. *G.* 2, 317 *rura gelu claudit hiems*. — **vice**: *succession*. So *Epod.* 13, 7 *benigna* . . . *vice*. Note the alliteration in *vice veris et Favoni*; cf. v. 13. — **Favoni**: the harbinger of spring (*Zephyrus*). Cf. Lucret. 5, 737 *veris praenuntius* . . . *graditur Zephyrus*.

2. **siccas**: from their winter position, high on the shore.

3 ff. The whole world feels the pleasant change — the beasts, man, and the very divinities themselves. •

5 f. The contrast between Venus and her band of Nymphs and Graces on the one side with glowing Vulcan and his workmen on the other is carefully planned. Venus is here the goddess of regeneration, at whose coming the world wakes into life. Cf. Lucret. 1, 5 ff. *te, dea, te fugiunt venti, te nubila caeli | adventumque tuum, tibi suavis daedala tellus | submittit flores, tibi rident aequora ponti | placatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum*.

— **Cytherea**: of *Cythera*. For this use of a local adjective modi-

fying the name of a divinity, cf. 3, 4, 64 *Delius et Patareus Apollo*. — **choros ducit**: the concept is probably borrowed from the Hom. *Hymn to Apollo*, 194 ff. αὐτὰρ εὐπλόκαμοι Χάριτες καὶ εὐφρονες ὦραι | Ἀρμονίη θ' Ἥβη τε Διὸς θυγάτηρ τ' Ἀφροδίτη | ὀρχεῦντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχουσai. — **imminente luna**: the night when no mortals are abroad, is the gods' favorite time to visit the earth. Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1, 1, 94 f. *sub nocte silenti, | cum superis terrena placent*. — **iunctae**, etc.: *hand in hand*; cf. 4, 7, 5 f. *Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet | ducere nuda choros*. — **Gratiae**: Seneca *de Benef.* 1, 3 has given us an accurate description of the regular representation of the Graces in early painting and sculpture, *tres Gratiae sorores manibus implexis, ridentes, iuvenes et virgines, soluta ac pellucida veste*; in later art they are represented as nude, with their arms about one another's shoulders. Cf. Baumeister, pp. 375–6. — **decentes**: *comely*; the word is transferred to English poetry, e.g. Milton *Il Pens.* 'Over thy decent shoulders drawn.'

alterno terram quatiunt pede, dum gravis Cyclopum
Volcanus ardens visit officinas.

Nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto,
10 aut flore terrae quem ferunt solutae;
nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis,
seu poscat agna sive malit haedo.

Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
regumque turris. O beate Sesti,
15 vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat incohare longam.
Iam te premet nox fabulaeque manes

7. *alterno . . . quatiunt pede*: i.e. in rhythmic dance; cf. I, 37, 1 *nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero | pulsanda tellus*. — *gravis*: equivalent to *laboriosas*, *toilsome*. — *ardens*: 'glowing in the light of the fire.' Some editors prefer to regard it as a transferred epithet which would naturally belong to *officinas*: with the verse, cf. Apoll. Rhod. 3, 41 ἄλλ' ὃ μὲν ἐς χαλκῶνα καὶ ἄκμονας ἦρι βεβήκει.

9 f. *nitidum*: *shining*, with unguent; cf. 2, 7, 7 *nitentis . . . capillos*. — *caput impedire myrto*: *entwine*. Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4, 3, 68 *crinem mollibus impeditus ulvis*. — *terrae . . . solutae*: cf. v. 1, above.

11 f. *Fauno*: the kindly god of Nature whose festival fell on Feb. 12. — *agna . . . haedo*: instrumental abl.

13. Note the *p* five times repeated. — *pulsat pede*: for the custom of knocking with the foot, cf. Plaut. *Most.* 453 *pulsando pedibus paene confregi hasce ambas (fores)*, also Callim. *Hymn to*

Apollo, 3 καὶ δῆπου τὰ θύρετρα καλῶ ποδὶ Φοῖβος ἀράσσει.

14. *turris*: the houses of the great (*regum*) with many stories, in contrast to the one-story dwellings (*tabernas*) of the poor. — *beate*: *blessed by Fortune*; with almost concessive force. Some wish to see in this word a reference to Sestius' consulship.

15. *summa brevis*: *brief span*. — *incohare*: used properly, as here, of entering on an undertaking that cannot be fulfilled. Cf. Sen. *Epist.* 101, 4 *o quanta dementia est spes longas incohantium*.

16 f. *iam*: *presently*. With the future *iam* often expresses confidence in the result; cf. 2, 20, 13 f. *iam Daedaleo notior Icaro | visam gementis litora Bosphori*. — *fabulae*: in apposition with *manes*, *the spirits of the dead*. The phrase is imitated by Pers. 5, 151 f. *cinis et manes et fabula fiet*; cf. also Callim. *Epig.* 13, 3 f. ὦ Χαρίδα, τί τὰ νέρθε; πολὺ σκότος. αἱ δ' ἄνοδοι τί; | ψεύδος. ὃ δὲ Πλούτων; μῦθος. ἀπωλό-

et domus exilis Plutonia ; quo simul mearis,
nec regna vini sortiēre talis
nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere, quo calet iuventus
20 nunc omnis et mox virgines tepebunt.

μεθα. 'Charidas, what is below? Deep darkness. But what of the passages upward? All a lie. But Pluto? Only talk. Then we're lost.' — *exilis*: *unsubstantial, dreary*. — *simul*: equivalent to *simul ac*, as regularly in Horace.

18 ff. In the last three verses Horace calls back the pleasure of wine and love, and reminds his friend that he must enjoy these delights while he may. Death

will soon deprive him of them. — *regna vini*: the presidency of the drinking bout was determined by lot or by dice. Cf. n. to 2, 7, 25 *quem Venus arbitrum dicet bibendi?* — *talis*: properly 'knuckle bones' which would ordinarily fall on the longer sides; the highest throw (*iactus Veneris*) was when each rested on a different side. — *Lycidan*: a name invented for the occasion.

5

To a coquette: 'What slender innocent enjoys thy smiles to-day, Pyrrha? Alas, he does not yet suspect that thou art fickle as the sea; thy smile lures on his love to shipwreck. Thank Heaven I escaped: in Neptune's temple I hang my dripping clothes as votive gift.'

The perfected simplicity of this ode can best be tested by an attempt to alter or transpose a word, or by translation. Even Milton's well-known version is inadequate. Metre, 73.

Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa
perfusus liquidis urget odoribus
grato, Pyrrha, sub antro?
Cui flavam religas comam,

1 f. *gracilis* . . . *puer*: *stripling*. — *multa* . . . *in rosa*: *lying on many a rose*; as in Sen. *Epist.* 36, 9 *in rosa iacere*. Cf. also *Eleg. in Maec.* 1, 94 f. *victor potitur in umbra, | victor odorata dormiat inque rosa*; Cic. *de Fin.*

2, 65 *potantem in rosa*. — *urget*: *courts*.

3 f. *Pyrrha*: Πυρρῶά, a fictitious name, 'the auburn haired'; cf. *flavam*. — *religas*: *i.e.* in a simple knot. Cf. 2, 11, 23 *in comptum Lacaenae | more comam religata*

5 simplex munditiis? Heu quotiens fidem
 mutatosque deos flebit et aspera
 nigris aequora ventis
 emirabitur insolens,
 qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurea,
 10 qui semper vacuum, semper amabilem
 sperat, nescius aurae
 fallacis. Miseri quibus

nodum. With the question, cf. *Anth. Pal.* 5, 227 εἰπὲ τίνι πλέξεις ἔτι βόστρυχον, ἢ τίνι χεῖρας | φαιδρυνέεις ὀνύχων ἀμφιτεμῶν ἀκίδα; 'Tell me for whom wilt thou still dress thy curling locks, or for whom wilt thou make fair thy hands and trim thy nails' sharp points?' (*i.e.* so that they may not be used to scratch in case of a quarrel between thee and thy new lover. Cf. v. 17 f. of the following ode).

5 f. *simplex munditiis*: *plain in thy neatness* (Milton). *munditia* denotes a natural beauty and elegance that is unadorned; Pyrrha has chosen studied simplicity in dress. — *fidem*: sc. *mutatam* from the following *mutatos*; therefore equivalent to *perfidiam*, as the context shows. — *mutatos deos*: *i.e.* *adversos*; cf. Prop. 1, 1, 8 *cum tamen adversos cogor habere deos*.

7. *nigris*: belonging naturally with *aequora*, as 'darkened' by the gusts of wind, but here transferred to *ventis*; cf. 1, 3, 40, *iracunda fulmina*. Intr. 99. The comparison of a coquette to the sea is very old. Cf. Semonides of Amor-

gos, *Frg.* 7, 37 ff. ὥσπερ θάλασσα πολλάκις μὲν ἀτρεμῆς | ἔστηκ' ἀπήμων, χάρμα ναύτησιν μέγα, | θέρεος ἐν ὥρῃ, πολλάκις δὲ μαίνεται | βαρυκτύποισι κύμασιν φορευμένη. | ταύτῃ μάλιστα ἔοικε τοιαύτῃ γυνή. 'As the sea oftentimes is motionless and harmless, a mighty joy to sailors in the summer season, and yet oftentimes doth rage, driven to and fro with loud roaring billows. This sea it is that such a woman is most like.'

8. *emirabitur*: found only here in classical Latin. The prefix is intensive. Cf. the Greek ἐκθαυμάζειν. — *insolens*: used here in its original meaning of *unaccustomed*, *poor innocent*.

9. *credulus aurea*: note the force of the juxtaposition; cf. 1, 6, 10 *tenuēs grandia*. — *aurea*: a common designation of perfection; cf. the Homeric χρυσή Ἀφροδίτη. In present-day English it is seldom applied to persons, but cf. Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, 4, 2 'Golden lads and girls All must | As chimney sweepers, Come to dust.' 10 f. *vacuum*: fancy free, to the world but not to him. — *aurae*:

intemptata nites : me tabula sacer
votiva paries indicat uvida

15

suspendisse potenti
vestimenta maris deo.

turning to the metaphor of v. 6 f. ;
cf. 3, 2, 20 *arbitrio popularis aurae*.

13. *intemptata nites*: still
keeping up the figure of the glit-
tering sea, untried and treacher-
ous. Cf. Lucret. 2, 559 *subdola*
cum ridet placidi pellacia ponti.
— *tabula sacer*, etc.: the ancient
custom of dedicating in the shrine
of a divinity a picture (*tabula*) can
still be seen in Roman Catholic
churches, especially in Europe.
Shipwrecked sailors sometimes
hung up the garments in which
they had been saved as offerings

to Neptune, Isis, or other divinity.
Cf. Verg. *A.* 12, 766 ff. *forte*
sacer Fauno foliis oleaster amaris |
hic steterat, nautis olim venerabile
lignum, | servati ex undis ubi
figere dona solebant | Laurenti
divo et votas suspendere vestes.
For votive offering of various
sorts, see Schreiber's Atlas,
pl. 15.

— *potenti . . . maris deo*: cf. 1,
3, 1 *diva potens Cypri*; 6, 10
imbellisque lyrae Musa potens;
and Plaut. *Trin.* 820 *salsipotenti*
. . . *Neptuno*.

6

‘Varius, who vies with Homer, shall sing thy exploits, Agrippa.
The deeds of heroes and tragic themes are all too great for my weak
powers; I will not detract from Caesar’s fame and thine. Only wine
and lovers’ quarrels are suited to my verse.’

Addressed to M. Vipsanius Agrippa, Augustus’ ‘Minister of War’
and greatest general; he defeated Sextus Pompey at Naulochus, 36 B.C.,
and was commander at Actium, 31 B.C. Apparently Agrippa, or
Agrippa’s friends, had suggested to Horace that he celebrate the gen-
eral’s exploits in verse. This ode is Horace’s skillful apology and should
be compared with similar expressions, 2, 12; 4, 2, 27 ff.; *S.* 2, 1, 12;
Epist. 2, 1, 250 ff. In each case, however, while declaring his unfitness
for the task, he describes deeds of war, yet briefly, not in an elabo-
rate poem. Here by his manner of declining, he pays Agrippa the
highest tribute as well as compliments his friend Varius. The date
of composition is after 29 B.C., when Agrippa returned from the East.
Metre, 72.

Scriberis Vario fortis et hostium
victor Maeonii carminis alite,
quam rem cumque ferox navibus aut equis
miles te duce gesserit.

5 Nos, Agrippa, neque haec dicere nec gravem
Pelidae stomachum cedere nescii

1. *scribēris*: expressing assurance; different from *laudabunt alii* of the following ode, which is equivalent to *others may praise* (if they wish). The real subject of the verb is 'thy brave deeds and victories,' (*tu*) *fortis et hostium victor*. — Vario: frequently taken as abl. abs. with *alite* to avoid the apparent solecism of the abl. of agent without *ab*. This is as unnecessary as to change *alite* to the dat. *aliti*. For the abl. of agent without *ab*, cf. *Epist.* 1, 19, 2 *carmina . . . quae scribuntur aquae potioribus*. Intr. 96.

Lucius Varius Rufus was the intimate friend of Horace and Vergil. With Plotius Tucca he was the latter's literary executor, and at Augustus' command published the *Aeneid* in 17 B.C.; before the publication of the *Aeneid* he was reckoned the chief epic poet of the period. *S.* 1, 10, 43 f. *forte epos acer | ut nemo Varius ducit*. His posthumous fame, however, seems to have been based on his tragedies, especially his *Thyestes*. Quint. 10, 1, 98, *Varii Thyestes cuilibet Graecarum comparari potest*. He brought out this play

not long after 31 B.C., according to the didascalia, *Thyesten tragoediam magna cura absolutam post Actiacam victoriam Augusti ludis eius in scena edidit. Pro qua fabula sestertium deciens accepit*.

2. *Maeonii carminis alite*: i.e. the equal of Homer, who, according to tradition, was born at Smyrna in Lydia, anciently called Maeonia; cf. 4, 9, 5 *Maeonius Homerus*. — *alite*: for 'bird' in the sense of 'poet,' cf. 4, 2, 25 *Dircaeum . . . cycnum* of Pindar, and 2, 20 entire.

3. *quam rem cumque*: this tmesis is common in Horace (e.g. 1, 7, 25 *quo nos cumque feret . . . fortuna*) and not unknown in prose: Cic. *pro Sest.* 68 *quod iudicium cumque subierat*.

5 ff. With the following, cf. the Anacreontic verses 23 θέλω λέγειν Ἀτρείδας, | θέλω δὲ Κάδμον ᾄδειν. | ἃ βάρβιτος δὲ χορδαῖς | ἔρωτα μῶνον ἤχῃ. — *nos*: the plural of modesty, so v. 17 below. The singular of the first person is ordinarily used in the lyric poems, the plural being found only here and 2, 17, 32; 3, 28, 9; *Epod.* 1, 5. For the emphatic position, see Intr. 22. — *haec*: 'thy

nec cursus duplicis per mare Vlixei
nec saevam Pelopis domum

10 conamur, tenues grandia, dum pudor
imbellisque lyrae musa potens vetat
laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas
culpa deterere ingeni.

Quis Martem tunica tectum adamantina
digne scripserit aut pulvere Troico

exploits,' taking up *quam rem*
. . . gesserit, above. — *dicere*:
sing, in contrast to *scribere*, v. 1,
used of epic composition. Cf.
loqui 3, 25, 18. — *gravem Pelidae*
stomachum: *i.e.* the *Iliad*; *Il.* 1,
1 *μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω*
Ἀχιλῆος. — *cedere nescii*: Intr.
108. Cf. Verg. *A.* 12,527, *nescia*
vinci pectora.

7. *cursus duplicis* . . . *Vlixei*:
the *Odyssey*; *Od.* 1, 1 *ἄνδρα μοι*
ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς
μάλα πολλὰ | πλάγχθη. Horace
humorously shows his own unfit-
ness for epic song by translating
μῆνις by *stomachus*, *bile*, and
πολύτροπος by *duplex*, *wily*. —
Vlixei: from a (non-existent)
nominative *Vlixeus*, formed after
the Sicilian dialectic *Οὐλίξης*,
᾽Ολίξης.

8. *saevam Pelopis domum*: Tan-
talus, Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes,
Agamemnon, Orestes, etc. The
bloody history of this house was
a favorite tragic theme; we have
still extant Æschylus' Trilogy,
Sophocles' *Electra*, Euripides'

Orestes, *Electra*, and two *Iphige-
nias*. The verse is a compliment
to Varius' genius for tragedy, as
vv. 5–7 are to his position as epic
poet.

9. *tenues grandia*: in agree-
ment with *nos* and *haec*. Notice
the forceful juxtaposition. Cf. 1,
3, 10 *fragilem truci*; 1, 5, 9 *credu-
lus aurea*; 1, 15, 2 *perfidus hospi-
tam*. — *lyrae musa potens*: cf. n.
to 1, 5, 15f.

11. With great skill Horace
associates Agrippa's glory with
that of Caesar. — *egregii*: Hor-
ace applies this adjective only
to Caesar among the living, and
among the dead to Regulus, 3, 5,
48 *egregius exul*. — *deterere*: *to*
impair, properly 'to wear off the
edge.'

13ff. The answer to this ques-
tion is of course, 'only a second
Homer, a Varius.' The following
themes are naturally selected from
the *Iliad*. — *tunica tectum ada-
mantina*: cf. the Homeric *χαλ-
κοχίτων, χαλκεοθώραξ, χάλκεος*
ἄρης. — *pulvere* . . . *nigrum*: cf. 2,

15

nigrum Merionen aut ope Palladis
Tydiden superis parem?

20

Nos convivias, nos proelia virginum
sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium
cantamus vacui, sive quid urimur,
non praeter solitum leves.

1, 22 *duces non indecoro pulvere sordidos*. — **Merionen**: charioteer to Cretan Idomeneus and one of the foremost fighters of the Greeks. — **ope Palladis . . . parem**: Horace had in mind *Il.* 5, 881–884 (Ares speaks) ἡ νῦν Τυδέος υἱόν, ὑπερφίαλον Διομήδεα, | μαργαίνειν ἀνέηκεν ἐπ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι. | Κύπριδα μὲν πρῶτον σχεδὸν οὔτασε χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ, | αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτῷ μοι ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος.

17 ff. Contrasted with the tragic

and epic themes are drinking bouts and lovers' quarrels, fit subjects for Horace's *imbellis lyra*. — **nos . . . nos**: for the anaphora, see *Intr.* 28c. — **sectis . . . unguibus**: and hence harmless. Cf. the Greek verses quoted on 1, 5, 3. — **vacui**: *fancy free*; 1, 5, 10. — **sive quid**, etc.: for the omission of the first *sive*, cf. 1, 3, 16. — **urimur**: *i.e.* with love. — **non praeter solitum**: *i.e.* 'after my usual fashion.' — **leves**: with the subject of *cantamus*.

7

This ode is very similar in construction to the fourth, in which the first twelve verses are given to the praise of spring, the remainder of the ode to the exhortation to enjoy life while we may; in this, 1–14 celebrate the charm of Tivoli, 15–32 urge the value of wine as a releaser from care. This second part again falls naturally into two divisions: the general exhortation (15–21), and the concrete example (21–32). The connection between the two parts of the ode is so slight that as early as the second century some critics regarded them as separate poems, and they so appear in some manuscripts, but that the two parts belong together was recognized by Porphyrio, who notes on v. 15 *hanc oden quidam putant aliam esse, sed eadem est; nam et hic ad Plancum loquitur, in cuius honore et in superiori parte Tibur laudavit. Plancus enim inde fuit oriundus*.

L. Munatius Plancus, who is here addressed, had a varied military and political career. He was a legate of Julius Caesar; in 43 B.C. as

governor of Gaul he founded Lugdunum (Lyons) and Augusta Rauracorum (Augst near Basel); he was later the friend of Antony and was intrusted by him with the government of Asia and Syria, but Antony's relations with Cleopatra drove him in 31 B.C. to take sides with Octavian. It was he who proposed in January, 27 B.C., that Octavian be given the title Augustus. Of Horace's relations to him we know nothing beyond what this ode tells us, and as little of the special occasion for the poem. The date of composition is uncertain, but verses 26 ff. were hardly written before 29 B.C., for they seem to show acquaintance with Verg. *A.* 1, 195 ff. Metre, 77.

Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon aut Mytilenen
aut Epheson bimariseve Corinthi
moenia vel Baccho Thebas vel Apolline Delphos
insignis aut Thessala Tempe.

1. *laudabunt alii*: *others may praise* (if they will); the antithesis is *me*, v. 10. For this use of the future, cf. Verg. *A.* 6, 847 ff. *excudent alii spirantia mollius aera . . . tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.* — *claram*: *famous*, or possibly *sunny*. So Lucan 8, 247 f. *claramque reliquit | sole Rhodon*. The adjective belongs equally to *Rhodon*, *Mytilenen*, *Epheson*, which are closely connected by *aut . . . aut*, the following places being more loosely attached by *ve . . . vel . . . vel*. Rhodes (Catull. 4, 8 *Rhodum . . . nobilem*) famous for its commerce, its schools of rhetoric and philosophy, and its art; Mytilene, capital of Lesbos, the city of Alcaeus and Sappho (Cic. *de lege agr.* 2, 40 *urbs et natura et situ et descriptione aedificiorum et pulchritudine in primis nobilis*): Ephesus, the chief city of the

province of Asia. The same three cities are named by Mart. 10, 68. 1 f. *cum tibi non Ephesos nec sit Rhodos aut Mitylene, | sed domus in vico, Laelia, patricio.*

2. *bimaris*: ἀμφιθάλασσος. Corinth, destroyed by Mummius 146 B.C., restored by Julius Caesar, from its position on the isthmus enjoyed two harbors, Cenchreae on the Saronic and Lechaenum on the Corinthian Gulf. Cf. Ovid. *Trist.* 1, 11, 5 *bimarem . . . Isthmon*.

3 f. Bacchus according to one tradition was the child of Theban Semele. Cf. 1, 19, 2 *Thebae . . . Semelae puer*. Delphi was the seat of Apollo's greatest shrine on the mainland of Greece. — *insignis*: modifying both *Thebas* and *Delphos*. — *Tempe*: acc. neuter plur.; famed for its beauty. Cf. Eurip. *Troad.* 214 ff. τὰν Πηνειοῦ σεμνὰν χώραν, | κρηπὶδ' Οὐλύμπου

- 5 Sunt quibus unum opus est intactae Palladis urbem
 carmine perpetuo celebrare et
 undique decerptam fronti praeponere olivam ;
 plurimus in Iunonis honorem
 aptum dicet equis Argos ditisque Mycenae.
 10 Me nec tam patiens Lacedaemon
 nec tam Larisae percussit campus opimae
 quam domus Albunae resonantis

καλλίσταν, | ὄλβῳ βρίθειν φάμαν
 ἤκουσ' | εὐθαλεῖ τ' εὐκαρπείᾳ. 'I
 have heard that Peneus' sacred
 district, Olympus' footstool most
 fair, is weighted with great fortune
 and goodly increase.'

5 f. **sunt quibus**: cf. 1, 1, 3
sunt quos. — **unum opus**, etc.: *only
 task, i.e.* poets who devote them-
 selves to singing in 'unbroken
 song' (**perpetuo carmine**) the glo-
 rious history of Athens, the city
 of the virgin goddess (**intactae
 Palladis**). Some critics take **per-
 petuo carmine** to mean epic in
 contrast to lyric poetry, but this
 is not necessary.

7. The poets sing of all the leg-
 end and history that belongs to
 Athens, and so their work is com-
 pared to a garland made of olive
 leaves plucked from every part (**un-
 dique**) of the city. The same com-
 parison was made by Lucret. 1,
 928 ff. *iuvatque novos decerpere
 flores | insignemque meo capiti
 petere inde coronam, | unde prius
 nulli velarint tempora musae*. —
olivam: sacred to Athena.

8. **plurimus**: *many a one*. — in

Iunonis honorem, etc.: cf. *Il.* 4, 51 f.
 (Hera speaks) ἦτοι ἐμοὶ τρεῖς μὲν
 πολὺ φίλταταί εἰσι πόλῃες, | Ἄργος
 τε Σπάρτη τε καὶ εὐρυάγνια Μυκῆνη.

9. **aptum . . . equis Argos**, etc.:
Il. 2, 287 ἀπ' Ἄργεος ἵπποβότοιο,
 7, 180 πολύχρυσος Μυκῆνη. See
 Tsountas and Manatt, *The Myce-
 nean Age*, Index, s.v. *gems*, for the
 treasure found at Mycenae.

10. **me**: emphatic contrast to
alii v. 1. Cf. 1, 1, 29. — **patiens**:
hardy. Cf. Quintil. 3, 7, 24 *minus
 Lacedaemone studia litterarum
 quam Athenis honores merebun-
 tur, plus patientia ac fortitudo*.

11. **Larisae . . . campus opimae**:
 Thessaly was famed in antiquity
 for its grain. Cf. *Il.* 2, 841 Λάρισα
 ἐριβώλαξ.

12 ff. Tibur (Tivoli), beloved in
 antiquity as in modern times for
 its beauty, is situated on the edge
 of the Sabine Mountains, overlook-
 ing the Campagna. The Arno
 flows round the foot of Mount Ca-
 tillus (Monte Catillo still) and then
 falls to the valley in a number
 of beautiful cascades and rapids
 (therefore **Albunae resonantis**;

et praeceps Anio ac Tiburni lucus et uda
mobilibus pomaria rivis.

15 Albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo
saepe Notus neque parturit imbris
perpetuos, sic tu sapiens finire memento
tristitiam vitaeque labores
molli, Plance, mero, seu te fulgentia signis
20 castra tenent seu densa tenebit

Tiburis umbra tui. Teucer Salamina patremque

praeceps Anio). For Horace's affection for Tivoli, see Sellar p. 179 f. — **domus Albunae**: a grotto in which there was an ancient Italian oracle; hence the name of the last of the Sibyls. Cf. Verg. *A.* 7, 82 ff. *lucosque sub alta | consulit Albunae, nemorum quae maxuma sacro | fonte sonat.*

13 f. **Tiburni**: Tiburnus, grandson of Amphiaraus, the Argive seer; according to tradition he was banished with his brothers Coras and Catillus, and became with them the founder of Tibur. Cf. 2, 6, 5 *Tibur Argeo positum colono*. Catillus gave his name to the mountain behind the town; but was also associated with the town itself. Cf. 1, 18, 2 *circa mite solum Tiburis et moenia Catili*. — **lucus**: a sacred grove, distinguished from *nemus*, the more general word. — **uda mobilibus**, etc.: the Arno with its restless streams (*mobilibus rivis*) irrigated the adjoining orchards (*pomaria*). Cf. Prop. 5, 7, 81 *promosis Anio qua spumifer incubat arvis*.

15 f. The only connection between the preceding and that which follows is **Tiburis umbra tui**, v. 21. 'You and I love Tibur beyond all other places; the thought of that spot reminds me of thee; learn the lesson of an easy life wherever thou mayest be.' It must be acknowledged that the connection is very slight. We may have here in reality a combination of two 'fragments' which Horace never completed. Cf. introductory n. to 1, 28. — **albus Notus**: the south wind usually brought rain (*nubilus Auster*); but sometimes clearing weather (**albus**, λευκόνωτος), and wiped (**deterget**) the clouds from the sky. — **parturit**: breeds. Cf. 4, 5, 26 f. *quis (paveat) Germania quos horrida parturit | fetus*.

17. **perpetuos**: cf. v. 6 above. — **sapiens**, etc.: *be wise and remember*.

19. **molli**: *mellow*.

20. **tenent . . . tenebit**: notice change in tense.

21 ff. Again the connection with the preceding is slight, but the pointing of a general statement

cum fugeret, tamen uda Lyaeo
tempora populea fertur vinxisse corona,
sic tristis adfatus amicos :

25 'Quo nos cumque feret melior fortuna parente,
ibimus, o socii comitesque!
Nil desperandum Teucro duce et auspice Teucro;
certus enim promisit Apollo

(17–20) by a mythological illustration is a favorite device of Horace. This particular story is found only here: Teucer's father, Telamon, refused to receive him on his return from Troy, since he had failed to bring his brother, Ajax, with him; therefore Teucer sought a new home in Cyprus, where he founded a city, named after his birthplace. The tale was a familiar one from Pacuvius' tragedy, *Teucer*, which was much admired. Cf. *Frg.* 12 R. (which is a part of Telamon's reproach) *ségregare abs te aúsu's aut sine illo Salaminam ingredi, | néque paternum aspéctum es veritus, quom aétate exacta indigem | liberum lacerásti orbasti extínxti, neque fratris necis | néque eius gnati pdrvi, qui tibi in tutelam est tráditus?* Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 108 refers to the story, *itaque ad omnem rationem Teucris vox accommodari potest: 'Patria est, ubicumque est bene.'*

22 f. *cum fugeret*: when starting to exile. — *tamen*: 'in spite of his trouble.' — *Lyaeo*: the releaser, *Liber*, Λύαιος. — *pōpulea*: sacred to Hercules. Cf. Verg. *A.* 8, 276

Herculea bicolor . . . *pōpulus umbra*; Theocr. 2, 121 κρατὶ δ' ἔχων λεύκαν, Ἡρακλέος ἱερὸν ἔρνος. The appropriateness of Teucer's honoring Hercules at this time lies in the character of Hercules as a traveler (3, 3, 9 *vagus Hercules*) and leader (Xen. *Anab.*, 4, 8, 25 ἡγεμών), to whose protection Teucer might naturally intrust himself when starting on this uncertain journey. Furthermore it was in company with Hercules that Telamon took Troy (cf. Verg. *A.* 1, 619 ff.) and captured Hesione, who became Teucer's mother.

25. *quo . . . cumque*: cf. n. to 1, 6, 3. — *melior parente*: *kinder than my father*. Cf. Telamon's reproach quoted on v. 21 above.

27. *Teucro . . . Teucro*: note that the substitution of the proper name for *me* . . . *me* appeals to their loyalty. — *duce et auspice*: formed from the technical Roman phrase; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 21 *domuit autem partim ductu, partim auspiciis suis Cantabriam*.

28 f. The reason for his confidence. — *certus*: *unerring, true*,

ambiguam tellure nova Salamina futuram.

30 O fortes peioraque passi
mecum saepe viri, nunc vino pellite curas;
cras ingens iterabimus aequor.'

νημερτής.—ambiguam . . . Salamina: a Salamis to dispute the name (Wickham); i.e. when Salamis was named, one could not tell which was meant, the old or the new. Cf. Sen. *Troad.* 854 *hinc ambigua veram Salamina opponunt.*

30 ff. Cf. *Od.* 12, 208 ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ πώ τι κακῶν ἀδαήμενές εἰμεν,

Verg. *A.* 1, 198 f. *o socii, neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum, | o passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem.*—nunc: to-day, while yet you may.

32. ingens: boundless.—iterabimus: sail again. Cf. *Od.* 12, 293 ἦώθεν δ' ἀναβάντες ἐνήσομεν εὐρέι πόντῳ.

8

'Lydia, in Heaven's name, why wilt thou kill Sybaris with love? He no longer takes part in manly sports on the Campus Martius, but hides as did Achilles on the eve of Troy.'

The same theme—the weakening of a youth by love—was adapted by Plautus *Most.* 149 ff. from a Greek comedy, *cōr dolet, quōm scio, ut nūnc sum atque ut fui: | quō neque industrior dē iuventute erāt | . . . disco, hastis, pilā, cūrsu, armis, equō . . .* The date of composition is unknown. It is probably a study from the Greek, and is Horace's single attempt to write in the greater Sapphic stanza. Metre, 70.

Lydia, dic, per omnis
te deos oro, Sybarin cur properes amando

1. Lydia: (Λύδη) a common poetic name for the heroine in amatory poetry from the time of Antimachus; cf. 1, 13, 1; 25, 8.—per omnis te deos oro: the usual order in appeals. Cf. Ter. *And.* 538 *per te deos oro*; also in Greek, Soph. *Phil.* 468 πρὸς νῦν σε πατρός, . . . ἱκνοῦμαι.

2 f. Sybarin: the name is chosen to fit the effeminacy of the

youth. Cf. the Eng. 'Sybarite.'—cur properes, etc.: i.e. 'what possible motive can you have for ruining the boy so quickly?' The rhetorical form of the question, as well as its content, implies that Lydia is doing wrong; no answer is expected.—amando: in meaning equivalent to an abstract noun. Cf. *Epod.* 14, 5 *occidis saepe rogando*, 'by questioning.'

perdere, cur apricum
 oderit campum, patiens pulveris atque solis.
 5 Cur neque militaris
 inter aequalis equitat, Gallica nec lupatis
 temperat ora frenis?
 Cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere? Cur olivum
 sanguine viperino
 10 cautius vitat neque iam livida gestat armis
 bracchia, saepe disco,
 saepe trans finem iaculo nobilis expedito?

4. **campum**: the Campus Martius was the favorite place of exercise for the young Romans. — **patiens**: *when he once endured*. Sun and dust are the two tests of manly endurance. Cf. Symmach. *Or.* 1, 1 *ibi primum tolerans solis et pulveris esse didicisti*; Tacitus, *Hist.* 2, 99, thus describes the demoralized condition of the German troops in 69 A.D. *non vigor corporibus, non ardor animis, lentum et rarum agmen, fluxa arma, segnes equi; impatiens solis, pulveris, tempestatum*.

5 ff. Two centuries later Philostratus wrote *Epist.* 27 οὐχ ἵππον ἀναβαίνεις, οὐκ εἰς παλαιστράν ἀπαντᾷς, οὐχ ἡλίῳ δίδως σεαυτόν. — **militaris**: modifying **aequalis**, *with the martial youth of his own age*; i.e. in the exercises described 3, 7, 25 ff. *quamvis non alius flectere equum sciens | aequè conspicitur gramine Martio, | nec quisquam citus aequè | Tusco denatat alveo*. — **Gallica** . . . **ora**: equivalent to *ora equorum Gal-*

lorum. The best cavalry horses came from Gaul. — **lupatis** . . . **frenis**: bits with jagged points like wolf's teeth, serving the same purpose as the Mexican bit of the 'cowboy.' Cf. Verg. *G.* 3, 208 *duris parere lupatis*.

8. Swimming in the Tiber was a favorite exercise; cf. 3, 7, 27 quoted on v. 5 above, and Cic. *pro Cael.* 36 *habes hortos ad Tiberim, quo omnis inventus natandi causa venit*. For the adjective **flavum**, cf. n. to 1, 2, 13. — **olivum**: used by wrestlers to anoint the body. — **sanguine** . . . **viperino**: thought to be a deadly poison. Cf. *Epod.* 3, 6 *cruor viperinus*.

10. **livida**: with bruises received in his sports with discus and javelin. — **gestat**: notice the force of the frequentative. Cf. *equitat* v. 6. — **trans finem**: the winner with discus and javelin was he who threw farthest. Cf. Odysseus' throw *Od.* 8, 192 f. δ (δίσκος) δ' ὑπέρπτατο σήματα πάντων | ῥίμφι θίῳν ἀπὸ χειρός.

Quid latet, ut marinae
 filium dicunt Thetidis sub lacrimosa Troiae
 15 funera, ne virilis
 cultus in caedem et Lycias proriperet catervas?

13 ff. A post-Homeric legend told how Thetis, at the outbreak of the Trojan war, knowing the fate that awaited her son, Achilles, if he went to Troy, hid him in maiden's dress among the daughters of Lycomedes, king of Scyros. (Cf. Bion 2, 15 ff. *λάνθανε δ' ἐν κώραις Λυκομηδίσι μούνος Ἀχιλλεύς, | εἴρια δ' ἀνθ' ὅπλων ἐδιδάσκετο, καὶ χερὶ λευκᾷ | παρθενικὸν κόρον εἶχεν, ἐφαίνετο δ' ἡύτε κώρα.* 'But Achilles alone lay hid among the daughters of Lycomedes, and was trained to work in wools, in place of arms, and in his white hand held the bough of maidenhood, in semblance a maiden.' (Lang.)

Here he was discovered by Ulysses, who came in disguise as a peddler bringing wares intended to attract the attention of girls; there were also in his pack some weapons, by handling which Achilles betrayed himself. The story is told by Ovid *Met.* 13, 162 ff.; cf. Statius *Achilleis* 2, 44 f. The discovery is shown in two Pompeian wall paintings, one of which is reproduced in Baumeister, no. 1528.

—sub . . . funera: *on the eve of*; cf. *sub noctem*. —cultus: *dress*. —Lycias: the Lycians were the Trojans' chief allies against the army of the Greeks.

9

'The world is bound in the fetters of snow and ice. Heap high the fire to break the cold; bring out the wine. Leave all else to the gods; whate'er to-morrow's fate may give, count as pure gain. To-day is thine for love and dance, while thou art young.'

The first two strophes at least are based on an ode of Alcaeus of which we still have six verses; the setting only is Italian. Alc. *Frg.* 34 *ὔει μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐκ δ' ὀράνω μέγας | χείμων, πεπάγασιν δ' ὑδάτων ῥόαι. | . . . κάββαλλε τὸν χείμων', ἐπὶ μὲν τίθεις | πῦρ, ἐν δὲ κίρναις οἶνον ἀφειδέως | μέλιχρον, αὐτὰρ ἀμφὶ κόρσα | μαλθακὸν ἀμφι(βαλὼν) γνόφαλλον.* 'Zeus sends down rain, and from the sky there falls a mighty winter storm; frozen are the streams. Break down the storm by heaping up the fire; mix sweet wine ungrudgingly, and throw round thy head sweet lavender.' The last four strophes are apparently Horace's own. The theme is the same as that of *Epod.* 13.

The ode clearly suggested to Tennyson the lines, *In Memor.* 107. 'Fiercely flies | The blast of North and East, and ice | Makes daggers at the sharpen'd eaves, . . . But fetch the wine, | Arrange the board and brim the glass, || Bring in great logs and let them lie, | To make a solid core of heat; | Be cheerful-minded, talk and treat | Of all things ev'n as he were by.'

Thaliarchus (v. 8) is only a person of Horace's fancy, although the name was in actual use, as is shown by inscriptions. The ode is evidently a study and not an occasional poem; while it probably belongs to Horace's earlier attempts at lyric verse, the skill with which it is written has won admiration from all critics. Metre, 68.

Vides ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec iam sustineant onus
silvae laborantes, geluque
flumina constiterint acuto.

5 Dissolve frigus ligna super foco
large reponens, atque benignius

1. The point of view is apparently the neighborhood of Tivoli, from which Soracte can be seen some twenty miles to the west of north; while Soracte is the highest peak (2000 feet) visible from this vicinity, it is not ordinarily the most conspicuous mountain. Snow is seldom seen on it, and so Horace seems to choose this rare phenomenon to suggest extreme cold weather. — *ut*: interrogative. — *nive candidum*: cf. Macaulay, *Regillus*, 'White as Mount Soracte | When winter nights are long.'

3 f. *laborantes*: with the burden of the snow; cf. 2, 9, 7 f. where the high wind is the cause of the wood's distress, *Aquilonibus | querqueta Gargani laborant*. — *flumina*

constiterint: this degree of cold is not known to the Campagna. Horace here follows Alcaeus *πεπάγασιν δ' ὑδάτων ῥόαι*. — *acuto*: biting, sharp. Cf. Pind. *P.* 1, 38 f. *νιφόεσσ' Αἴτνα, πανέτης | χιόνος ὀξείας τιθήνα*, 'nurse of the biting snow the whole year through.'

5. *dissolve frigus*: cf. 1, 4, 1 *solvitur acris hiems*, and n. — *foco*: the common hearth in the middle of the atrium.

6. *reponens*: 'keeping up' the supply of wood; re- implying a duty to replace what the fire consumes; cf. *reddere*. — *benignius*: without stint, ἀφειδέως; the comparative is not opposed to the positive large in any sense, but is simply emphatic.

deprome quadrimum Sabina,
o Thaliarche, merum diota.

10 Permite divis cetera; qui simul
stravere ventos aequore fervido
deproeliantis, nec cūpressi
nec veteres agitantur orni.

Quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere, et
quem fors dierum cumque dabit lucro

7. **deprome**: *broach*. Sabine wine was but ordinary 'vin de pays' which would be well aged in four years. Horace means 'a roaring fire and good *vin ordinaire* will give us warmth and cheer.' Yet the age — four years — may have been a commonplace of poets; cf. Theoc. 7, 147 τετράενης δὲ πίθων ἀπελύετο κρατὸς ἄλειφαρ. 'And it was a four-year-old seal that was loosened from the mouth of the wine jars.' Likewise 14, 15 f. ἀνῶξα δὲ βίβλινον αὐτοῖς | εὐώδη, τετόρων ἐτέων, σχεδὸν ὡς ἀπὸ λανῶ. 'And I opened for them Bibline wine, four years old, fragrant almost as when it came from the wine press.' — **Thaliarche**: Θαλίάρχος; this suggests the master of the drinking bout, *arbiter convivii*. Cf. n. to 1, 4, 18. — **diota**: δίωτος; the two-handled amphora in which the wine was stored in the apotheca.

9 f. **cetera**: *all else*, in contrast to the present moment and its joys. Cf. *Epod.* 13, 7 f. *cetera mitte loqui; deus haec fortasse*

benigna | reducet in sedem vice, and Theog. 1047 f. νῦν μὲν πίνοντες τερπόμεθα, καλὰ λέγοντες. | ἄσσα δ' ἔπειτ' ἔσται, ταῦτα θεοῖσι μέλει. 'Now let us take our delight in drinking, speaking words of fair omen; whatever shall come tomorrow is only Heaven's care.' Cf. also the passages quoted on v. 13 below. — **qui simul**, etc.: the following illustrates the power of the gods. — **simul**: *i.e. simul ac*; cf. 1, 4, 17, and n. — **stravere**: so στορέννυμι, in the same connection *Od.* 3, 158 ἐστόρεσεν δὲ θεὸς μεγακήτεα πόντον.

11 f. The cypresses of the garden are contrasted with the ash trees of the mountains.

13 ff. Common Epicurean sentiments. Cf. the Anacreontic τὸ σήμερον μέλει μοι | τὸ δ' αὔριον τίς οἶδεν; and Philet. *Frg.* 7 K. τί δεῖ γὰρ ὄντα θνητόν, ἱκετεύω, ποιεῖν | πλὴν ἡδέως ζῆν τὸν βίον καθ' ἡμέραν | εἰς αὔριον δὲ μηδὲ φροντίζειν ὃ τι | ἔσται; 'For what should I who am mortal do, I pray thee, save live pleasantly day by day,

15

adpone, nec dulcis amores
sperne puer neque tu choreas,

donec virenti canities abest
morosa. Nunc et campus et areae
lenesque sub noctem susurri
20 composita repetantur hora ;

nunc et latentis proditor intimo.
gratus puellae risus ab angulo

and have no anxiety for what may come on the morrow?'—fuge: *shun*, cf. 2, 4, 22 *fuge suspicari*. — fors: personified, *Dame Fortune*. — dierum: connect with quem . . . cumque. For the tmesis, cf. 1, 6, 3. — lucro appone: in origin a commercial expression; 'carrying to the profit account.' Cf. Ovid, *Trist.* 1, 3, 68 *in lucro est quae datur hora mihi*.

16. puer: 'while thou art young.'—tu: in disjunctive sentences the subject pronoun is often reserved for the second member as here, giving emphasis to the charge. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 2, 63 *hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catena*; and *Iuv.* 6, 172 *parce precor, Paeon, et tu depone sagittas*.

17. virenti canities: notice the forceful juxtaposition; cf. n. to 1, 5, 9. — virenti: sc. tibi. Cf. *Epod.* 13, 4 *dum virent genua*.

18 ff. morosa: *crabbed*. — nunc: 'while thou art young,' repeating *donec virenti*, etc. The Campus

Martius and the public squares (areae) were natural trysting places. In our climate we have little idea of the way in which Italian life, from business to love-making, is still carried on in the squares (*piazze*) of the towns and cities. — lenes . . . susurri: cf. Prop. 1, 11, 13 *blandos audire susurros*.

21 ff. nunc et: the anaphora weakens the violence of the zeugma by which this strophe is connected with *repetantur*, *be claimed*; the opposite of *reddere*. cf. n. on *reponens*, v. 6, above. The skillful arrangement of the verses is striking and cannot be reproduced in an uninflected language; like an artist, Horace adds to his picture stroke after stroke, until it is complete. Each idea in the first verse has its complement in the second:—

<i>latentis</i>	<i>proditor</i>	<i>intimo</i>
<i>puellae</i>	<i>risus</i>	<i>ab angulo</i>
		Intr. 21.

pignusque dereptum lacertis
aut digito male pertinaci.

23 f. The girl is coquettish. Porphyrio quotes Verg. *E.* 3, 65 *et fugit* (sc. *puella*) *ad salices et se cupit ante videri*. Cf. also Maximian's verses written in the sixth century A.D. *Eleg.* 1, 67 ff. *et modo subridens latebras fugitiva petebat, | non tamen effugiens*

tota latere volens, | sed magis ex aliqua cupiebat parte videri, | laetior hoc potius, quod male tecta fuit. — **pignus**: *pledge*, either ring or bracelet. — **male**: a weak negative with **pertinaci**, like *minus*, *feebly resisting*. Cf. 1, 2, 27, and n.

IO

The Italian Mercury was early identified with the Greek Hermes, but was chiefly worshiped by the Romans as the god of trade. This ode is a hymn to Mercury with the varied attributes of his Greek parallel: he is celebrated as the god of eloquence (*λόγιος*), of athletic contests (*ἀγώνιος*), the divine messenger (*διάκτορος*), the inventor of the lyre (*μουσικός*), the god of thieves (*κλέπτης*), the helper (*ἐριούνιος*), and the shepherd of the shades (*ψυχοπομπός*), who restrains them with his golden wand (*χρυσόρραπτις*). That this ode is based on a similar ode by Alcaeus is expressly stated by Porphyrio, *hymnus est in Mercurium ab Alcaeo lyrico poeta*, who adds on v. 9 *fabula haec autem ab Alcaeo ficta*; furthermore Pausanias (7, 20, 5) informs us that Alcaeus treated in a hymn the theft of cattle from Apollo, but Menander (*de encom.* 7) says that the chief theme of the hymn was the birth of the god, so that we may safely conclude that Horace's treatment of his original was free. Unfortunately but three verses of Alcaeus' hymn are preserved, *Frg.* 5 χαῖρε Κυλλάνας ὃ μέδεις, σέ γάρ μοι | θῦμος ὕμνην, τὸν κορυφαῖς ἐν αὐταῖς | Μαῖα γέννατο Κρονίδα μιγείσα. Metre, 69.

Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis,
qui feros cultus hominum recentum

1 ff. **facunde**: as *λόγιος*, god of speech, expanded in the following **qui . . . voce formasti**; cf. Mart. 7, 74, 1 *Cyllenes caelique decus, fa-*

cunde minister, and also *Acts* 14, 12 'And they called . . . Paul, Mercury, because he was the chief speaker.' — **nepos Atlantis**: cf.

voce formasti catus et decorae
more palaestrae,

5

te canam, magni Iovis et deorum
nuntium curvaeque lyrae parentem,
callidum quicquid placuit iocoso
condere furto.

10

Te boves olim nisi reddidisses
per dolum amotas puerum minaci
voce dum terret, viduus pharetra
risit Apollo.

Ovid's appeal, *Fast.* 5, 663 *clare nepos Atlantis, ades*, and Eurip. *Ion* 1 ff., where Hermes speaks, Ἄτλας . . . ἔφυσε Μαίαν, ἧ μ' ἐγείνατο | Ἑρμῆν μεγίστῳ Ζηνί. — *cultus*: *manners*. — *recentum*: 'newly created'; *i.e.* mankind in its infancy, described by Horace, *S.* 1, 3, 100 as *mutum et turpe pecus*. By the gift of language (*voce*) and the institution (*more*) of 'grace-giving' athletic sports Mercury raised men out of their early brute condition. An inscription (Orelli 1417) in his honor reads *sermonis dator infans palaestram protulit Cyllenius*. — *catus*: an archaic word defined by Varro *L. L.* 7, 46 as *acutus*, the opposite of *stultus*.

6. *nuntium*: so he is called Verg. *A.* 4, 356 *interpres divom*. — *lyrae parentem*: cf. Arnold's *Merope* 'Surprised in the glens | The basking tortoises, whose striped shell founded | In the hand of Hermes the glory of the lyre.'

7 f. *callidum*: with the dependent infinitive *condere*. Intr. 108. Hermes is called Eurip. *Rhes.* 217 *φηλητῶν ἄναξ*. — *iocoso*: *sportive*.

9 ff. According to the Homeric hymn to Mercury 22 ff. it was on the very day of the god's birth that he perpetrated this theft as well as invented the lyre. The Scholiast to *Il.* 15, 256 tells the same story Ἑρμῆς ὁ Διὸς καὶ Μαίας τῆς Ἀτλαντος εὔρε λύραν καὶ τοὺς Ἀπόλλωνος βόας κλέψας εὐρέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῆς μαντικῆς · ἀπειλοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἔκλειπεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τόξα · μειδιάσας δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν μαντικὴν ῥάβδον, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ χρυσόρραπις ὁ Ἑρμῆς προσηγορεύθη, ἔλαβε δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν λύραν. — *olim*: 'long ago in thy childhood.' — *nisi reddidisses*: the sentence stands in 'informal' indirect discourse, the apodosis being contained in *minaci voce*; Apollo said, threateningly, 'if you do not give back my

Quin et Atridas duce te superbos
 Ilio dives Priamus relicto
 15 Thessalosque ignis et iniqua Troiae
 castra fefellit.

Tu pias laetis animas reponis
 sedibus virgaque levem coerces
 aurea turbam, superis deorum
 20 gratus et imis.

cattle (*nisi reddideris*, fut. perf. ind.), I'll . . . , his threat being interrupted by an involuntary laugh at seeing himself robbed (*viduus*) of his quiver. — *risit*: used in obligatory sense, *had to laugh*; emphatic from its position. Intr. 22.

13 ff. This strophe summarizes the twenty-fourth book of the *Iliad*, in which is told how Priam, under Hermes' direction, came into the Greek camp bringing great ransom for Hector's body, how he kissed the hand of his son's slayer, and carried back the corpse. This example of Hermes' power to protect and aid mankind forms an easy transition from the story of his clever theft (7–12) to a mention of his highest functions, as *ψυχοπομπός* (17–20).

— *quin et*: regularly used in transition to a more striking statement, or, as here, to a higher theme. Cf. 2, 13, 37; 3, 11, 21. — *dives*: with the treasure he carried to ransom Hector's body. — *Thessalos ignis*: specializing the watch-fires as belonging to Achilles' troops. — *fefellit*: *went all unnoticed past*.

17. *tu*: note the effective anaphora whereby the *Mercuri* of the first strophe is repeated in the initial word of the second, third, and fifth (*te . . . te . . . tu*); in the fourth the initial *quin et* pushes the pronoun (*duce te*) to the middle of the verse. Intr. 28c. — *reponis*: *dost duly bring to the abodes of the blest*, or possibly '*restorest to*,' under the conception that the souls returned to their former homes. For this force of *re-* cf. 1, 3, 7 *reddas*, and n. to 1, 9, 6. — *sedibus*: abl. Intr. 95.

18 f. *virga . . . aurea*: the *κηρύκειον* presented by Apollo, with which Mercury rules men and the shades alike. Cf. *Il.* 24, 343 f. *εἶλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει | ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνῶντας ἐγείρει*. The familiar caduceus with which Mercury is often represented is of later origin. — *levem . . . turbam*: *flitting crowd*; *εἶδωλα καμόντων*. — *coerces*: as a shepherd. Cf. 1, 24, 16 ff. *quam* (sc. *imaginem*) *virga semel horrida | non lenis precibus fata recludere, | nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi*, and *Od.* 24, 1 ff.

I I

‘Leuconoe, give up trying to learn the secrets of the future. Be wise, do thy daily task, and live to-day; time is swiftly flying.’ This is simply a variation of the theme (I, 9, 12 ff.), *quid sit futurum cras, fuge quaerere, et | quem fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro | appone*. Probably a study from the Greek, possibly of Alcaeus, as are I, 18, and 4, 10, the two other odes in the same measure. Metre, 54.

Tu ne quaesieris, scire nefas, quem mihi, quem tibi
finem di dederint, Leuconoe, nec Babylonios
temptaris numeros. Vt melius quicquid erit pati,
seu pluris hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam
5 quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare

1. *tu*: emphasizing the requests to his imaginary Leuconoe, whose name is chosen for its pleasing sound. By the collocation, *quem mihi, quem tibi*, Horace represents her as dear to him. — *ne quaesieris*: archaic and colloquial for the ordinary *noli* with the infinitive. — *scire nefas*: parenthetical. Cf. *Epod.* 16, 14 *nefas videre*; and for the thought as well, *Stat. Theb.* 3, 562 *quid crastina volveret aetas scire nefas homini*.

2 f. *nec*: with *temptaris*, continuing the prohibition, for the more common *neve*. — *Babylonios . . . numeros*: *the calculations of the*, etc., employed in casting horoscopes. After the conquests of Alexander, astrologers made their way to Greece from the east in large numbers and had established themselves in Rome as early as the second century B.C., where they did a thriving business among the superstitious.

They had become a nuisance as early as 139 B.C. when the praetor peregrinus, Cornelius Scipio, banished them; but they still continued to practice their art throughout the republic and especially under the empire, in spite of many attempts to rid Italy of them. Cf. *Tac. Hist.* 1, 22 *genus hominum potentibus infidum sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur*.

— *ut*: cf. *Epod.* 2, 10 *ut gaudet decerpens pira*. — *hiemes*: of years, equivalent to *annos*; cf. I, 15, 35 *post certas hiemes*.

5 f. *oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare Tyrrhenum*: *pumices* is used of any rocks eaten by the waves; cf. *Lucret.* 1, 326 *vesco sale saxa peresa*. *Sidon. Apoll.* 10, 27 *prominet alte | asper ab assiduo lympharum verberare pumex*. The description given, however, is hardly appropriate to the Tuscan Sea, in the region

Tyrrhenum. Sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
spem longam reseces. Dum loquimur, fugerit invida
aetas; carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.

best known to Horace. — **sapias**: *be sensible*, expanded in what follows. With the sentiment, cf. 1, 7, 17 *sapiens finire memento tristitiam*. — **vina liques**: to free the wine from sediment it was poured from the amphora through a cloth (*sāccus*) or strainer (*colum*). — **spatio brevi**: 'for our life's span is brief;' opposed to **spem longam**. Intr. 26. — **reseces**: *cut short*.

7. **dum loquimur . . . fugerit**: note the force of the fut. perf. Cf. Lucret. 3, 914 f. *brevis hic est fructus hominibus; | iam fuerit neque post umquam revocare licebit*. Also Iuv. 9, 128 f. *dum bibimus, . . . obrepit non intellecta senectus*.

8. **diem**: *the flitting day*, equivalent to '*primo quoque die*

fruere,' according to Porphyrio, who adds that the figure is taken from picking (*carpere*) fruit, '*quae carpimus ut fruamur*.' Cf. Lucil. 39, 51 M. *hiemem unam quamque carpam*; Mart. 7, 47, 11 *fugitiva gaudia carpe*. The spirit of the last line is also expressed in *Epist.* 1, 4, 12 f. *inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras | omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum*; likewise by Persius, 5, 151-53, who expands Horace's verse, *indulge genio, carpamus dulcia, nostrum est | quod vivis, cinis et manes et fabula fies, | vive memor leti, fugit hora, hoc quod loquor inde est*.

— **credula**: of foolish confidence, cf. 1, 5, 9 *qui nunc te fruatur credulus aurea*.

12

'What hero, demigod, or god, dost thou prepare to sing, O Muse? Whose name shall echo on Helicon, on Pindus, or on Haemus' height, where Orpheus charmed all nature with his strains? (1-12). Of gods first surely father Jove; then his daughter Pallas, then Liber, Diana, and Phoebus (13-24). The demigod, Alceus' grandson, will I celebrate, and the twin brothers, who guard sailors from the angry sea (25-32). Then the great Romans, Romulus, Tarquin, Cato, and the long line of heroes after them (31-44). Marcellus' fame is growing; the Julian star outshines the rest (45-48). Father and guardian of men, in thy care is mighty Caesar, greatest of all the Roman line. May his rule be second to thine only; may he conquer the Parthians and the remotest Eastern peoples, and rule the wide wide world; still shall he be thy subject, for thou, thou only shalt ever be Lord of Olympus, the Punisher of crime (49-60).'

This ode, like the second of this book, is in honor of Augustus, who is celebrated as greatest of all the long line of Roman heroes, the vicerent of Jove. The mention of Marcellus (46) makes it probable that the date of composition was either 25 B.C., when Marcellus was married to Augustus' daughter Julia and adopted as the Emperor's son, or in any case between that date and Marcellus' death in 23 B.C. The opening verses were suggested by Pindar's ode in honor of Theron (*O.* 2) which begins ἀναξιφόρμυγες ὕμνοι, | τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα κελαδήσομεν; Horace proceeds, however, in very different fashion from Pindar, who answers his question at once: 'Of the Gods, Zeus; of demigods, Heracles; of men, Theron the victor.' Metre, 69.

Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
tibia sumis celebrare, Clio,
quem deum? Cuius recinet iocosa
nomen imago

5 aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris
aut super Pindo gelidove in Haemo?

1. **heroa**: *demigod*. — **lyra** . . . **tibia**: the Greek rhapsodist accompanied his recital with the lyre, and it is said (Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 3) that in early times the Romans sang their songs in honor of their ancestors (*laudationes*) to the music of the tibia. — **acri**: λεγείη, λεγυρᾶ; of the high clear notes of the pipe. The epithet is praised by Quintilian 8, 2, 9 *proprie dictum est, id est, quo nihil inveniri possit significantius*. — **sumis**: *choose*, as subject of thy song; used with similar dependent infin. *Epist.* 1, 3, 7 *quis sibi res gestas Augusti scribere sumit?* — **Clio**: while Horace does not often distinguish the Muses, it is possible that here Clio is invoked in her peculiar character as Muse of History.

3 f. **iocosa** . . . **imago**: *sportive echo*. Cf. 1, 20, 6 *iocosa* . . . *Vaticani montis imago*.

5 f. Three homes of the Muses: Helicon in Boeotia, Pindus in Thessaly, Haemus in Thrace. At the foot of Helicon was the village of Ascra, in which there was a shrine of the Muses (μουσεῖον) and a guild of poets of which Hesiod (eighth century B.C.) was the most famous. The mountain was also famed for the springs of Hippocrene and Aganippe. Pindus was between Thessaly and Epirus; likewise a haunt of the Muses. Haemus was the seat of an early cult of the Muses and the traditional home of a Thracian school of poetry. Cf. Verg. *E.* 10, 11 f. *nam neque Parnasi vobis iuga, nam neque*

Vnde vocalem temere insecutae

Orphea silvae,

arte materna rapidos morantem

10 fluminum lapsus celerisque ventos,

blandum et auritas fidibus canoris

ducere quercus.

Quid prius dicam solitis parentis

laudibus, qui res hominum ac deorum,

Pindi | *ulla moram fecere, neque Aonie Aganippe.* — *oris*: the borders of.

7 f. *temere*: *blindly*, being spell-bound by Orpheus' music. For the story of Orpheus' power, cf. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 28 ff. *φηγοὶ δ' ἀγριάδες, κείνης ἔτι σήματα μολπῆς, | ἀκτῆς θρηκίης Ζώνης ἔπι τηλεθόωσαι | ἐξείης στιχώωσιν ἐπήτριοι, ἄς ὄγ' ἐπιπρὸ | θελγομένας φόρμιγγι κατήγαγε Πιερίθεν.* 'But the wild oaks — even to-day memorials of that song — grow on Zone, the Thracian promontory, and stand there in rows close together; the oaks that Orpheus charmed with his lyre and brought down from Pieria.' Also Shakespeare, *Henry Eighth* 3, 1 'Orpheus with his lute made trees, | And the mountain tops that freeze, | Bow themselves when he did sing: | To his music, plants and flowers | Ever sprung; as sun and showers | There had made a lasting Spring.'

9 ff. Cf. 3, 11, 13 f. *tu potes tigris comitesque silvas | ducere et rivos celeris morari.* — *materna*:

i.e. of Calliope. — *blandum* . . . *ducere*: for the dependent infinitive Porphyrio compares 1, 10, 7 *callidum condere.* — *auritas*: proleptical, 'with charm to give ears to the oaks and draw them after him.'

13-24. The Gods. Notice that Horace in taking up his examples reverses the order of v. 1 ff. *virum . . . heroa . . . deum.*

13. *solitis parentis laudibus*: the customary beginning from the time of the Homeric rhapsodists. Cf. Pind. *N.* 2, 1 ff. *ὄθεν περ καὶ Ὀμηρίδαι | ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων τὰ πόλλ' αἰδοὶ | ἄρχονται, Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου.* And Aratus *Phaen.* 1 f. *ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα . . . , τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.* Also Verg. *E.* 3, 60 *ab Iove principium.* The formula indicates the beginning of a loftier strain than usual, of a song that may be compared with that of Thracian Orpheus.

— *parentis*: cf. v. 49 *pater atque custos*, and 1, 2, 2 *pater.*

14. *qui res*, etc.: cf. Venus' address, Verg. *A.* 1, 229 f. *o qui res hominumque deumque | aeternis regis imperiis.*

15 qui mare et terras variisque mundum
temperat horis?

Vnde nil maius generatur ipso,
nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum;
proximos illi tamen occupavit

20 'Pallas honores,

proeliis audax; neque te silebo
Liber, et saevis inimica virgo
beluis, nec te, metuende certa
Phoebe sagitta.

15 f. **mundum**: *heavens*, in contrast with **mare, terras**. — **horis**: *seasons*. Cf. *Epist.* 2, 3, 302 *sub verni temporis horam*.

17. **unde**: equivalent to *ex quo*, referring to **parens**. Cf. Verg. *A.* 1, 6 *genus unde Latinum*. This use of **unde**, referring to a person, is chiefly found in poetry, cf. 2, 12, 7 *unde = a quibus*, but occurs also in prose, e.g. Cic. *de Or.* 1, 67 *ille ipse, unde cognovit*.

18 f. **quicquam simile**: sc. *ei*. — **secundum** . . . **proximos**: the distinction between these words is clearly shown by Vergil in his account of the boat race, *A.* 5, 320 *proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo*, as earlier by Cicero, *Brut.* 173 *duobus summis (oratoribus) L. Philippus proximus accedebat, sed longo intervallo tamen proximus*. **Secundus** is used properly of that which is 'next,' closely connected, while **proximus** may be used of that which is

'nearest' although separated by a considerable distance.

21 f. **proeliis audax**: modifying **Pallas**. — **et**: continuing the negative **neque** . . . **silebo**. — **virgo**: Diana (*Artemis*), not simply as the huntress, but also as the destroyer of fierce monsters (**beluis**) and a benefactress of mankind. Cf. Callim. *Hymn to Artemis* 153 f. (*Heracles* speaks) βάλλε κακούς ἐπὶ θήρας, ἵνα θνητοί σε βοηθόν | ὥς ἐμὲ κυκλωσκωσιν.

23 f. **metuende certa Phoebe sagitta**: the list of beneficent divinities celebrated closes with **Apollo**, the slayer of the monster **Python**. He was the champion of Augustus at Actium, and afterward regarded by the emperor as his patron divinity. Cf. Prop. 5, 6, 27 ff. *cum Phoebus linquens . . . Delon, adstitit Augusti puppim super, . . . qualis flexos solvit Pythona per orbis serpentem*. It should be also noticed

25 Dicam et Alciden puerosque Ledaë,
hunc equis, illum superare pugnis
nobilem; quorum simul alba nautis
stella refulsit,

defluit saxis agitatus umor,
30 concidunt venti fugiuntque nubes,
et minax, quod sic voluere, ponto
unda recumbit.

Romulum post hos prius an quietum
Pompili regnum memorem an superbos

that the gods selected are those who had made the earth more tenable for man by freeing it of monsters, but none of the divinities especially connected with the Roman people, as Mars, or with the Julian line, as Venus, are included.

25-32. The demigods. — **Alciden**: *Hercules*. — **hunc equis, illum**, etc.: cf. *Il.* 3, 237 Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ πύξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα.

27 ff. **quorum simul**, etc.: cf. n. to 1, 3, 2 and the passages there quoted. This graphic passage, as well as 4, 8, 33, reflects Theoc. 22, 17 ff. ἀλλ' ἔμπας ὑμεῖς γε καὶ ἐκ βυθοῦ ἔλκετε νᾶας | αὐτοῖσιν ναύταισιν ὀιομένοις θανέεσθαι. | αἶψα δ' ἀπολήγοντ' ἄνεμοι, λιπαρὰ δὲ γαλάνα | ἀμπέλαγος· νεφέλαι δὲ διέδραμον ἄλλυδις ἄλλαι. 'Yet even so do ye draw forth the ships from the abyss, with their sailors that looked immediately to die; and instantly the winds are still, and there is an oily calm along the sea, and

the clouds flee apart, this way and that' (Lang). Cf. also Verg. *A.* 1, 1, 54 *sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor*. — **refulsit**: i.e. in answer to the sailors' prayers.

29 ff. **defluit... concidunt... fugiunt**: observe the effective emphasis given by position and rhythm.

33 f. Horace now turns to mortals — the noble Romans dead and gone. — **quietum Pompili regnum**: Numa's peaceful reign, during which tradition said religious observances were established, is contrasted with the warlike rule of Romulus. Livy describes the services of the two kings 1, 21 *duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille (Romulus) bello, hic (Numa) pace, civitatem auxerunt*. — **superbos Tarquini fascis**: the adjective belongs logically to **Tarquini**, who served the state by his conquests of the neighboring peoples. Although the remembrance of his haughtiness remained, his memory

35 Tarquini fascis dubito, an Catonis
nobile letum.

Regulum et Scauros animaeque magnae
prodigum Paullum superante Poeno

was not stained with any baseness. Cic. *Phil.* 3, 9. *Tarquinius . . . non crudelis, non impius, sed superbus habitus est et dictus . . . nihil humile de Tarquinio, nihil sordidum accepimus.*

35 f. *Catonis nobile letum*: Horace passes in his examples of Roman *virtus* from the last of the kings to the last great republican. Cato's choice of suicide at Utica (46 B.C.) rather than of submission to the new order of things, is frequently referred to by his contemporaries and by writers of the following century in terms of the highest praise. Cf. Cic. *ad fam.* 9, 18 *Pompeius, Scipio, Afranius in bello civile foede perierunt, 'at Cato praeclare.'* No question was raised as to Cato's honesty of purpose, and he became a kind of canonized hero. Augustus' policy of allowing praise of all that was noble in the champions of the republic made it possible for Horace to do honor to Cato even in an ode glorifying the emperor. Indeed Augustus wisely forestalled his opponents by praising Cato himself.

37 ff. Horace here returns to the heroes of an earlier time. — *Regulum*: Regulus was a traditional

instance of that ancient Roman manhood (*virtus*) that preferred his country's honor to his own life. The fifth ode of the third book holds up his self-sacrifice as an example for the youth of Horace's own time. — *Scauros*: referring chiefly to M. Scaurus and his son. The father was called by Valerius Max. 5, 8, 4 *lumen et decus patriae*; the son was involved in the defeat on the Adige in 101 B.C. and shared the panic-stricken flight under Catulus. His father sent him a message saying that he should rather have found his dead body than see him alive after sharing in such a disgrace, whereupon the young man killed himself. Valer. Max. *l.c.*; Aur. Vict. 3, 72 *in conspectum suum vetuit accedere; ille ob hoc dedecus mortem sibi conscivit.* — *prodigum*: cf. Ovid. *Am.* 3, 9, 64 *sanguinis atque animae prodige Galle tuae.* — *Paullum*: L. Aemilius Paullus, who chose to die at the battle of Cannae (216 B.C.) rather than escape, as he might have done with honor, according to Livy's account (22, 49).

39. *gratus*: either of Horace's own feeling of gratitude toward so noble a character, or simply 'pleasing,' 'in verse pleasing my readers.'

40 gratus insigni referam camena
Fabriciumque.

Hunc et intonsis Curium capillis
utilem bello tulit et Camillum
saeva paupertas et avitus apto
cum lare fundus.

45 Crescit occulto velut arbor aevo
fama Marcelli; micat inter omnis
Iulium sidus velut inter ignis
luna minores.

Cf. Mart. 4, 55, 10 *grato non pudeat referre versu*. — *insigni...camena*: 'with the Muse that gives men fame.'

40 ff. The following illustrations of ancient *virtus* and *continentia* are C. Fabricius Luscinus, whom Pyrrhus could neither frighten nor bribe; M'. Curius Dentatus, who was equally incorruptible; and M. Furius Camillus, who captured Veii (396 B.C.) and saved Rome from the Gauls (390 B.C.). All three, however, are chosen as examples, not of great deeds, but of great characters. Their natures were proverbial.

—*intonsis capillis*: barbers were not employed at Rome until about 300 B.C. (Plin. *N. H.* 7, 211); and the custom of shaving the beard and wearing the hair short became general much later.

43 f. *saeva*: *stern*, as training men to hardihood. All three worthies were men of small estate, but

of great native worth. — *apto cum lare*: 'with humble house befitting their ancestral farms.'

45 ff. While the direct reference here is to the young Marcellus, Octavia's son, no doubt the name in this connection would call up to the Roman mind at once that M. Claudius Marcellus, who in 222 B.C. won the *spolia opima* for the third and last time, captured Syracuse in 212 B.C., and was the first successful general against Hannibal. — *occulto...aevo*: with *crescit*, *is growing with the unmarked lapse of time*. Cf. 2, 2, 5 *extento aevo*.

47 f. *Iulium sidus*: the star of the Julian house. This use of *sidus* ('fortune') would doubtless call to mind the comet that appeared shortly after Julius Caesar's murder (Suet. *Iul.* 88). Cf. Verg. *E.* 9, 47 *ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum*. — *inter ignis luna minores*: a reminiscence of his earlier phrase,

50 Gentis humanae pater atque custos,
 orte Saturno, tibi cura magni
 Caesaris fatis data: tu secundo
 Caesare regnes.

55 Ille seu Parthos Latio imminentis
 egerit iusto domitos triumpho
 sive subiectos Orientis orae
 Seras et Indos,

60 te minor latum reget aequus orbem;
 tu gravi curru quaties Olympum,
 tu parum castis inimica mittes
 fulmina lucis.

Epod. 15, 2 *caelo fulgebat luna sereno inter minora sidera*. In both he may have had in mind Sappho *Frg.* 3, 1 f. ἄστερες μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάιναν | ἅψ ἀποκρύπτοισι φάενρον εἶδος. 'The stars about the fair moon hide their bright face.'

49 ff. The climax of the ode. With the idea expressed, cf. Ovid's more extravagant laudation *Met.* 15, 858 ff. *Iuppiter arces | temperat aetherias et mundi regna triformis; | terra sub Augusto: pater est et rector uterque*.

51 f. *secundo Caesare*: logically part of the prayer, and *Caesar* be second to thee only.

53 f. The 'Eastern Question' was always an annoying one to the Romans. Cf. n. to 1, 2, 22.—*egerit*: i.e. as captives before his car. Cf. *Epod.* 7, 7 f.—*iusto* . . .

triumpho: a technical term, implying that all the conditions on which a triumph depended had been fulfilled.

55 f. The *Serae* ('Silk-people,' the Chinese) were known to the Romans only through trade. They and the Indians stand for the great remote East.

57 ff. *te...tu...tu...*: opposed to *ille* v. 53. Intr. 28c.—*te minor*: cf. 3, 6, 5 *Romane, quod dis minorem te geris, imperas*.—*reget aequus*: *rule in justice*. For the tense, see Intr. 102.

59 f. A stroke of lightning was a most important omen to the Romans; if a sacred grove was struck, that fact was proof that the grove had been polluted, and required purification.—*parum*: cf. n. to *minus* 1, 2, 27.

13

To contrast with the serious tone of the preceding ode, Horace placed here these impetuous verses to (an imaginary) Lydia. 'When thou praisest Telephus' beauty, Lydia, I swell with rage; my self-control all goes; pale and weeping I show my jealous love. The injuries done thy fair shoulders and sweet lips by that bold boy do not prove a lasting love. Happy they who love till death.' Metre, 71.

Cum tu, Lydia, Telephi
 cervicem roseam, cerea Telephi
 laudas bracchia, vae meum
 fervens difficili bile tumet iecur.
 5 Tum nec mens mihi nec color
 certa sede manet, umor et in genas
 furtim labitur, arguens
 quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus.
 Vror, seu tibi candidos
 10 turparunt umeros immodicae mero

1 f. **Telephi** . . . **Telephi**: reproducing in jealousy Lydia's fond repetition of her lover's name. Cf. the passionate declaration, Anacr. *Frg.* 3 Κλεμβούλου μὲν ἔγωγ' ἐρῶ, | Κλεμβούλου δ' ἐπιμαίνομαι, | Κλεμβούλον δὲ διοσκέω. Note the alliteration, *cervicem* . . . *cerea*.

3 f. *vae*: *bah!* in angry disgust. — *tumet iecur*: *i.e.* in rage. *iecur* is to be taken literally as the seat of passion (*S.* 1, 9, 66 *meum iecur urere bilis*) that overflows with savage wrath. — *bilis*: equivalent to *χόλος*.

5 f. *mens* . . . *color*, etc.: for his self-control is lost, and his color comes and goes. Cf. Apoll. Rhod. 3, 297 f. ἀπαλὰς δὲ μετετρωπάτο

παρειὰς | ἐς χλόον, ἄλλοτ' ἔρευθος, ἀκηδείῃσι νόοιο. 'Love turned her tender cheeks to pallor, again to blushing, for the weariness of her soul.' — *certa sede*: more closely connected with *color* than with *mens*, as its position shows. — *manēt*: Intr. 35. — *umor*: cf. Plat. *Tim.* 68 A. ὕδωρ ὃ δάκρυον καλοῦμεν.

8. *quam lentis*: modified by *penitus*; *slow*, *pervasive*. Cf. Verg. *A.* 5, 682 f. *lentusque carinas* | *est vapor*.

9 f. *uror*: the rudeness of my rival in his cups, and the passion of his love, alike inflame me. — *turparunt*: *harmed with blows*. — *immodicae*: modified by the causal abl. *mero*.

rixae, sive puer furens
 impressit memorem dente labris notam.
 Non, si me satis audias,
 speres perpetuum dulcia barbare
 15 laedentem oscula, quae Venus
 quinta parte sui nectaris imbuit.
 Felices ter et amplius,
 quos inrupta tenet copula nec malis
 divolsus querimoniis
 20 suprema citius solvet amor die.

13 f. **non**: emphatic, like the English 'No, you would not,' etc. — **dulcia barbare**: cf. n. to 1, 5, 9. Intr. 26.

16. **quinta parte**: simply 'the best part.' Cf. Meleager *Anth. Pal.* 12, 133 φίλημα τὸ νεκτάρειον Γανυμήδεος . . . ψυχῆς ἥδὺ πέπωκα μέλι. In their efforts to determine the degree of sweetness that Horace means to indicate here, commentators have spent an amusing amount of energy without, how-

ever, succeeding in their attempts. We cannot be sure that Horace uses the phrase as equivalent to the Pythagorean ἡ πέμπτη οὐσία, τὸ πέμπτον ὄν, the mediaeval *quinta essentia* (quintessence), satisfactory as this explanation would be.

18 ff. **inrupta**: *unbreakable*, rather than 'unbroken'; used like *invictus*, etc., in the sense of an adj. in *-ilis*, *-bilis*. — **divolsus amor**: cf. 2, 4, 10 *ademptus Hector*. — **suprema die**: *life's last day*.

14

'O Ship of State, beware! avoid the open sea; thou art shattered by the storm just past. Put into port.' Quintilian 8, 6, 44 uses this ode as an illustration of an allegory — *at ἀλληγορία quam inversionem interpretantur, aut aliud verbis aliud sensu ostendit aut etiam interim contrarium. Prius fit genus plerumque continuatis translationibus: ut 'o navis . . . portum,' totusque ille Horatii locus, quo navem pro re publica, fluctus et tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum pro pace atque concordia dicit.* This figure is as old as Theognis, and occurs frequently in Greek literature. Horace took as his model a poem of Alcaeus of which the following verses have been preserved, *Frg.* 18: —

ἄσυνέτημι τῶν ἀνέμων στάσιν · | τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται |
τὸ δ' ἔνθεν ἄμμες δ' ἂν τὸ μέσσον | νᾶϊ φορήμεθα σὺν μελαίνα, || χεί-
μωνι μοχθεῦντες μεγάλῳ μάλα · | περ μὲν γὰρ ἄντλος ἱστοπέδαν ἔχει, |
λαῖφος δὲ πᾶν ζάδηλον ἦδη | καὶ λάκιδες μεγάλαι κατ' αὐτο · | χόλαισι
δ' ἄγκυλαι 'I do not understand the winds' strife, for the wave rolls,
now from this side, now from that, and we with our black ship are car-
ried in the midst, struggling hard with the mighty storm. For the
flood surrounds the mast step, the canvas is utterly destroyed, great
rents are in it; and the yard-ropes are loosened.' The most familiar
modern example of this allegory is Longfellow's *The Building of the
Ship*. 'Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!' etc.

Apart from other considerations the poem is interesting as a sign
that Horace's attitude toward the new government had changed from
that of his student days when he served in Brutus' army (cf. v. 17 f.).
The date of composition is most probably between the battle of
Actium, 31 B.C., and the reorganization of the empire in 27 B.C.; in
any case it was written at a time when civil war was lately past, but
serious men still had reason to be anxious for the public peace; and
we must remember that however lightly Horace treated many subjects,
his attitude toward the state was that of earnest loyalty. See Sellar,
pp. 29, 151 ff. Here Horace expresses his feeling that the state can-
not endure another civil war, and that peace must be preserved. Cf.
with this ode *Epod.* 7 and 16. Metre, 73.

O navis, referent in mare te novi
fluctus! O quid agis? Fortiter occupa
portum! Nonne vides ut
nudum remigio latus

1 f. in mare: in antiquity sail-
ors kept near the shore. Cf. 2,
10, 1 ff.—novi fluctus: the new
storms of (a possible) civil war.—
fortiter occupa: make a valiant
effort and gain the port before the
storm breaks.—occupare is fre-
quently used like the Greek φθά-
νειν; cf. *Epist.* 1, 6, 32 cave ne
portus occupat alter.

4 ff. This passage is imitated
by Claudian *de sexto cons. Honor.*
132 ff. qualis piratica puppis
. . . viduataque caesis | remigibus,
scissis velorum debilis alis, | orba
gubernaculis, antemnis saucia frac-
tis | ludibrium pelagi vento iacu-
latur et unda.

—remigio: oars, not 'rowers.'
Cf. Ovid *A. A.* 2, 671 mare re-

- 5 et malus celeri saucius Africo
antemnaeque gemant ac sine funibus
vix durare carinae
possint imperiosius
- 10 aequor? Non tibi sunt integra lintea,
non di, quos iterum pressa voces malo.
Quamvis Pontica pinus,
silvae filia nobilis,
- 15 iactes et genus et nomen inutile,
nil pictis timidus navita puppibus
fidit. Tu nisi ventis
debes ludibrium, cave.

migiis aut vomere findite terras.
— *mālus*: note the quantity; cf. v. 10 *mālo*. For the rigging of an ancient ship see Torr *Ancient Ships*, p. 78-98. — *funibus*: ὑποζώματα; cables or girders passed about the ship horizontally to strengthen it against the force of the waves, or in the case of warships, the shock of ramming. Cf. *Acts* 27, 17; Torr *A. S.* p. 41-43.

7 f. *carinae*: plural, where we use the singular; cf. 1, 2, 15 f. *monumenta, templa*. — *imperiosius*: equivalent to *saevius*, in its stern tyranny.

10. *di*: i.e. the little images of the gods that were carried on the poop deck. Horace means that in the storm of civil war the ship of state lost her protecting divini-

ties; cf. Ovid *Her.* 16, 114 *accipit et pictos puppis adunca deos*, and Pers. 6, 29 f. *iacet ipse in litore et una | ingentes de puppe dei*.

11 f. *Pontica pinus*: Pontus was famous for its ship timber. — *filia*: cf. Mart. 14, 90 *silvae filia Maurae* of a citrus table. For the arrangement of words, see Intr. 19.

13. *iactes*: *boastest*; emphatic by position. — *inutile*: added predicatively — *all in vain for thee*. — *pictis*: cf. the Homeric *νήες μυλτοπάργοι*. — *timidus*: 'when he is frightened.'

15 f. *tu*: in direct address to the ship. — *debes*: cf. Greek *ὀφλισκάνειν δίκην*, *art bound, doomed to be the sport of the winds*.

Nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium,
nunc desiderium curaque non levis,
interfusa nitentis

20

vites aequora Cycladas.

17 f. nuper . . . nunc: the time of the civil wars in contrast to the present moment. — sollicitum . . . taedium: *anxiety and heartsickness*. — desiderium: *object of my longing*.

19 f. nitentis: cf. 3, 28, 14

fulgentes Cycladas. The southern Aegean, dotted with frequent islands (Verg. *A.* 3, 126 *sparsasque per aequor Cycladas*) is subject to many squalls, but the particular sea has no significance in the allegory.

15

‘When faithless Paris was carrying Helen home to Troy, Nereus becalmed the sea that he might foretell the doom that was to follow Paris’ crime.’ Porphyrio says that the motive was taken from Bacchylides, who made Cassandra prophesy the coming war and disaster, as Horace here has Nereus (Porphyrio read Proteus). If Porphyrio be right, Horace’s model has been lost to us; the extant fragment 14 Blass, in which Menelaus warns the Trojans to remember the justice of Zeus, cannot be that to which Porphyrio refers. The theme is essentially epic and does not properly fall within the province of lyric poetry; and Horace has not been very successful in his treatment of it. While some dramatic skill is shown, the episode chosen has no natural limits and therefore offered him little opportunity for a climax; the length of the prophecy was determined solely by the poet’s inclination. That Horace learned to handle narrative subjects later is proved by Book 3, Odes 11 and 27, with which this ode should be carefully compared. For Horace’s view as to the proper field for lyric verse, see Book 2, Ode 12.

For the reasons given above and because of the technical defect of v. 36, we may regard this as one of Horace’s earlier studies. Metre, 72.

Pastor cum traheret per freta navibus
Idaeis Helenen perfidus hospitam,

1. pastor: Paris, whom Verg. *A.* 7, 363 calls *Phrygius pastor*.

Cf. also Bion 2, 10 ἄρπασε τὰν Ἑλέναν πόθ’ ὁ βουκόλος, ἄγε δ’

ἐς Ἴδαν. — traheret: *was carrying away*.

2. Idaeis: *i.e.* their timber grew on Mt. Ida. — perfidus hospitam:

ingrato celeres obruit otio
ventos ut caneret fera

5 Nereus fata : ' Mala ducis avi domum
quam multo repetet Graecia milite,
coniurata tuas rumpere nuptias
et regnum Priami vetus.

10 Heu heu, quantus equis, quantus adest viris
sudor ! Quanta moves funera Dardanae
genti ! Iam galeam Pallas et aegida
currusque et rabiem parat.

cf. n. to 1, 5, 9. Intr. 26. No greater crime was known to antiquity than violation of the rights and privileges of hospitality. With this epithet of Paris, cf. 3, 3, 26 *famosus hospes*, and Prop. 2, 34, 7 *hospes in hospitium Menelao venit adulter*.

3 ff. ingrato . . . otio : as the winds favored the lovers in their flight. — caneret : the regular word of prophecy. Cf. *Epod.* 13, 11 *nobilis ut grandi cecinit centaurus alumno*.

5 ff. Note the dramatic force of the prophecy, and the many reminiscences of the *Iliad*. — Nereus : son of Pontus and Tellus, father of Thetis. Cf. Hesiod *Theog.* 233 ff. *Νηρέα δ' ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα γείνατο Πόντος, | πρεσβύτατον παίδων · αὐτὰρ καλέουσι γέροντα, | οὐνεκα νημερτῆς τε καὶ ἥπιος, οὐδὲ θεμιστέων | λήθεται, ἀλλὰ δίκαια καὶ ἥπια δήνεα οἶδεν*. — mala . . . avi : cf. 3, 3, 61 *alite lugubri*. Cf. Catull. 61, 20 *bona alite*.

7 f. coniurata : in solemn compact at Aulis. Cf. Verg. *A.* 4, 425 f. where Dido says, *non ego cum Danaïs Troianam exscindere gentem | Aulide iuravi*; Euripides, *Iph. in Aul.* 49 ff. makes Agamemnon tell of the earlier oath, by which the suitors bound themselves to protect and avenge the one who should win Helen. — regnum : with rumpere as Sen. *H. F.* 79 *Titanas ausos rumpere imperium Iovis*.

9 f. quantus equis . . . sudor : Horace had in mind *Il.* 2, 388 ff. *ιδρώσει μὲν τευ τελαμῶν ἀμφὶ στήθεσφιν | ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης, περὶ δ' ἔγχεϊ χεῖρα καμείται · | ιδρώσει δέ τευ ἵππος ἐύξοον ἄρμα τιταίνων*. — funera : *disasters*.

11. galeam Pallas, etc. : a reminiscence of *Il.* 5, 738 ff. *ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετ' αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσαν | δεινὴν, . . . κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφίφαλον κυνέην θέτο τετραφάλῃον | χρυσεῖην*. — aegida : the breastplate of Athena, which

15 Nequiquam Veneris praesidio ferox
pectes caesariem grataque feminis
imbelli cithara carmina divides;
nequiquam thalamo gravis

hastas et calami spicula Cnosii
vitabis strepitumque et celerem sequi
Aiacem: tamen, heu, serus adulteros
20 crinis pulvere collines.

is represented on statues and paintings as a mail corselet, fringed with snakes and adorned with the Medusa's head in the center. See Baumeister, nos. 166-170. — *ra-
biem parat*: cf. Ovid *Met.* 13, 554
se armat et instruit ira.

13 ff. Cf. Hector's reproachful words *Il.* 3, 54 f. οὐκ ἄν τοι
χραίσμῃ κίθαρις τά τε δῶρ' Ἀφρο-
δίτης, | ἥτε κόμη τό τε εἶδος, ὅτ' ἐν
κονίῃσι μιγείης. — *nequiquam*: *all
in vain*, emphatic. — *ferox*: in
scorn, *made so bold by*. — *grata
feminis . . . imbelli cithara . . .
thalamo*: all said contemptuously.

15 f. *carmina divides*: appar-
ently equivalent to μελίζειν, 'to
sing rhythmically.' — *nequiquam*:
Intr. 28 c. — *thalamo*: cf. *Il.* 3,
380 ff. τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξ' Ἀφροδίτῃ |
ρεῖα μάλ' ὥς τε θεός, ἐκάλυψε δ'
ἄρ' ἡέρι πολλῇ, | καὶ δ' εἶσ' ἐν
θαλάμῳ εὐώδεϊ κηώεντι.

17. *calami spicula Cnosii*: light
arrows in contrast to the heavy
spears (*gravis*, equivalent to the
Homeric epithets βριθύ, μέγα,
στιβαρόν). The adj. *Cnosii*, re-

ferring to Cnosus, the chief city
of Crete, is here employed, since
the Cretans were famous archers.
Cf. Verg. *A.* 5, 206 *Cnosia spi-
cula*.

17 f. *vitabis*: *try to avoid* the
din of battle (*strepitum*) and the
forefighters of the Greeks. In the
Iliad Paris is represented as shrink-
ing from battle, only appearing
occasionally on sudden impulse.
Homer never opposes him to Ajax,
son of Oileus, to whom Horace
apparently gives the first place
here simply as one of the fore-
most Greek heroes. — *celerem
sequi Aiace*m: cf. *Il.* 2, 527 Ὀϊλῆος
ταχὺς Αἴας. For the infinitive,
see Intr. 108.

19 f. *tamen*: referring back to
nequiquam, nequiquam; 'in spite
of all thy own efforts and Aphro-
dite's aid.' — *serus*: an adj. where
we employ an adverb. Cf. 1, 2,
45 *serus in caelum redeas*, and
Il. 1, 424 χθιζὸς ἔβη Ζεύς.
— *crinis . . . collines*: cf. Verg.
A. 12, 99 *da . . . foedare in pul-
vere crines*.

Non Laertiaden, exitium tuae
gentis, non Pylum Nestora respicis?
Vrgent impavidi te Salaminus
Teucer, te Sthenelus sciens

25 pugnae, sive opus est imperitare equis,
non auriga piger. Merionen quoque
nosces. Ecce furit te reperire atrox
Tydides, melior patre,

30 quem tu, cervus uti vallis in altera
visum parte lupum graminis immemor
sublimi fugies mollis anhelitu,
non hoc pollicitus tuae.

21-28. **Laertiaden**: Ulysses stole the Palladium and so sealed the fate of Troy. — **Nestora**: who kept the Greeks from abandoning the siege after Achilles' death. *Od.* 24, 51 ff. — **Teucer**: brother of Ajax and son of Telemon; cf. I, 7, 21 ff. — **respicis**: 'as thou glancest backward in thy flight.' The prophetic god sees the future so vividly that he conceives of the pursuit of Paris as already begun.

24 f. **Sthenelus**: charioteer of Diomedes. For the description of him compare the account of the Cicones *Od.* 9, 49 f. ἐπιστάμενοι μὲν ἀφ' ἵππων | ἀνδράσι μάρνασθαι καὶ ὅθι χρὴ πεζὸν εἶναι. — **pugnae**: objective gen. with **sciens**.

26 ff. **Merionen**: esquire of Idomeneus; cf. I, 6, 15. — **Tydides**:

Diomedes was one of the greatest heroes after Achilles. — **melior patre**: a reminiscence of *Il.* 4, 405, where Sthenelus says ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μεγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι.

29 ff. Note the involved order; Intr. 21.

31. **sublimi** . . . **anhelitu**: properly of the panting hind, who throws his head high in air (**sublimi**) as he flees; applied here to Paris through a confusion of the comparison and the thing compared. Cf. *Stat. Theb.* 11, 239 *nuntius exanimi suspensus pectora cursu*. — **mollis**: either *weak* with running, or *timid* by nature.

32. Cf. Helen's taunt to Paris *Il.* 3, 430 ἡ μὲν δὴ πρίν γ' εὐχέ' ἀρηϊφίλου Μενελάου | σὴν τε βίην καὶ χερσὶ καὶ ἔγχεϊ φέρτερος εἶναι.

35 Iracunda diem proferet Ilio
 matronisque Phrygum classis Achillei:
 post certas hiemes uret Achaicus
 ignis Iliacas domos.'

33-36. The climax of the prophecy. Up to this point only the disgraces and dangers of Paris have been foretold; these verses definitely announce the fall of Troy. The whole strophe is a reminiscence of Hector's prophecy *Il.* 6, 448 f. ἔσσεται ἡμαρ ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ *Ἴλιος ἱρὴ | καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελέω Πριάμοιο. — *iracunda* ...

classis Achillei: as if the entire fleet shared Achilles' wrath. — *proferet*: *delay*. — *hiemes*: equivalent to *annos*. Cf. 1, 11, 4 and n. — *ignis*: this use of the trochee where Horace ordinarily has an irrational spondee, as well as the repetition of *Iliacas* after *Ilio* (v. 33) are cited by critics as proof of the early date of this ode.

16

'Fair maid, do what thou wilt with my abusive verses. Passion shakes the mind more than that frenzy with which Dindymene, or Apollo, or Dionysus inspire their servants. Prometheus gave mankind the violence of the lion, and wild rage drove Thyestes to his end and has doomed cities. Beware and check thy wrath. I too have suffered madness, but now I would recant my cruel lines; forgive, and give me back thy heart.

A palinode which Porphyrio wished, without warrant, to connect with Tyndaris of the following ode. Neither can it be associated with any extant epode. Its very extravagance shows that the verses were not written with serious purpose. Cf. the mock palinode *Epod.* 17. It may be a study from the Greek, although Acron's statement, *imitatus est Stesichorum*, need mean nothing more than that Horace got the suggestion of a palinode from the Sicilian poet. The date is uncertain, although the prosody of v. 21 may indicate that it is one of the earlier poems. Metre, 68.

O matre pulchra filia pulchrior,
 quem criminosus cumque voles modum

2. *criminosus* . . . *iambis*: *abusive, slanderous*. Cf. Meleager *Anth. Pal.* 7, 352 ὑβριστῆρας ἰάμ-

βους. The rapid movement of the iambus is suited to invective, and it was first employed for that purpose,

pones iambis, sive flamma
sive mari libet Hadriano.

5 Non Dindymene, non adytis quatit
mentem sacerdotum incola Pythius,
non Liber aequae, non acuta
sic geminant Corybantes aera
tristes ut irae, quas neque Noricus
10 deterret ensis nec mare naufragum
nec saevus ignis nec tremendo
Iuppiter ipse ruens tumultu.

according to tradition, by Archilochus, who was Horace's model in many of the Epodes. Cf. *Epist.* 2, 3, 79 *Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo*. — *quem...cumque*: cf. n. to 1, 6, 3.

3. *pones*: permissive; cf. 1, 7, 1 *laudabunt alii*, etc.

5 ff. Examples of the *furor divinus*. — *Dindymene*: Cybele or Rhea, identical with the *Magna Mater* of the Romans, named from the Phrygian mountain Dindymus. This was near Pessinus, where the chief shrine of the goddess was. Her orgiastic worship, in which her priests, the Corybantes, danced and cut themselves with knives, was introduced at Rome in 204 B.C.

6. The Pythia, priestess of Apollo, had her seat in the innermost shrine (*adyta*) of the temple, where, inspired with a divine ecstasy, as the ancients believed, she gave utterance to prophecy. For the ecstatic inspiration of the Cumaean Sibyl see Verg. *A.* 6, 77 ff. — *incola Pythius*:

he whose home is Pytho, i.e. Apollo. Pytho was the ancient name of Delphi. With the phrase, cf. Catull. 64, 228 (of Athene), *incola Itoni*.

7. *Liber*: the orgiastic celebrations of the bacchanals were inspired by the god. — *non acuta*, etc.: the comparison is thus half interrupted, 'Neither the rites of Cybele, nor of Apollo, nor of Bacchus affect the mind so much (*aequae*)—no, nor do the Corybantes clash their shrill cymbals with so much effect (*sic*)—as bursts of passion distress the mind.' — *geminant...aera*: of the cymbals. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 8, 221 *gemina aera sonant*.

9 ff. *Noricus*: the iron of Noricum was most esteemed. Cf. *Epod.* 17, 71. — *ensis...mare...ignis*: proverbial obstacles. Cf. S. 1, 1, 39 *ignis, mare, ferrum, nil obstat tibi*; and *Epist.* 1, 1, 46 *per mare, pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignis*. — *mare naufragum*: *the wrecking sea*. Cf. Tibull. 2, 4, 10 *naufraga...unda maris*.

Fertur Prometheus, addere principi
limo coactus particulam undique
15 desectam, et insani leonis
vim stomacho adposuisse nostro.

Irae Thyesten exitio gravi
stravere et altis urbibus ultimae
stetere causae cur perirent
20 funditus imprimeretque muris

hostile aratrum exercitus insolens.
Compesce mentem! Me quoque pectoris

13-16. While the belief that man possesses the characteristics of the lower animals is very ancient, the form of the myth which Horace gives here is not found in any earlier author. — *principi*: *principal*, *primordial*; 'primitive clay.' — *coactus*: for all the elements had been exhausted in making the other animals; therefore Prometheus was obliged to take a portion from each creature (*undique*) for man.

15 f. *et*: *even*. — *leonis vim*: *i.e. violentiam*. — *stomacho*: as the seat of passion. Cf. 1, 6, 6 *Pelidae stomachum cedere nescii*.

17. *irae*: resuming the *irae* of v. 9. — *Thyesten*: cf. 1, 6, 8 *saevam Pelopis domum*, and n. The special reference here is to the blind rage of Atreus, who served Thyestes' son to him at a banquet. The *Thyestes* of Varius had recently been published when Horace wrote. Cf. n. to 1, 6, 1.

18 f. *altis urbibus*: *e.g.* Thebes, which fell under the wrathful curse of Oedipus. — *ultimae . . . causae*: the causes farthest back, and so 'first.' — *stetere*: hardly stronger than *fuere*.

20. *imprimeret muris*, etc.: as the walls of a new city were marked out with a plow, so after the razing of a captured city, a plow was dragged across the ground as a sign that the spot was restored to its primitive condition. Propert. 4, 9, 41 f. *moenia cum Graio Neptunia pressit aratro | victor*; Isid. Orig. 15, 2 *urbs aratro conditur, aratro vertitur*; and Jeremiah 26, 18 'Zion shall be plowed like a field.'

21. *ex||ercitus*: but two other cases of such caesura are found, 1, 37, 5; 2, 17, 21. Intr. 50. Both the poems belong to the year 30 B.C.

22. *me quoque*: the familiar personal illustration. Intr. 30.

temptavit in dulci iuventa
fervor et in celeres iambos

25 misit furentem : nunc ego mitibus
mutare quaero tristia, dum mihi
fias recantatis amica
opprobriis animumque reddas.

24. **fervor**: 'the fever of passion.'—**celer**es iambos: cf. n. to v. 2 above.—**mitibus** . . . **tristia**: *kind* . . . *cruel*. For the cases, see Intr. 98; for the number, cf.

1, 34, 12 *ima summis mutare*.—**dum** . . . **fias**: the terms on which Horace recants; his offended lady-love is to give him back her heart.

17

An invitation to his mistress, Tyndaris. 'Faunus often leaves the Lycean Mount for Lucretilis and guards my goats from harm (1-4). When he is near, my flocks wander all in safety; when his pipe echoes, they fear not even the wolves of Mars (5-12). Not they alone are cared for; the gods care for me as well and for my Muse. Here, Tyndaris, is rustic plenty; here in quiet nook thou mayest sing the old-time songs; here quaff the innocent Lesbian wine and have no fear of quarrels or of harm from jealous Cyrus (13-28).'

On Horace's Sabine farm presented to him by Maecenas in 34 B.C., see Intr. 5. Sellar, p. 30 f. The date of composition is unknown. Metre, 68.

Velox amoenum saepe Lucretilem
mutat Lycaeο Faunus et igneam

1. **velox**: emphatic, *with all speed*. — **Lucretilem**: apparently Monte Gennaro, the highest mountain of the range between the Licenza valley in which Horace's farm was situated, and the Campagna. — **mutat**: note that the construction here is the reverse of

that in v. 26 of the preceding ode. Intr. 98.

2. **Lycaeο**: a mountain in southwestern Arcadia, where Pan had a shrine (*παντεῖον*). — **Faunus**: an old Italian divinity, of agriculture and of cattle (3, 18), sometimes prophetic (Verg. *A.* 7,

defendit aestatem capellis
usque meis pluviosque ventos.

5 Impune tutum per nemus arbutos
quaerunt latentis et thyma deviae
olentis uxores mariti,
nec viridis metuunt colubras
nec Martialis haediliae lupos,
10 utcumque dulci, Tyndari, fistula
valles et Vsticae cubantis
levia personuere saxa.

[Di me tuentur, dis pietas mea
et musa cordi est. Hic tibi copia

48. 81), identified here with the Arcadian god Pan, ὄρειβάτης, *montivagus*. Cf. Ovid. *Fast.* 2, 285 f. *ipse deus velox discurrere gaudet in altis | montibus*. He was the inventor of the syrinx (fistula v. 10). — *igneam* . . . *aestatem*: the fiery summer heat.

3 f. *capellis*: dative. Cf. Verg. *E.* 7, 47 *solstitium pecori defendite*. — *usque*: equivalent to *semper*.

5 f. *impune tutum*: note the force of the cumulation. — *impune* is connected with *deviae*, which implies a carelessness in their wandering search (*quaerunt*) for food. — *latentis*: i.e. among the other trees and shrubs.

7. *olentis uxores mariti*: an awkward phrase, made offensive by translation, — *the wives of the unsavory lord*. — *mariti*: cf. Theoc. 8, 49 ὦ τράγε, τῶν λευκᾶν

αἰγᾶν ἄνερ, and Verg. *E.* 7, 7 *vir gregis ipse caper*. Mart. 14, 140, 1 imitates the phrase in his *olentis barba mariti*.

9. *Martialis*: a natural epithet of the wolf as sacred to Mars. Cf. Verg. *A.* 9, 566 *Martius lupus*. Faunus as protector of cattle guards them from the mountain wolves. — *haediliae*: my kidlets (sc. *metuunt*). This word is found only here: it is formed from *haedus*, as *porcilia* from *porcus*.

10 f. *utcumque*: temporal. — *fistula*: the god's pipes, the syrinx, not Tyndaris' flute, is meant. — *Vsticae*: according to Porphyrio one of the Sabine mountains with gently sloping (*cubantis*) sides.

14 ff. *cordi*: dear; originally like *frugi*, a predicate dative. Note the cumulative force of the follow-

15

manabit ad plenum benigno
ruris honorum opulenta cornu ;

hic in reducta valle Caniculae
vitabis aestus et fide Teia
dices laborantis in uno

20

Penelopen vitreamque Circen ;

hic innocentis pocula Lesbii
• duces sub umbra, nec Semeleius
cum Marte confundet Thyoneus
• proelia, nec metues protervum

ing epithets — **ad plenum**, **benigno** (*i.e. large, generous*), **opulenta**. — **copia**: here the contents of the horn. — **cornu**: the horn of Fortune, which Hercules wrenched from the river god Achelous and presented to the goddess. See Baumeister, nos. 605, 2037. — **ruris honorum**: fruits and flowers. Cf. *S. 2, 5, 12 f. dulcia poma | et quoscumque feret cultus tibi fundus honores.*

17 f. **reducta valle**: cf. *Epod. 2, 11 f. aut in reducta valle mugientium | prospectat errantis greges.* — **Caniculae**: properly Procyon, but here not distinguished from Sirius. — **fide Teia**: Teos in Ionia was the native city of Anacreon, who sang of love and wine. — **dices**: *shalt sing.* Cf. 1, 6, 5. — **laborantis**: sc. *amore*, ἔρωτι πονοῦσαι. The object of their love is expressed by *in* with the abl. Cf. Catull. 64, 98 (of Ariadne) *in flavo saepe*

hospite suspirantem. — **uno**: Odysseus.

20. **vitream**: a natural epithet of Circe who was a sea nymph. Cf. *Stat. Silv. 1, 3, 85 vitreae iuga perfida Circes*, and *C. 4, 2, 3 vitreo ponto.* — **Penelopen** . . . **Circen**: the faithful wife and the treacherous sorceress contrasted.

21 f. **innocentis**: explained by the following verses, 'no drunken quarrels shall result from its use.' — **duces**: *shalt quaff.* — **Semeleius** . . . **Thyoneus**: a combination of two metonymics imitated by a poet in the *Anth. Lat. 1, 751 Semeleie Bacche . . . laete Thyoneu.* — **Thyōne** (cf. θύω = 'to rush,' 'to be violently excited'), whom some legends make the mother of Dionysus, is identified with Semele in the older Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus* v. 21, and by Pindar *P. 3, 176.*

23 f. **confundet** . . . **proelia**: a variation of the common *miscere, committere proelia.*

25

suspecta Cyrum, ne male dispari
incontinentis iniciat manus
et scindat haerentem coronam
crinibus immeritamque vestem.

25. **suspecta**: for rude Cyrus is jealous.—**male dispari**: *a bad match*, i.e. *no match*, cf. I, 9, 24 *male per-
tinaci* and n. to *minus* I, 2, 27.

26 ff. Tyndaris is to be in festal dress, which Cyrus would injure if he should find her. Cf. Propert.

2, 5, 21 ff. *nec tibi periuro scindam
de corpore vestem, | nec mea prae-
clusas fregerit ira fores, | nec tibi
conexos iratus carpere crines | nec
duris ausim laedere pollicibus.* —
immeritam: the dress shares Tyn-
daris' innocence.

18

In praise of wine. 'Thou shouldst before all, Varus, plant the vine about Tibur, for total abstainers find life hard. Wine drives away cares; but immoderate use brings quarrels, boasting, and bad faith.'

The ode was suggested by a poem of Alcaeus, of which Horace has translated at least the beginning, *Fr. 44 μηδὲν ἄλλο φυτεύσης πρότερον δένδριον ἀμπέλῳ*. He has, however, after his usual manner given his verses an Italian setting. The date of composition is unknown. The Varus addressed was probably Quintilius Varus, whose death is lamented in I, 24. Metre, 54.

Nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem
circa mite solum Tiburis et moenia Catili.

1. **sacra**: as the vine is the gift of Bacchus. Cf. Ennius *Trag.* 107 f. R. *Bacchus pater | . . . vitis inventor sacrae*. The position of **sacra** implies that this gift is not to be abused, but enjoyed in proper fashion as coming from the gods. — **severis**: *plant*. Cf. Caecilius apud Cic. *C. M.* 24 *serit arbores quae alteri saeclo prosint*. — **arbo-rem**: a generic term of wider scope than our English 'tree.'

Plin. *N. H.* 14, 9 *vites iure apud
priscos magnitudine quoque inter
arbores numerabantur*.

2. **circa**: used in the same loose way as our English 'about'; with **solum** it denotes the place where, with **moenia** it means 'near', 'in the neighborhood of.' — **mite**: *soft*, and hence *fertile*. Cf. Verg. *G.* 2, 226 ff. for an account of the best soil for vines. — **Tiburis**: for Horace's love of

Siccis omnia nam dura deus proposuit neque
mordaces aliter diffugiunt sollicitudines.

5 Quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem crepat?
Quis non te potius, Bacche pater, teque, decens Venus?
Ac ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi,
Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero
debellata, monet Sithoniis non levis Euhius,

Tibur, see 1, 7, 11 ff. — **moenia Catili**: Cati(1)lus with his brothers Coras and Tiburnus from Arcadia founded Tibur, and gave his name to the mountain that overhangs the town. It is still Monte Catillo. Here the form with the short penult is chosen for the metre's sake.

3. **siccis**: *total abstainers*. For the opposite, *udus* or *uvidus*, cf. 1, 7, 22; 4, 5, 39. — **nam**: for the position, see Intr. 31. — **dura**: 'life's rough side.'

4. **mordaces**: *carking*. Cf. 2, 11, 18 *curae edaces*; and Verg. *A.* 1, 261 *quando haec te cura remordet*. — **aliter**: *i.e.* without the use of wine.

5. **gravem militiam**, etc.: *the hardships of war or of petty estate*. — **crepat**: *babbles, harps on*.

6. **pater**: in recognition of the god as giver of the vine and other blessings. Cf. 3, 3, 13; *Epist.* 2, 1, 5 *Liber pater*. Here he is named with Venus, as wine and love are boon companions. — **decens**: *comely*, 'fair in face and figure.' Cf. 1, 4, 6 *Gratiae decentes*.

7. **ne quis**, etc.: dependent on **monet** in the following verse. — **transiliat**: *lightly abuse*. — **modici**:

i.e. equivalent to *qui modum amat*.

Cf. 1, 27, 3 *verecundus Bacchus*.

8 f. The first of the examples given to enforce the warning — the quarrel between the Centaurs and the Lapithae at the marriage of Peirithoos and Hippodamia — was a favorite subject of literary and plastic art. Cf. *e.g.* *Od.* 21, 294–304; Ovid. *Met.* 12, 210 ff. The contest was represented on the pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, and on the metopes of the Parthenon. — **super mero**: local; *over their wine*.

9. **debellata**: note the force of the prefix; the brawl ended in the destruction of the Centaurs. — **Sithoniis**: a Thracian people dwelling on the peninsula Palene. Tradition said that Dionysus destroyed the giants who once dwelt there. Whether the reference here is to some feature of the myth unknown to us or to the familiar impetuous character of the intemperate Thracians cannot be determined. Cf. 1, 27, 1 f. *natis in usum laetitiae scyphis | pugnare Thracum est*. — **non levis**: carrying the emphasis, — *the harshness of*, etc. — **Euhius**: a

10 cum fas atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum
discernunt avidi. Non ego te, candide Bassareu,
invitum quatiā nec variis obsita frondibus
sub divum rapiam. Saeva tene cum Berecynthio
cornu tympana, quae subsequitur caecus amor sui

name of Bacchus formed from the bacchanal cry *εὐοῖ*. Cf. 2, 19, 5. Notice that Horace employs here indiscriminately Latin and Greek names of the god — Bacchus 6, Liber 7, Euhius 9, Bassareus 11 — his purpose being simply to secure variety.

10. *exiguo fine*, etc.: *with appetite's narrow bound alone; i.e.* when men in their greed (*avidī*) make their passions the sole measure of right and wrong. In the following verses Horace expresses his thoughts, 'I will not abuse thy gift, fair Bacchus,' in the language of the Dionysiac mysteries.

11. *non ego*: the common personal note giving force and concreteness to the general statement. For the order of words, see Intr. 21. 30. — *candide*: used of brilliant youthful beauty, 'fair and young' (Wickham). Cf. Ovid *Fast.* 3, 771 ff. — *Bassareu*: an epithet formed from the Greek *βασσάρα*, a foxskin. This was worn by the bacchanals, who are themselves called in the Orphic hymn 44, 2 A. *βασσάραι*.

12. *quatiā*: *arouse*, *κινήσω*, properly applied to the thyrsus and other symbols of the god, as by Catull. 64, 256 *harum pars*

tecta quatiebant cuspide thyrsos. — *variis obsita frondibus*: the sacred symbols (*orgia*) placed in baskets (*cistae*) and covered with ivy, grape, or fig leaves, etc. Cf. Catull. 64, 254 ff. and Theoc. 26, 3 ff.

13. *sub divum*: *into the light of day*; cf. 1, 1, 25 *manet sub Iove frigido venator*. — *saeva tene*, etc.: 'And we pray thee, Bacchus, do not excite our minds unduly lest we fall into excess.' — *saeva*: of the sound, 'the wild din of.' Cf. Verg. *A.* 9, 651 *saeva sonoribus arma*, and Catull. 64, 261 ff. *plangebant aliae proceris tympana palmis | aut tereti tenues tinnitus aere ciebant | multis raucisonos efflabant cornua bombos | barbaraque horribili stridebat tibia cantu*. — *Berecynthio cornu*: cf. 3, 19, 18 f. *cur Berecynthiae cessant flamina tibiae*. This is properly the horn used in the orgiastic cult of Cybele on Mt. Berecynthus in Phrygia; by extension applied to the horns employed in the worship of Bacchus.

14 f. *quae subsequitur*, etc.: *i.e.* in the train of mad ecstasy inspired by the god follow all too readily self-love (*amor sui*), boasting (*gloria*) and faithlessness (*arcani fides*)

15 et tollens vacuum plus nimio gloria verticem
arcanique fides prodiga, perlucidior vitro.

prodiga). — **plus nimio**: *over much*, 'too high.' Cf. 1, 33, 1 *ne doleas plus nimio*, and *Epist.* 1, 10, 30 *res plus nimio delectavere secundæ*.

16. Drunkenness causes men to babble secrets. Cf. 3, 21, 15 f. (to

a wine jar) *tu . . . arcanum iocosum | consilium retegis Lyaeo*; and the proverb in the scholia to Plato, p. 960 *Or.* τὸ ἐν καρδίᾳ νήφοντος, ἐπὶ τῇ γλώσσῃ τοῦ μεθύοντος. — **fides prodiga**: *the faith that is lavish*.

19

'I thought my days of love were over, but Venus and her allies will not let me go. Glycera inflames me; Venus forbids me sing of aught but love. Bring turf and let me build an altar to the goddess. The offer of a victim will soften her attack.'

This dainty poem should be compared with the thirtieth ode of this book. Possibly its place here was determined by the *decens Venus* v. 6 of the preceding ode. The date is wholly uncertain. Metre, 71.

Mater saeva Cupidinum

Thebanaeque iubet me Semeles puer
et lasciva Licentia

finitis animum reddere amoribus.

5 Vrit me Glycerae nitor

splendentis Pario marmore purius;

1 f. **Mater saeva Cupidinum**: repeated years later in 4, 1, 5. Cf. Philod. *Anth. Pal.* 10, 21 Κύπρι, πόθων μῆτερ ἀελλοπόδων. — **Cupidinum**: the plural is not infrequent in Hellenistic and Roman literature. — **Semeles puer**: for Bacchus' association with Venus, see v. 6 of the preceding ode. Cf. also the Anacreontic fragment 2 to Dionysus ὦναξ, ᾧ δαμάλης Ἔρως . . . πορφυρέη τ' Ἀφροδίτη συμπαίζουσιν.

3 f. **lasciva**: *wanton*, as *lasciva*

puella, Verg. *E.* 3, 64. — **Licentia**: ὕβρις. — **finitis**: predicate to **amoribus** — *to loves I thought were past*. — **animum reddere**: here not as in 1, 16, 28, but almost equivalent to *me reddere*.

5 ff. **urit . . . urit**: Intr. 28 c. — **nitor**: *brilliant beauty*; so *niteo* in 2, 5, 18 f. *albo sic umerō nitens*. — **Pario**: so Pindar celebrates the brilliancy of Parian marble *N.* 4, 81 εἰ δέ κελεύεις στάλαν θέμεν Παρίου λίθου λευκοτέραν.

urit grata protervitas
 et voltus nimium lubricus adspici.
 In me tota ruens Venus
 10 Cyprum deseruit, nec patitur Scythas
 et versis animosum equis
 Parthum dicere nec quae nihil attinent.
 Hic vivum mihi caespitem, hic
 verbenas, pueri, ponite turaque
 15 bimi cum patera meri;
 mactata veniet lenior hostia.

7 f. *grata protervitas*: *her pretty, provoking ways*. Prudent. *praef.* 10 has a reminiscence of this ode in his repetition of the phrase *lasciva protervitas*. — *lubricus aspici*: ὑγρὸς βλέπεσθαι. Intr. 109.

9. *tota*: 'with all her power.' — *Cyprum deseruit*: Cyprus was one of the chief centers of the worship of Aphrodite; on its shores the goddess is said to have been born from the foam of the sea. Cf. Alcman *Frg.* 21 Κύπρον ἱμερτὰν λιποῖσα καὶ Πάφον περιρρύταν.

10 f. *nec patitur Scythas*, etc.: the goddess of love will not allow Horace to sing of serious subjects, the dangers that threaten the empire, or even of subjects to which she is wholly indifferent (*quae nihil attinent*). Love must be his only theme.

11 f. *versis* . . . *Parthum*: the famous maneuver of the Parthians, in which they pretended to flee and then, turning on their horses, shot at their pursuers, is frequently mentioned by the Romans. Cf.

e.g. 2, 13, 18; Verg. *G.* 3, 31 *fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis*; also Ovid *A. A.* 3, 786 *ut celer aversis utere Parthus equis*. Plut. *Crass.* 24 ὑπέφενγον γὰρ ἄμα βάλλοντες οἱ Πάρθοι, καὶ τοῦτο κρᾶτιστα ποιοῦσι μετὰ Σκύθας.

13 f. *hic* . . . *hic*: the anaphora expressed the poet's mock haste. He will build an altar on the spot, of fresh turf (*vivum caespitem*), and propitiate the goddess with sacrifice. — *verbenas*: defined by the ancients as anything green, whether branches of laurel, bay, or olive, or even grass, used for sacred purposes. Here branches to decorate the improvised altar. Cf. 4, 11, 6 f. *ara | castis vincta verbenis*. — *pueri*: the common address to slaves.

15. *meri*: pure wine unmixed with water was alone used in libation. — *hostia*: ordinarily only bloodless sacrifices were offered to Venus; but this is not to be taken too literally. — *lenior*: *with gentler sway*; in contrast to *in me tota ruens* above.

20

‘Cheap Sabine wine in modest cups shall be thy drink with me, my dear Maecenas. I sealed the jar myself some years ago. Choice wines thou hast at home; but no Falernian nor Formian grape flavors my cups.’

These verses have the form of an answer to a letter from Mæcenas announcing his intention to visit Horace on his Sabine farm. The event mentioned in v. 3 ff. fixes the date of composition as after 30 B.C. The ode shows a lack of finish, as if written in haste. Metre, 69.

Vile potabis modicis Sabinum
cantharis, Graeca quod ego ipse testa
conditum levi, datus in theatro
cum tibi plausus,

5 care Maecenas eques, ut paterni
fluminis ripae simul et iocosa

1. vile . . . Sabinum: just *vin ordinaire*. The Sabine was the lightest of the Italian wines, according to Galen *apud Athen.* 1, 27 B. who adds ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ ἐπιτήδειος πίνεσθαι μέχρι πεντεκαίδεκα. — modicis: with reference to the material of which Horace’s drinking cups (canthari) are made; plain earthen cups, not goblets of silver or of gold.

2. Graeca . . . testa: an amphora in which a Greek—and a superior—wine had been imported. The cheap Sabine would acquire a better taste from being stored in such a jar. Cf. Columella’s instructions, 12, 28 *si vasa recentia ex quibus vinum exemptum sit habebis, in ea (sc. vinum) confundito*.

3. conditum: stored away, in the amphora. For the process of

making wine, see *Dictionary of Antiquities*, s. v. *vinum*. — levi: equivalent to *oblevi*. The cork which stopped the amphora was sealed with pitch or plaster. Cf. 3, 8, 9 f. *hic dies . . . | corticem adstrictum pice dimovebit | amphorae*. — datus in theatro, etc.: the only permanent theater at this time was that built by Pompey on the Campus Martius in 55 B.C. The occasion referred to was in 30 B.C., when Maecenas was greeted with great applause on his first appearance after a severe illness. Cf. 2, 17, 25 f. *cum populus frequens | laetum theatris ter crepuit sonum*.

5 f. care: cf. 2, 20, 7 *dilecte Maecenas*. — eques: referring to Maecenas’ modesty in remaining a member of the burgher class in

redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
montis imago.

10 Caecubum et prelo domitam Caleno
tu bibes uvam : mea nec Falernae
temperant vites neque Formiani
pocula colles.

spite of the opportunity his wealth and power gave him to rise from it. Intr. 5. — **paterni fluminis** : the Tibur is called by Horace *S.* 2, 2, 32 *amnis Tuscus*. Maecenas was of Etruscan stock ; see n. to 1, 1, 1 and Propert. 4, 9, 1 *Maecenas eques Etrusco de sanguine regum*. — **iocosa . . . imago** : as 1, 12, 3. — **redderet** : *answered back*.

7 f. **Vaticani montis** : the Vatican forms the northern spur of

the range of hills of which the Janiculum is the highest.

9 ff. The four wines selected as representatives of the choicer brands were all grown on the coast of southern Latium and northern Campania. — **tu . . . mea** : contrasted. — **bibes** : *mayest drink at home*. For this use of the future, cf. 1, 7, 1 *laudabunt alii*. — **temperant** : *temper, flavor* ; properly used of mixing wine with water in due proportion.

21

A hymn to Diana and Apollo as averters of ill. This may have been originally a study for a secular hymn, possibly for the celebration planned by Augustus for 23 B.C. Cf. Intr. to *C. S.* p. 388. The verses have a striking resemblance to Catull. 34, 1 ff. *Dianae sumus in fide | puellae et pueri integri ; | Dianam pueri integri | puellaeque canamus*. Like Catullus' ode and the *Carmen Saeculare* this was written for a chorus of girls and boys. It should be compared also with 4, 6. Metre, 73.

Dianam tenerae dicite virgines,
intonsum, pueri, dicite Cynthium,

1 f. Note the parallelism, which is not unlike that in Catullus' verses quoted above. — **Dianam** : but *Diana* 3, 4, 71. Intr. 34. — **dicite** : equivalent to *cantate*, as often. Cf. 1, 6, 5.

2. **intonsum** : Apollo, as a divinity ever young, is represented with flowing hair — ἀκροσεκόμης. Cf. *Epod.* 15, 9 *intonso Apollinis capillos* ; and Tibull. 1, 4, 37 f. *solis aeterna est Phoebus Bacchoque*

Latonamque supremo
dilectam penitus Iovi.

5 Vos laetam fluviis et nemorum coma
quaecumque aut gelido prominet Algido
nigris aut Erymanthi
silvis aut viridis Gragi;

vos Tempe totidem tollite laudibus
10 natalemque, mares, Delon Apollinis
insignemque pharetra
fraternaue umerum lyra.

iuventa; | *nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque deum*. — **Cynthium**: so named from Mt. Cynthus in Delos, where he and his sister Diana were born.

3 f. **Latonam**: the mother also is included in the hymn. — **penitus**: 'deeply,' 'heartily,' κηρόθι.

5. **vos**: the half-chorus of girls; sc. *dicite*. — **laetam fluviis**: Diana was goddess of streams as well as of the woods. Cf. Catull. 34, 12 *domina . . . amniumque sonantum*; Pind. *P.* 2, 6 Ὀρτυγίαν, ποταμίας ἔδος Ἀρτέμιδος. She is named Ἀρτεμις ποταμία also on Sicilian coins. — **coma**: not an uncommon figure, 'the tresses of the wood.' So e.g. *Od.* 23, 195 ἀπέκοψα κόμην πανφύλλον ἐλαίης; Catull. 4, 11 *comata silva*. Milton *P. L.* 7 'bush with frizzled hair implicit.'

6. **Algido**: a ridge in the Alban Hills on a spur of which was a famous shrine of Diana, *dea Nemorensis*, near the present Lake Nemi. Its name was probably

due to the fact that its woods and elevation made it a cool and pleasant contrast to the plain about it. Cf. 3, 23, 9 f. (*victima*) *quae nivali pascitur Algido* | *devota quercus inter et ilices*. 4, 4, 58 *nigrae feraci frondis in Algido*.

7. **Erymanthi**: a high mountain in north Acadia, a favorite hunting place of Diana. *Od.* 6, 102 οἷη δ' Ἀρτεμις εἶσι κατ' οὔρεος ἰοχέαιρα, | ἥ κατὰ Τηϋγετον περιμήκετον ἥ Ἐρύμανθον. The adjective **nigris** (*dark green*) is contrasted to **viridis** (*light green*). Cf. 4, 12, 11 *nigri colles Arcadiae*. — **Gragi**: Gragus, a mountain in Lycia, and the home of Leto.

9 ff. **vos**: the boys. — **Tempe**: the valley of the Peneus between Olympus and Ossa. Cf. 1, 7, 4. — **natalem** . . . **Delon**: cf. n. to v. 2 above, and Verg. *A.* 4, 144 *Delum maternam*. — **totidem**: with **laudibus**.

12. **umerum**: a Greek accu. with **insignem** (sc. *deum*). — **fra-**

15 Hic bellum lacrimosum, hic miseram famem
 pestemque a populo et principe Caesare in
 Persas atque Britannos
 vestra motus aget prece.

terna . . . lyra: the story of the presentation of the lyre to Apollo by Mercury is told in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, 490-502.

13 ff. hic . . . hic: Apollo as the special protector of Augustus is invoked to avert the ills that threaten the state. Cf. the introductory note to 1, 2. — bellum lacrimosum: the Homeric πόλεμον δακρυόεντα (*Il.* 5, 737), Vergil's *lacrimabile bellum* (*A.* 7, 604). — miseram famem, etc.: with reference to

the failure of the crops in 24 B.C. and Augustus' sickness, 24-23 B.C. The collocation famem pestemque may be simply a reproduction of the phrase λιμὸς καὶ λοιμός, Hes. *Op.* 243. — principe: 'the first citizen.' Cf. 1, 2, 50. — Persas atque Britannos: the remote East and West still unsubdued. Cf. 3, 5, 3 *adiectis Britannis | imperio gravibusque Persis*. Note the confidence expressed by the future aget.

22

'The upright man is safe, no matter where he roams. I know that this is true, friend Fuscus, for once in Sabine wood as I sang of Lalage, a monster wolf fled from me, though I was unarmed. Put me in chill northern gloom or beneath the torrid sun, still will I ever sing my Lalage.'

The affected solemnity of the first two strophes has often led commentators to interpret this ode too seriously, as if Horace were solemnly preaching a moral lesson. While an actual encounter with a wolf may have furnished the opportunity for the illustration, Horace was the last man to use such an event to point a moral, still less take himself for an example of the noblest virtue. He never preaches, and is always free from cant. As a matter of fact, the ode is a piece of humor which Horace knew his friend Aristius Fuscus would appreciate. No doubt Horace had had many proofs of Fuscus' fondness for joking; he tells of one occasion (*S.* 1, 9, 61-73) when his friend refused to rescue him from a bore. The relations between the two were the closest. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 10, 3 f. *paene gemelli fraternis animis*. Metre, 69.

Integer vitae scelerisque purus
 non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu
 nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
 Fusce, pharetra,

5 sive per Syrtis iter aestuosas
 sive facturus per inhospitalem
 Caucasum vel quae loca fabulosus
 lambit Hydaspes.

10 Namque me silva lupus in Sabina,
 dum meam canto Lalagen et ultra
 terminum curis vagor expeditis,
 fugit inermem,

quale portentum neque militaris
 Daunias latis alit aesculetis

1. *vitae . . . sceleris*: genitives of reference; the first is not uncommon in Latin poetry, *e.g.* Verg. *A.* 9, 255 and Ovid *Met.* 9, 441 *integer aevi*. Intr. 93. The second is a Greek construction, *καθαρὸς ἀδικίας*, for which the Latin ordinarily preferred the abl. Cf. *S.* 2, 3, 213 *purum vitio cor*.

5. *Syrtis*: the desert coast on the north of Africa, opposite the whirlpools called by the same name; cf. Verg. *A.* 5, 51 *hunc* (sc. *diem*) *ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exsul*. Pliny *N. H.* 5, 26 speaks of this barren tract as the haunt of savage beasts and serpents.

6 ff. *facturus*: sc. *est*. — *fabulosus*: since the Hydaspes — the farthest river reached by Alexander

in India — was famed to bear gems and gold, and the entire unknown eastern world for which the river stands was a land of marvels and wonders. — *lambit*: *laves*.

9. *namque me*: introducing the special experience — shown by the emphatic *me* to be a personal one — to prove the general statement. Intr. 30. — *Lalagen*: *λαλαγή*, 'the prattler,' a name chosen to suit the character of the ode.

10 f. *ultra terminum*: *i.e.* of his own farm. — *curis expeditis*: cf. Catull. 31, 7 *o quid solutis est beatius curis*.

13. *quale portentum*: *such a monster as*, etc.

14. *Daunias*: the Greek *Δαυνία*, Apulia; named from Daunus, a mythical king of Northern Apulia.

15

nec Iubae tellus generat, leonum
arida nutrix.

20

Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
arbor aestiva recreatur aura,
quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
Iuppiter urget;

pone sub curru nimium propinqui
solis, in terra domibus negata:
dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
dulce loquentem.

Cf. 3, 30, 11 f. *et qua pauper aquae | Daunus agrestium regnavit popu-
lorum*. Vergil introduced him into the *Aeneid* (12, 934) as the father of Turnus; another legend made him the father-in-law of Diomedes, who assisted him against the Mes-
sapians.

15. *Iubae tellus*: Mauretania. The reference is probably to the younger Iuba, son of the king Iuba who killed himself after the defeat at Thapsus in 46 B.C. The young prince received a Roman education and was established on the throne of Mauretania in 25 B.C. This barren country (*leonum arida nutrix*) was a poor return for the kingdom his father lost to the Romans.

16. *arida nutrix*: a weak oxymoron. Intr. 26 a. Cf. Anon. *Anth. Pal.* 6, 51 *μητερ ἐμή, γαίη Φρυγίων, θρέπτειρα λεόντων*.

17-22. The same extremes as 3,

3, 54 ff. *visere gestiens | qua parte debacchentur ignes, | qua nebulae pluviique rores*. — *pigris*: dull, barren. Cf. Lucret. 5, 746 *bruma nives affert pigrumque rigorem*, and Ovid, *Am.* 3, 6, 94 *pigra hiems*.

19. *quod latus*: a parallel construction to *quale portentum*, v. 13. — *latus*: inasmuch as Horace here thinks of the world as flat. Cf. 3, 24, 38 *Boreae finitimum latus*. — *malus*: a sullen.

22. *domibus negata*: in contrast is Vergil's description of the temperate zones, *G.* 1, 237 f. *mortalibus aegris | munere concessae divom*.

23 f. Note the liquid sound of these verses. — *dulce ridentem* . . . *dulce loquentem*: like Sappho's *ἄδυ φωνείσας* . . . *γελείσας ἱμερόεν*. Horace's second phrase reproduces the girl's name, *Λαλαγή*.

23

A study from a Greek original; possibly from Anacreon's verses, of which we have a fragment (51) ἀγανῶς οἷα τε νεβρὸν νεοθηλέα | γαλαθηνόν, ὅστ' ἐν ὕλῃ κεροέσσης | ἀπολειφθεὶς ὑπὸ μητρὸς ἐπτοήθη. 'Gently as a new-born fawn unweaned, which quivers from terror, when left in the wood by its antlered mother.' The name Chloe (χλόη, 'a young shoot') was apparently chosen to suit the character of the girl, as was Lalage in the preceding ode and Lydia and Sybaris in 1, 8. Metre, 73.

Vitas inuleo me similis, Chloe,
quaerenti pavidam montibus aviis
matrem non sine vano
aurarum et siluae metu;

5 nam seu mobilibus veris inhorruit
adventus foliis, seu virides rubum
dimovere lacertae,
et corde et genibus tremit.

Atqui non ego te tigris ut aspera
10 Gaetulusve leo frangere persequor;

1 ff. *inuleo*: a fawn.—*quaerenti*: 'lost and seeking,' ἀπολειφθεὶς above.—*non sine*, etc.: a common form of litotes with Horace. Cf. 1, 25, 16 *non sine questu*; 3, 13, 2 *mero non sine floribus*. With the entire expression, cf. Lucan 8, 5 f. *pavet ille fragorem motorum ventis nemorum*.

4. *siluae*: trisyllabic, as *Epod.* 13, 2. Intr. 41.

5 f. *veris* . . . *adventus*: i.e. the blowing of Favonius, the companion of the spring. Cf. 1, 4, 1 *solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni*; 4, 12, 1 *veris comites*.—*foliis*: instrumental abl. with in-

horruit, *rustled*. Cf. Plato *Anth. Plan.* 16, 13 ὑψίκομον παρὰ τάνδε καθίζεο φωνήεσσαν | φρίσσουσιν πυκινόις κῶνον ὑπὸ Ζεφύροις. 'Sit thee down by this lofty pine tree which is vocal as it shivers and rustles under the frequent gusts of Zephyrus.'

7. *dimovere*: have moved aside, as they slip through the brambles. Cf. Verg. *E.* 2, 9 *nunc viridis etiam occultant spineta lacertos*.—*tremit*: the subject is the *inuleus* of the comparison, v. 1.

9 f. *atqui*: corrective—'yet thy fear is vain, for.'—*frangere*: literally 'crush between the teeth.'

tandem desine matrem
tempestita sequi viro.

Cf. *Il.* 11, 113 f. ὥς δέ λέων ἐλάφοιο
ταχείης νήπια τέκνα | ῥηϊδίως συν-
έαξε, λαβὼν κρατεροῖσιν ὁδοῦσιν.

12. *tempestita . . . viro*: cf. Verg.
A. 7, 53 *iam matura viro, iam*
plenis nubilis annis.

24

A lament on the death of Quintilius Varus, the common friend of Horace and of Vergil. He was an accomplished and, according to Horace's words, *Epist.* 2, 3, 438 ff., an impartial critic, whose judgment was valued by his literary friends, *Quintilio siquid recitares, 'corrigesodes | hoc' aiebat 'et hoc.' melius te posse negares, | bis terque expertum frustra, delere iubebat | et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.* The year of his death is fixed by St. Jerome's entry against 24 B.C. *Quintilius Cremonensis Vergili et Horati familiaris moritur.* This ode must have been written within the next few months. The Varus of the eighteenth ode is probably identical with Quintilius. Metre, 72.

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
tam cari capitis? Praecipe lugubris
cantus, Melpomene, cui liquidam pater
vocem cum cithara dedit.

1. *quis desiderio*, etc.: *i.e.* 'who can or would restrain his tears.' In prose we should have the genitive depending on *pudor*, while the dative is the natural case with *modus*; here the constructions are united because *modus* contains the predominant idea; so in Martial 8, 64, 15 *sit tandem pudor et modus rapinis.*

2. *tam cari capitis*: *for a soul so dear.* For this use of *caput*, cf. *Epod.* 5, 74 *o multa fleturum*

caput; Verg. *A.* 4, 354 *puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari.* So in Greek, *e.g.* *Il.* 8, 281 Τεῦκρε, φίλη κεφαλή; and in English, Shelley, *Adonais*, 'Though our tears | Thaw not the frost which binds so dear a head.' — *praecipe*: *teach me.* — *lugubris*: indicating the character of the strains.

3 f. *Melpomene*: properly the muse of Tragedy; cf. n. to 1, 12, 2. — *liquidam . . . vocem*: *clear toned*; cf. *Od.* 24, 62 Μοῦσα λίγεια.

5 Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor
urget! Cui Pudor et Iustitiae soror,
incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas
quando ullum inveniet parem?

10 Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
nulli flebilior quam tibi, Vergili;
tu frustra pius heu non ita creditum
poscis Quintilium deos.

Quid si Threicio blandius Orpheo
auditam moderere arboribus fidem?

5 f. **ergo**: emphatically introducing the *θρῆνος*, and expressing a reluctant conclusion, *so then*. Cf. Ovid, *Trist.* 3, 2, 1 *ergo erat in fatis Scythiam quoque visere nostris*. — **perpetuus**: *unbroken, forever*. — **urget**: *hold down*. Cf. *premet* 1, 4, 16, and Verg. *A.* 10, 745 f. *olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget | somnus; in aeternam clauduntur lumina noctem*. — **cui**: emphatic, ‘when shall we see his like again.’ — **Iustitiae soror** . . . **Fides**: the personified virtues are those possessed by Quintilius; they are the basis of every high character and of all justice. Cf. Cic. *de Off.* 1, 23 *fundamentum autem est iustitiae fides, id est dictorum conventorumque constantia et veritas*.

7. **nuda Veritas**: cf. the unpersonified English ‘naked truth.’

9 f. **multis** . . . **nulli**: depending on **flebilis** . . . **flebilior**. Adjectives in *-bilis* and *-ilis* are not infrequently used as equivalent to

perfect pass. partic.; so **flebilis** is equivalent to *defletus*, as 1, 12, 36 *nobilis* to *notus*. Cf. *Epigr. Gr.* 215 Kaibel ἤλυθες εἰς Ἀΐδην ζητούμενος, οἷς ἀπέλειπες · | πᾶσι γὰρ ἀλγηδὼν ἐσθλὸς ἀποιχόμενος. ‘Thou hast gone to Hades, missed by all thou hast left behind; for thy going is a goodly grief to all.’

11 f. **frustra**: with both **pius** and **poscis**. Intr. 100. — **pius**: *i.e.* in love for his friend. — **non ita creditum**: Vergil had commended his friend to the care of the gods, but not on the condition (*ita*) that they should bring him to death.

13 f. **quid si**: making the transition to the sole consolation Horace can offer at the end, ‘All thy piety and prayers are vain; patience only can be thy consolation.’ — **blandius Orpheo**: cf. the passages quoted on 1, 12, 8. Even Orpheus could not recall his beloved Eurydice from the lower world. For the story, read Vergil *G.* 4, 454–527.

15 Num vanae redeat sanguis imagini,
 quam virga semel horrida,
 non lenis precibus fata recludere,
 nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi?
 Durum : sed levius fit patientia
 20 quicquid corrigere est nefas.

15. *vanae imagini*: the empty shade, εἶδωλον. Cf. *Od.* 11, 476 βρότων εἶδωλα καμώντων. Also Verg. *A.* 6, 293 *admoneat volitare cava sub imagine formae*.

16. *virga . . . horrida*: the wand (*aurea* 1, 10, 19) which strikes the shades with terror (*horrida*), when Mercury gathers (*compulerit*) them once for all (*semel*) for the world below. Cf. Propert. 5, 11, 3 f. *cum semel infernas intrarunt funera leges*, | *non exorato stant adamante viae*.

17 f. *precibus*: dative with *recludere*; the same idea is expressed by Propert. 5, 11, 2 *panditur ad nullas ianua nigra preces*. — *re-*

cludere: epexegetical inf. with *lenis*. Cf. 1, 10, 7 *callidus condere furto*, equivalent to *callide condit*. Intr. 108. — *nigro*: transferred from the gloomy nether world to the shades themselves; cf. 4, 2, 24 *nigro Orco*. Intr. 99. — *gregi*: the 'flock' of shades driven to their long home beneath the earth.

19 f. *durum*: summing up of the whole matter. The following precept is one of many ancient expressions of the truth. Cf. Soph. *Frg.* 526 ἀλγεινά, Πρόκνη, δῆλον · ἀλλ' ὁμως χρεὼν | τὰ θεῖα θνητοὺς ὄντας εὐπετῶς φέρειν, 'Aye, Procne, it is clearly hard, but still, as we are mortals, we must bear what the gods send.'

25

The old age of a faded courtesan, when lovers leave her for younger rivals. Metre, 69.

Parcius iunctas quatiunt fenestras
 iactibus crebris iuvenes protervi,

1. *parcius*: in the emphatic position, marking her waning power. — *iunctas . . . fenestras*: the *valvae* of the windows, which

were fastened with a bar (*sera*) at night. Cf. Ovid *ex P.* 3, 3, 5 *bifores fenestras*. These windows were in the second, or a higher story;

nec tibi somnos adimunt, amatque
 ianua limen,
 5 quae prius multum facilis movebat
 cardines; audis minus et minus iam
 'Me tuo longas pereunte noctis,
 Lydia, dormis?'
 Invicem moechos anus arrogantis
 10 flebis in solo levis angiportu,
 Thracio bacchante magis sub inter-
 lunia vento,
 cum tibi flagrans amor et libido,
 quae solet matres furiare equorum,
 15 saeviet circa iecur ulcerosum,
 non sine questu,
 laeta quod pubes hedera virenti
 gaudeat pulla magis atque myrto,

therefore the lovers must attract Lydia's attention by throwing sticks or stones (hence *iactibus crebris*) from below.

3. *amatque limen*: *hugs the threshold*. Cf. Verg. *A.* 5, 163 *litus ama*, 'hug the shore.'

5. *prius*: *in former days*. — *facilis*: modifying *quae*, 'with ready complaisance.' Cf. Tibull. 1, 2, 7 *ianua difficilis domini*. — *multum*: modifying *movebat*.

7 f. The words of the serenade, the *παρακλαυσίθυρον*. — *me tuo* . . . *pereunte*: temporal, *while I, who am thine, perish*, etc.

9. *invicem*: 'now thy turn has come.' — *anus* . . . *levis*: equivalent to *contempta*.

11 f. *Thracio*: the Tramontana of to-day. The verb *bacchari*, *hold revel*, is especially apt with a 'Thracian' wind. — *sub inter-lunia*: Intr. 69. The common belief that changes of the moon influence the weather is very ancient. Porphyrio remarks on this word *quia tunc fere concitantur tempestates*.

15. *ulcerosum*: *inflamed*, with love's wounds. Cf. Theoc. 11, 15 f. ἔχων ὑποκάρδιον ἔλκος | Κύπριδος ἐκ μεγάλας. 'With a sore in his heart inflicted by mighty Cypris.'

17 f. She bemoans the fact that youth is preferred to old age. — *pulla*: *dusky*, πόλιος. Cf. *Epod.* 16, 46 *pulla ficus*.

aridas frondes hiemis sodali
dedicet Euro.

20

19 f. **aridas** : note the asyndeton here, frequently employed in contrasts and antitheses. — **sodali** : cf. 1, 28, 22 *comes Orionis Notus*. —

Euro : a winter wind ; cf. Verg. *G.* 2, 339 *et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri*.

26

‘Beloved by the Muses I can throw to the winds all fears of dangers from abroad. Sweet Muse, weave a chaplet for my Lamia, I pray. My verse is naught without thee. Celebrate him in Lesbian song.’

The Lamia here addressed has been identified with L. Aelius Lamia, one of the two sons of Cicero’s friend and supporter, L. Aelius Lamia who was praetor 43 B.C. (Cic. *ad fam.* 11, 16, 2; *pro Sest.* 29). Lamia must have been young at the time this ode was written, for he was consul in 3 A.D. and praefectus urbi in 32 A.D. He died the following year. Tacitus, *Ann.* 6, 27, mentions him, *genus illi decorum vivida senectus*; Velleius Paterculus describes him (2, 116, 3), *vir antiquissimi moris, et priscam gravitatem semper humanitate temperans*. The most probable date of composition is that suggested by the references in vv. 3–5, as 30 B.C.; the words *fidibus novis*, v. 10, cause some critics to regard this as one of Horace’s earliest attempts in Alcaic verse; a view that finds support from the somewhat harsh caesura in v. 11 *Lesbio* || *sacrare plectro*. Metre, 68.

Musis amicus tristitiam et metus
tradam protervis in mare Creticum
portare ventis, quis sub Arcto
rex gelidae metuatur orae,

1. **amicus** : in the sense of *gratus*, as 3, 4, 25 *vestris amicum fontibus et choris*; it gives the reason why Horace can consign his cares to the winds. — **tristitiam** : *gloom*; cf. 1, 7, 18.

2. **protervis** : *impetuous, rude*. Cf. *Epod.* 16, 22 *protervus Africus*. — **in mare Creticum** : particularizing. Cf. n. to 1, 1, 13.

3 f. **portare** : Intr. 107. — **quis** : nominative. The following questions depend on *securus*, v. 6. — **sub Arcto rex**, etc. : Cotiso, king of the Dacians, whose threatened invasion at the time of the battle of Actium, 31 B.C., the Romans greatly feared. Cf. 3, 6, 13 ff. *paene occupatam seditionibus | delevit urbem Dacus et Aethiops, | hic classe*

5 quid Tiridaten terreat, unice
 securus. O quae fontibus integris
 gaudes, apricos necte flores,
 necte meo Lamiae coronam,
 Pimplea dulcis. Nil sine te mei
 10 prosunt honores. Hunc fidibus novis,
 hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro
 teque tuasque decet sorores.

formidatus, ille | missilibus melior sagittis; Verg. *G.* 2, 497 *coniurato descendens Dacus ab Histro*. He was finally crushed by P. Crassus in the campaigns of 30–28 B.C.

5. **Tiridaten**: not long before the battle of Actium, Tiridates successfully revolted against Phraates, king of the Parthians, and succeeded him on the throne. In 30 B.C. Phraates returned to the contest and forced his rival to flee for safety to Augustus, who was at that time in Egypt. Cf. *Mon. Anc.* 5, 54 ff. *ad me supp[li]ces confug[erunt] reges Parthorum Tirida[tes et postea] Phrat[es] regis Phrati[s filius]*. The accounts of Justin and Dio Cassius, our chief authorities for these points, are conflicting, but apparently Tiridates was again placed on the throne in 29 B.C. — cf. 3, 8, 19 f. *Medus infestus sibi luctuosis | dissidet armis* — only to be displaced again in 27 B.C. by Phraates, who had collected a large force of friendly Scythians to aid him. Tiridates then fled to Augustus, who was in Spain. — **unice securus**: *perfectly at ease*.

6. **fontibus integris**: fresh, pure fountains shall furnish the inspiration of his new song (**fidibus novis**). The same figure Lucret. 1, 927 *iuvat integros accedere fontis atque haurire*.

7. **necte flores**, etc.: *i.e.* exalt him in song. Cf. Pind. *O.* 6, 86 f. *ἀνδράσιν αἰχματαῖσι πλέκων | ποικίλον ὕμνον*.

9 f. **Pimplea**: *Muse of Pimplea*; named from a fountain of the Muses in Pieria near Mt. Olympus. Cf. Orph. 46 A. *Πιμπληάδες*. — **mei honores**: *i.e.* conferred by my verse. Cf. Verg. *A.* 9, 446 *fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt*. — **hunc . . . hunc**: Lamia.

11. **Lesbio . . . plectro**: marking his new verse (*fidibus nobis*) as modelled on that of Alcaeus. Cf. 1, 1, 34 *Lesboum . . . barbiton*. The plectrum was a small ivory or metal instrument with which the strings of the lyre were struck. — **sacrare**: *consecrate*; 'canonize.' Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4, 7, 7 f. *si tuas cantu Latio sacravi, | Pindare, Thebas*.

27

A dramatic picture of a *comissatio* at which the poet tries to check his hot companions ; when they fill their cups and will make him drink, he parries their impetuosity by refusing, unless his neighbor tell him the name of his love. The whispered secret makes him exclaim in pity.

The ode is based on a similar one by Anacreon, according to Porphyrio ; possibly the one of which Athenaeus (10, 42, 7) has preserved to us a fragment (*Frg.* 63) ἄγε δὴνῦτε μηκέτ' οὔτω | πατάγω τε κάλαλητῶ | Σκυθικὴν πόσιν παρ' οἴνῳ | μελετῶμεν, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς | ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις. 'Come, now, let us no longer with din and shout practice Scythian drinking at our wine, but sip it while we blithely sing.' The exhortation to moderation in the use of wine (1-8) is similar to the theme of 1, 18. Metre, 68.

Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis
pugnare Thracum est : tollite barbarum
morem, verecundumque Bacchum
sanguineis prohibete rixis.

5 Vino et lucernis Medus acinaces
immane quantum discrepat : impium

1. **natis** : a favorite figure ; cf. 3, 21, 1 *nata mecum testa* ; *Epist.* 2, 1, 233 *versus male nati*. Translate, *intended by nature*. — **scyphis** : large two-handled drinking cups used only by heavy drinkers. Macrobius 5, 21, 16 notes *scyphus Herculis poculum est ita ut Liberi patris cantharus*. Here they characterize the drinking bout as unrestrained. In *Epod.* 9, 33 the poet demands *capaciores* . . . *scyphos* with which to celebrate the victory over Sextus Pompey.

2. **Thracum** : predicate to **pugnare** ; cf. the Σκυθικὴν πόσιν in the fragment quoted above. For the heavy drinking and quarrelsome

character of the Thracians see n. to 1, 18, 9.

3 f. **verecundum** . . . **Bacchum** : the god who requires moderation in his devotees ; *modicus Liber* 1, 18, 7. Hence the drunken shouting (**impium clamorem**, v. 6) is an offense against him. — **prohibete** : *save from*.

5 f. **Medus acinaces** : the short sword of the Medes ; probably taken from the Greek original. The wearing of the sword at a banquet or drinking bout was a distinctly barbarian custom to the Roman, who was forbidden by law to carry weapons within the city.

— **immane quantum** : *is a mon-*

lenite clamorem, sodales,
et cubito remanete presso.

10 Voltis severi me quoque sumere
partem Falerni? Dicat Opuntiae
frater Megillae quo beatus
volnere, qua pereat sagitta.

15 Cessat voluntas? Non alia bibam
mercede. Quae te cumque domat Venus,
non erubescendis adurit
ignibus, ingenuoque semper
amore peccas. Quicquid habes, age
depone tutis auribus. — A miser,

strous anomaly amid (Smith). The phrase had become fixed and like *nescio quid* had lost its interrogative character before Horace's time. Cf. Sallust. *Frg.* 2, 44 M. *immane quantum animi exarsere*; so Liv. 2, 1, 11 *id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam*.

8. cubito . . . presso: the Romans regularly reclined at table. With the phrase, cf. Petron. 27 *hic est apud quem cubitum ponetis*.

9 ff. 'Shall I too join you? Only on one condition.' — *severi*: strong, *δριμύς*. Cf. Catull. 27, 1 f. *minister vetuli puer Falerni | inger mi calices amariores*. Two kinds of Falernian are mentioned by Athen. 1, 26 C. εἶδη δύο, ὁ αὐστηρὸς καὶ ὁ γλυκάζων, three by Pliny *N. H.* 14, 8, 6 the *austum* (equivalent to *severum*), *dulce*,

tenue. — *dicat*: *i.e.* that we may drink a toast; cf. Mart. 1, 71, 1 *Naevia sex cyathis, septem Iustina bibatur*. — *Opuntiae frater Megillae*: a similar designation, 3, 9, 14 *Thurini Calais filius Ornyti*. The mention of the presumably pretty Megilla is quite in keeping with the occasion and would direct the attention of all to the comrade addressed.

11 f. *beatus* . . . *pereat*: *dies a blessed death*.

13 f. *cessat voluntas*: *falters his will?* — *mercede*: *terms*. — *cumque*: cf. n. to 1, 6, 3. — *Venus*: in same sense as 1, 33, 13 *melior Venus*; also Verg. *E.* 3, 68 *parta meae Veneri sunt munera*.

16 f. *ingenuo* . . . *amore*: 'love for a freeborn girl,' *i.e.* not a *libertina* (1, 33, 15) or an *ancilla* (2, 4, 1). — *peccas*: *thy weak-*

20

quanta laborabas Charybdi,
digne puer meliore flamma !

Quae saga, quis te solvere Thessalis
magus venenis, quis poterit deus ?
Vix inligatum te triformi
Pegasus expediet Chimaera.

ness is for.—*quicquid habes*, etc. : Horace leans back to his friend reclining above him on the couch, who after a moment's hesitation whispers his loved one's name.—*tutis auribus*: abl. Intr. 95.—*a miser*: in pity for the youth's hard lot.

19 f. *Charybdi*: for the comparison of a mistress to Charybdis, cf. Anaxilas, *Frg.* 22 K. ἡ δὲ Φρύνη τὴν Χάρυβδιν οὐχὶ πόρρω που ποιεῖ, | τὸν τε ναύκληρον λαβούσα καταπέπωκ' αὐτῷ σκάφει; 'But Phryne does not fall far behind Charybdis; she has caught the captain and engulfed him boat and all.'—*laborabas*: cf. 1, 17, 19. The imperfect expresses the state which has continued to the present moment. *You were strug-*

gling (all the time). Cf. the Greek imperfect with ἄρα.

21 f. *saga*, . . . *magus*, . . . *deus*: a comic climax, *wise woman*, . . . *enchanter*, . . . *god*.—*Thessalis* . . . *venenis*: *potions*; instrum. abl. The mountains of southern Thessaly are the home of medicine in Homer; in Greek writers of the classical period the source of love philters and enchantments of all kinds.

23 f. *inligatum*: *entangled*.—*triformi*: cf. *Il.* 6, 181 πρόσθε λέων, ὅπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα, translated by Lucret. 5, 905 *prima leo, postrema draco, media ipsa Chimaera*. Bellerophon killed the chimaera with the aid of Pegasus, who was given him for this purpose by Hera.

28

This ode also is in dramatic form, but its interpretation has puzzled both ancient and modern critics. The best explanation is that it consists of two parts, probably studies based on Greek models, which Horace never worked into a unified whole, but hastily put together when arranging his odes for publication. The first 'fragment' comprises vv. 1–22. The scene is the Apulian seashore east of Venusia, by the grave of the philosopher Archytas. A spirit whose unburied body lies on the

shore addresses Archytas (1-6), who in spite of all his wisdom, which enabled him to measure heaven and number the very sands, now lies under a little earth; this leads the shade to moralize on the universality of death, which comes to all without distinction (7-22). The last two verses of this part close the illustrations with the speaker's personal experience in the true Horatian manner. In the second part (23-36) the spirit appeals to a passing sailor to throw a little dust on its unburied body, that it may find rest in Hades.

Archytas was a statesman, general, and philosopher of Tarentum; according to tradition a friend of Plato. As a member of the Pythagorean school he tried to explain the physical universe by mathematics. Metre, 77.

Te maris et terrae numeroque carentis harenae
 mensorem cohibent, Archyta,
 pulveris exigui prope litus parva Matinum
 munera, nec quicquam tibi prodest
 5 aerias temptasse domos animoque rotundum
 percurisse polum morituro.

1 ff. The opening verses are similar to Simias' epigram on Sophocles *Anth. Pal.* 7, 21 σὲ . . . τὸν τραγικῆς Μούσης ἀστέρα . . . τύμβος ἔχει καὶ γῆς ὀλίγον μέρος.— *numero carentis arenae mensorem*: note the slight oxymoron. Possibly there is a reminiscence of Archimedes' treatise *ψαμμίτης*, in which he maintained against his opponents that the sands could be counted; or this subject may have been treated in a philosophical work by Archytas himself. In any case there is a certain irony in this reference to the vanity of human effort, which the contrast in the succeeding *cohibent* (*hold fast*) emphasizes.

3. *pulveris . . . munera*: *the small gift of a little dust*; i.e. his nar-

row tomb. Cf. Verg. *G.* 4, 86 f. *hi motus animorum atque haec certamina tanta | pulveris exigui iactu compressa quiescunt*.—*Matinum*: explained by Porphyrio as a mountain or promontory of Apulia; it is uncertain which.

5. *aerias temptasse domos*, etc.: i.e. to have explored in his astronomical studies. The verb *temptasse* itself implies boldness on Archytas' part in venturing to extend his researches to the heavens.—*animo*: *in spirit*; to be taken with both infinitives.—*morituro*: agreeing with *tibi*. Its position at the end throws emphasis on the vanity of Archytas' wisdom,—'What availed it thee to practice all thy science? Thou wert destined to die none

Occidit et Pelopis genitor, conviva deorum,
Tithonusque remotus in auras,
et Iovis arcanis Minos admissus, habentque
10 Tartara Panthoiden iterum Orco
demissum, quamvis clipeo Troiana refixo
tempora testatus nihil ultra

the less.' Cf. 2, 3, 4 *moriture Delli* and n. Intr. 23.

6 f. Examples to prove the general statement implied in *morituro*, 'all must die.'—*occidit*: emphatically presenting the main idea—*dead too is*, etc. Cf. *Il.* 21, 107 *κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὅπερ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων*.—*Pelopis genitor*: Tantalus, who shared the very table of the gods until their favor made him arrogant. Cf. Pind. *O.* 1, 54 f. *εἰ δὲ δὴ τιν' ἄνδρα θνατὸν Ὀλύμπου σκοποὶ | ἐτίμασαν, ἦν Τάνταλος οὗτος*. 'If the guardians of Olympus honored any mortal, that man was Tantalus.' Eurip. *Orest.* 8 ff. (*Τάνταλος*) *ὥς μὲν λέγουσιν, ὅτι θεοῖς ἄνθρωπος ὢν | κοινῆς τραπέζης ἀξίωμ' ἔχων ἴσον, | ἀκόλαστον ἔσχε γλῶσσαν, αἰσχίστην νόσον*. 'Men say that because Tantalus, though mortal, shared their table with the gods in equal honor, he had an unbridled tongue, most shameful plague.' And *Anth. Lat.* 931, 9 f. *Tantalus infelix, dicunt, conviva deorum | nunc quoque apud Manes victima sacra Iovi es*.

8. **Tithonus**: Laomedon's son and father of Priam. He was loved by Eos, who obtained for him from Zeus the gift of immortality, but

forgot to ask the boon of eternal youth; so Tithonus wasted away until he was a mere voice. Cf. 2, 16, 30 *longa Tithonum minuit senectus*. Mimnermus *Frg.* 4 *Τιθωνῶ μὲν ἔδωκεν ἔχειν κακὸν ἄφθιτον ὁ Ζεὺς | γῆρας, ὃ καὶ θανάτου ῥίγιον ἀργαλέον*. 'To Tithonus Zeus granted an eternal bane, old age, which is more painful than grievous death.'

9. **Minos**: *Od.* 19, 179 *Διὸς μεγάλου ὁαριστῆς* ('the friend'). He was instructed by Jove himself in the laws which he gave the Cretans.

10 ff. **Tartara**: here the place of the dead simply, equivalent to Hades, Orcus. So Verg. *G.* 1, 36, *nam te nec sperant Tartara regem*.—**Panthoiden**: Euphorbus, who was killed by Menelaus (*Il.* 17, 1–60). His shield was hung up in the temple of Hera at Argos. Now Pythagoras claimed that he was the reincarnated Trojan hero, and to prove his claim went to the temple and took down Euphorbus' shield, recognizing it as the one he had carried when formerly on earth. Yet his reincarnation could not save him from a second return to Orcus (*iterum Orco demissum*), although he yielded not his spirit, but only

nervos atque cutem morti concesserat atrae,
 iudice te non sordidus auctor
 15 naturae verique. Sed omnis una manet nox
 et calcanda semel via leti.
 Dant alios Furiae torvo spectacula Marti,
 exitio est avidum mare nautis;
 mixta senum ac iuvenum densentur funera; nullum
 20 saeva caput Proserpina fugit.
 Me quoque devexi rapidus comes Orionis
 Illyricis Notus obruit undis.
 At tu, nauta, vagae ne parce malignus harenae
 ossibus et capiti inhumato

sinews and skin (*nervos atque cutem*) to death. There is a certain irony in the patronymic as applied to Pythagoras. For the dative Orco, see Intr. 88.

14. *iudice te*: Archytas was reckoned in later times the most distinguished Pythagorean, and hence most fit to judge. — *non sordidus auctor*: *no mean master*.

15. *naturae*: here 'nature of the universe.' — *sed*: the list ends with the general statement, 'but in spite of their wisdom and station all must die.' — *una nox*: cf. Catull. 5, 6 *nox perpetua una dormienda*.

17 ff. The various forms of death, closing with the speaker's personal experience (21 f.). — *alios*: the correlative *aliis* which we expect is represented by *nautis*. — *spectacula*: *as a show*; cf. *ludo* 1, 2, 37.

19. *mixta . . . densentur funera*: *the funeral trains are crowded*

in confusion together. The verse was imitated nearly six centuries later by Corippus *B. Afr.* 1016 *mixti senibus densentur ephebi*.

20. *fūgit*: *lets pass*. For the tense, see Intr. 103. According to a common belief no one could die until a lock of hair had been cut from his head as an offering to Proserpina (cf. Verg. *A.* 4, 698). — *me quoque*: the personal experience. Cf. 1, 5, 13. — *devexi*: cf. 3, 27, 18 *pronus Orion*. Orion began to set early in November, when severe storms were common. — *Orionis*: with this long initial vowel, cf. *Epod.* 15, 7 *Orion*. Intr. 34.

23. At this point the address to the passing sailor begins. — *vagae*: emphasizing the cheapness of the boon asked. — *ne parce malignus*: *be not so churlish as to grudge the gift*, etc. — *capiti | inhumato*: for the hiatus, see Intr. 43.

- 25 particulam dare : sic, quodcumque minabitur Eurus
 fluctibus Hesperii, Venusinae
 plectantur silvae te sospite, multaque merces
 unde potest tibi defluat aequo
 ab Iove Neptunoque sacri custode Tarenti.
- 30 Neglegis immeritis nocituram
 postmodo te natis fraudem committere? Fors et
 debita iura vicesque superbae
 te maneant ipsum : precibus non linquar inultis,
 teque piacula nulla resolvent.
- 35 Quamquam festinas, non est mora longa : licebit
 iniecto ter pulvere curras.

25 f. **sic** : 'if you grant my prayer.' See n. to 1, 3, 1. — **fluctibus Hesperii** : apparently the Adriatic. Since Italy was called Hesperia, any waves that beat on its shore may be called by this name. — **Venusinae** : the woods near Horace's birthplace, about forty miles inland on the ridge of the Apennines, and so exposed to the winds.

27 f. **plectantur**, etc. : *i.e.* 'may the wind spend its fury on the woods, and thou be safe from harm.' The abl. abs., **te sospite**, is the important part of the prayer. — **merces** : *reward*. — **unde** : referring to **ab Iove**. Cf. 1, 12, 17.

29 f. **custode Tarenti** : Taras, the mythical founder of Tarentum, was said to be the son of Neptune and

a local nymph. Some Tarentine coins bear the figure of the sea god seated on a dolphin. Next to Jove, Neptune is naturally the god who could confer most benefits on the sailor. — **neglegis committere** : *wilt thou carelessly commit?* The question is asked as the sailor starts to turn away.

32. f. **debita iura**, etc. : *thy just obligations*; *i.e.* the right of the dead to burial, withheld by the sailor in case he refuses the wraith's request. — **vices superbae** : *stern requital*. — **linquar** : sc. *a te*.

36. **ter** : the sacred number in offices due the dead. Cf. Verg. *A.* 6, 229 and 506 *magna Manis ter voce vocavi*. Likewise in other religious rites, cf. *C. S.* 23, *Epist.* 1, 1, 37.

29

‘What, Iccius, now envious of the Arabs’ wealth and ready for their conquest! Hast thou already chosen thy share of captured spoils? Upon my word, all Nature may go topsy-turvy, when thou dost barter all thy philosophic lore for a breastplate. I had thought better of thee.’

These bantering verses are addressed to Horace’s friend Iccius, a philosophic dilettante, who suddenly showed an interest in the preparations for a campaign against Arabia Felix, under the direction of Aelius Gallus. The attempt terminated unsuccessfully in 24 B.C. The date of composition therefore may be approximately fixed as 26 B.C. or early 25 B.C. Five or six years later, in 20 B.C., *Epist.* 1, 12 was addressed to the same friend, who then was manager of Agrippa’s Sicilian estates. Metre, 68.

Icci, beatis nunc Arabum invides
gazis et acrem militiam paras
non ante devictis Sabaeae
regibus, horribilique Medo

5 nectis catenas? Quae tibi virginum
sponso necato barbara serviet?
Puer quis ex aula capillis
ad cyathum statuetur unctis,

1. Icci: note the emphatic position, expressing Horace’s surprise, ‘Iccius! are you,’ etc. — beatis: the adjective which expresses properly the condition of the person is here transferred to the cause of the Arabs’ good fortune, gazis. Intr. 99. Arabia was the ancient El Dorado. Cf. 3, 24, 1 f. *intactis opulentior | thesauris Arabum*. — nunc: in contrast to his former philosophic interests.

3 f. Sabaeae: the Sheba of the Old Testament. *Kings* 1, 10; Pliny *N. H.* 6, 16. — horribilique Medo: *i.e.* the Parthians; so 1, 2,

51 *neu sinas Medos equitare inultos*.

5. nectis catenas: as Florus (3, 7) says the elder Antony carried fetters ready made in his expedition against the Cretans, so confident was he of success. — quae . . . virginum . . . barbara: equivalent to *quae virgo barbara*; a favorite form of expression with Horace. Cf. *Epod.* 10, 13 *Graia victorum manus*. “

7 f. puer ex aula: *page from royal court*. — ad cyathum: the ‘cupbearer,’ a page who drew the wine from the mixer (*crater*) with

10 doctus sagittas tendere Sericas
 arcu paterno? Quis neget arduis
 pronos relabi posse rivos
 montibus et Tiberim reverti,
 cum tu coemptos undique nobilis
 libros Panaeti Socraticam et domum
 15 mutare loricis Hiberis,
 pollicitus meliora, tendis?

the *cyathus* into the cups. His title appears in inscriptions as *a cyatho*. For Iccius only a captured prince will do, when he is enriched with Arabian spoil.

9. *doctus*: the page's training has not been to menial service, but to speed (*tendere*) the arrow with his father's bow. — *Sericas*: with this adjective Horace pokes fun at his friend's extravagant expectations; the whole East to China is to be subdued.

10 ff. Proverbial; cf. *Epod.* 16, 25 ff.; Eurip. *Med.* 410 ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί; Ovid. *Her.* 5, 29 f. *cum Paris Oenone poterit spirare relictæ | ad fontem Xanthi versa recurret aqua.* —

pronos: now gliding downward — *arduis* . . . *montibus*: abl. of the way by which, *up the steep*, etc.

13 ff. *coemptos undique* . . . *libros*: hitherto Iccius' efforts have been solely to acquire a philosophical library. — *nobilis* . . . *Panaeti*: Panaetius of Rhodes, the leading Stoic philosopher of the second century B.C., was a friend of the younger Scipio and of Polybius and had a great influence at Rome. Cicero in his *de officiis* followed Panaetius' treatise on Duty. — *domum*: school. — *loricis Hiberis*: the iron and steel of Hispania Tarraconensis rivaled that of Noricum. Cf. 1, 16, 9.

30

A prayer to Venus to leave her home in Cyprus and take up her abode in Glycera's shrine. The motive is probably taken from a Greek ὕμνος κλητικός, hymn of invocation. Cf. Anacreon *Frg.* 2. ὦ 'ναξ, ὦ δαμάλης Ἑρως | καὶ Νύμφαι κυανώπιδες | πορφυρέη τ' Ἀφροδίτῃ | συμπαίζουσιν, ἐπιστρέφει δ' | ὑψηλῶν κορυφὰς ὀρέων, | γουνούμαί σε · σὺ δ' εὐμενὴς | ἔλθ' ἡμῖν, κεχαρισμένης δ' | εὐχολῆς ἐπακούειν. 'O prince

with whom sport Love the subduer, the dark-eyed nymphs, and rosy Aphrodite, thou art wandering on the lofty mountain heights. I beseech thee, come in kindness to us, accept and listen to our prayer.' Metre, 69.

O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique,
sperne dilectam Cypron et vocantis
ture te multo Glycerae decoram
transfer in aedem.

5 Fervidus tecum puer et solutis
Gratiae zonis properentque Nymphae
et parum comis sine te Iuventas
Mercuriusque.

1. **Cnidi**: a center of the worship of Aphrodite in Caria. In her shrine there was a statue of the goddess by Praxiteles, of which the Vatican Venus is a copy. — **Paphi**: Aphrodite's ancient home in Cyprus, where tradition said the goddess was born from the foam of the sea. Cf. *Od.* 8, 362 f. ἡ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον ἵκανε φιλομμείδης Ἀφροδίτη, | ἐς Πάφον, ἔνθα τέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις, also Verg. *A.* 1, 415 f. *ipsa Paphum sublimis abit, sedesque revisit | laeta suas.*

2. **sperne**: *abandon*. Cf. Alc-

man *Frg.* 21 Κύπρον ἱμερτὰν λιποῖσα καὶ Πάφον περιρρύταν.

4. **aedem**: the private *shrine* that Glycera has established.

5. **fervidus** . . . **puer**: Cupid who inflames men with love. — **solutis Gratiae zonis**: the Graces were in early art represented with flowing garments. Cf. Sen. *de Benef.* 1, 3 quoted on 1, 4, 6.

7. **Iuventas**: Ἡβη. Cf. Hom. hymn to Apollo quoted on 1, 4, 5. — **parum**: cf. 1, 12, 59 and n. to 1, 2, 27.

8. **Mercurius**: associated with Venus as god of persuasive eloquence.

31

• The poet's prayer to enshrined Apollo is not for wealth of land or store. He only asks for simple fare, for health of body and of mind; an old age not deprived of song.'

This ode is Horace's hymn to Apollo on the occasion of the dedication of his temple on the Palatine, Oct. 24, 28 B.C. The temple was vowed eight years before, and the belief that the victory at Actium was due to Apollo's aid gave his worship new significance. With the temple was

united a Greek and Latin public library. The decoration of its porticoes is described by Propertius 3, 29; the interior was adorned with busts and statues of famous writers. The statue of the god was a work of Scopas brought from Greece, described by Plin. *N. H.* 36, 28. See also Baumeister 1, 99. The motive of the ode may be compared with Pind. *N.* 8, 37 ff. χρυσὸν εὐχονται, πεδίον δ' ἕτεροι | ἀπέραντον · ἐγὼ δ' ἀστοῖς ἀδὼν καὶ χθονὶ γυῖα καλύψαιμ' | αἰνέων αἰνητά, μομφὰν δ' ἐπισπείρων ἀλιτροῖς. 'For gold some pray and some for land unlimited; but as for me I hope that I may shroud my frame in earth beloved by my townsmen, praising what is praiseworthy and sowing blame for evil-doers.' Metre, 68.

Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem
vates? Quid orat de patera novum
fundens liquorem? Non opimae
Sardiniae segetes feracis,

5 non aestuosae grata Calabriae
armenta, non aurum aut ebur Indicum,
non rura quae Liris quieta
mordet aqua taciturnus amnis.

1. **dedicatum**: *lately enshrined*. Cf. *Epod.* 7, 2 *enses conditi*, and n. The god and his temple are here confused as in Cic. *de D.* *N.* 2, 61 *ut Fides, ut Mens, quas in Capitolio dedicatas videmus*.

2. **vates**: *inspired bard*. Cf. n. to 1, 1, 35. — **novum**: new wine was regularly used in libations. Cf. Petron. 130 *spumabit pateris hornus liquor*.

3 f. **opimae**: with **segetes**. — **Sardiniae**: Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa, Cicero calls *pro leg. Man.* 34 *tria frumentaria subsidia rei publicae*.

5. **Calabriae**: Calabria was the best winter grazing ground in Italy; in summer the herds were driven

into the mountains of Lucania and Samnium. Cf. *Epod.* 1, 27 f. *pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum | Lucana mutet pascuis*.

6. **ebur**: this expensive material was used for decoration in the houses of the wealthy. Cf. 2, 18, 1 f. *non ebur neque aureum | mea renidet in domo lacunar*.

7 f. The lower valley of the Liris produced fine wines. — **mordet**: the same figure as Lucret. 5, 256 *et ripas radentia flumina rodunt*. Note the doubling of epithets, **quieta . . . taciturnus**. Cf. Silius Ital. 4, 348 ff. *Liris . . . qui fonte quieto | dissimulat cursum ac nullo mutabilis imbri | perstringit tacitas gemmanti gurgite ripas*.

Premant Calena falce quibus dedit
 10 Fortuna vitem, dives et aureis
 mercator exsiccet culullis
 vina Syra reparata merce,

 dis carus ipsis, quippe ter et quater
 anno revisens aequor Atlanticum
 15 impune: me pascunt olivae,
 me cichorea levesque malvae.

 Frui paratis et valido mihi,
 Latoe, dones et, precor, integra

9-16. The contrast between the luxury of the rich and Horace's simplicity is emphasized. — *premant*: *check, prune*; used by poets for the prose *putant*; e.g. Verg. *G.* 1, 157 *ruris opaci falce premes umbras*. — *Calena falce*: cf. 1, 20, 9. — *quibus dedit*: sc. *premere*.

11. *culullis*: according to Porphyrio, these were properly earthenware cups used by the pontifices and the Vestal Virgins in religious rites. But the merchant grown rich with trade uses cups of solid gold.

12. *Syra merce*: spices, unguents, and costly perfumes imported from the Orient.

13 f. *quippe* . . . *revisens*: *surely for he* . . ., giving the reason for the previous ironical statement *dis carus ipsis*. This participle with *quippe* is equivalent to the common '*quippe qui*' explanatory clause. — *aequor Atlanticum*: Gades (Cadiz), but a short distance

outside the straits of Gibraltar, was practically the limit of navigation for the Romans; the Atlantic was an unknown and fearful ocean. With the thought, cf. Aristot. *apud Iamb. Protrep.* 6 οὐ δὲ δεῖ χρημάτων μὲν ἔνεκα πλεῖν ἐφ' Ἡρακλέους στήλας καὶ πολλάκις κινδυνεύειν, διὰ δὲ φρόνησιν μηδὲν πονεῖν μηδὲ δαπανᾶν. 'Nor for wealth need one sail to the pillars of Heracles and risk his life many times, but for prudence' sake he should not toil or spend (overmuch).'

15 f. *me*: the position of the personal pronoun emphasizes the contrast. Cf. n. to 1, 1, 29. Intr. 30. — *leves*: *digestible*. Cf. *Epod.* 2, 57 f. *gravi | malvae salubres corpori*.

17 f. *paratis*: equivalent to *par-tis, my possessions*. — *valido* . . . *integra cum mente*: cf. the familiar words of Juvenal (10, 356) *orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano*.

cum mente nec turpem senectam
degere nec cithara carentem.

20

19 f. **nec turpem senectam**, etc. :
cf. Dobson's verses to Longfel-
low, 'Not to be tuneless in old
age! Ah surely blest his pil-
grimage, | Who, in his Winter's
snow, | Still sings with note as
sweet and clear | As in the morn-
ing of the year | When the first
violets blow!' Also Eurip. *H. F.*

676 μὴ ζῶην μετ' ἁμουσίας, | αἰεὶ
δ' ἐν στεφάνοισιν εἶ | ην · ἔτι τοι
γέρων ἄοι | δὸς κελαδῶ Μναμοσύναν.
'Heaven grant that I may not
live without the harmony of life,
but among garlands ever spend
my days; and still when I am
old will I as bard celebrate the
goddess Mnemosyne.'

32

'We are asked for a song. Come, my lyre, if ever we have sung light strains that shall live, now raise a true Latin song, like those Alcaeus sang of old. In war and shipwreck still he sang of wine and love. Sweet shell, beloved by Jove supreme, solace of toil, hear me when I duly call.'

This ode may have been written as a prelude of some serious ode or collection such as the first six of the third book, to which '*Latinum carmen*' may refer. Horace quotes his great model to show that songs of love and wine are not inconsistent with serious poetry. Metre, 69.

Poscimus. Si quid vacui sub umbra
lusimus tecum, quod et hunc in annum
vivat et pluris, age dic Latinum,
barbite, carmen,

5 Lesbio primum modulate civi,

1. **poscimus**. Horace's friends may have asked him to write a thoroughly Roman ode and not simply studies from Greek models. — **vacui**: *with light heart*, free from care and anxieties.

2 f. **lusimus**: appropriate, with **vacui**, to light poetry. Cf. Verg. *E.* 1, 10 *ludere quae vellem calamo permisit agresti*. — **vivat**: *shall*

live. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 19, 2 f. *nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt | quae scribuntur aquae potoribus*. — **dic**: of instrumental music; cf. Cic. *de div.* 2, 122 *si velim canere vel voce vel fidibus*.

5. Not that Alcaeus (Lesbio . . . civi) was the first to play the lyre, but the first to perfect lyric poetry. — **civi**: referring to Alcaeus' patri-

qui ferox bello tamen inter arma,
sive iactatam religarat udo
litore navim,

10 Liberum et Musas Veneremque et illi
semper haerentem puerum canebat
et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque
crine decorum.

15 O decus Phoebi et dapibus supremi
grata testudo Iovis, o laborum
dulce lenimen, mihi cumque salve
rite vocanti!

otism that made him take a vigorous part in the politics of Mytilene, especially against the tyrants Myrtilus and Pittacus. His sentiments were expressed in political odes, *στασιωτικά*, of which we have a few fragments, 15–33 B. Cf. 4, 9, 7 *Alcaeï minaces Camenae*.

6 ff. With these verses cf. 2, 13, 26 ff. *et te sonantem plenius aureo*, | *Alcaeë, plectro dura navis, dura fugae mala, dura belli*. — *ferox bello*: against the tyrants named in last note, and also against the Athenians in the Troad. The following *tamen* shows that the phrase is concessive. — *inter arma, sive*, etc.: ‘in war or exile.’

7 f. *religarat* . . . *litore*: cf. Verg. *A.* 7, 106 *religarat ab aggere classem*. Intr. 95. — *udo*: *sea-beaten*.

9 ff. ‘Wine and love were still the subjects of Alcaeus’ song, as they must be of mine.’

11 f. *Lycum*: a favorite of Al-

caeus. Cf. *Frg.* 58 written apparently in anger, οὐκέτ’ ἐγὼ Λύκον ἐν Μοῖσαις ἀλέγω. — *nigris oculis*, etc.: points of beauty. Note the shift of quantity *nigris* . . . *nigro*. The description is repeated *Epist.* 2, 3, 37 *spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo*.

13 ff. A renewed invocation. — *dapibus supremi*, etc.: cf. *Il.* 1, 602 f. οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς εἴσης | οὐ μὲν φόρμιγγος περικαλλέος ἦν ἔχ’ Ἀπόλλων. — *testudo*: cf. Arnold’s verses, quoted on 1, 10, 6.

15 f. *cumque*: temporal, modifying *vocanti* and equivalent to *quandocumque te vocabo*. No parallel can be adduced to this use of *cumque* as an independent word, but we can safely accept Porphyrio’s explanation, who did not find the phrase unintelligible. — *mihi salve*: *accept my greeting*. Cf. Verg. *A.* 11, 97 f. *salve aeternum mihi, maxuma Palla, | aeternumque vale*.

33

‘Albius, thou shouldst not grieve that Glycera prefers another, for Venus finds delight in binding together strange mates ; I too have suffered from her whims.’

The Albius addressed is probably Tibullus, the elegiac poet, a contemporary and friend of Horace. The fact that the name Glycera is not found in Tibullus’ poems does not make against the identification, which is as old as the first century A.D. There is no indication of the date of composition. Metre, 72.

Albi, ne doleas plus nimio memor
immitis Glycerae, neu miserabilis
decantes elegos, cur tibi iunior
laesa praeniteat fide,

5 insignem tenui fronte Lycorida
Cyri torret amor, Cyrus in asperam

1 ff. **ne doleas . . . neu decantes** : depending on the examples adduced in vv. 5 ff. Translate, *You should not grieve . . . , for*. — **plus nimio** : *over much* ; connect with **doleas**. Cf. 1, 18, 15 *et tollens vacuum plus nimio gloria verticem*.

2. **immitis** : *unkind, unfaithful*, to thee. Note the contrast between the epithet and the name, Glycera. — **decantes** : *drone and drone*. The compound with **de-** acquired the meaning of continuously singing the same note or strain. Here it is especially appropriate with **miserabilis**, *gloomy*. — **elegos** : referring simply to the form, a couplet formed of a hexameter and a pentameter ; the Alexandrian poets associated this form with sentiment and love. For the development

of Roman elegy and its relation to its model, see Sellar, pp. 201–223.

3 f. **cur**, etc. : the complaint Albius repeats in his verses, and at the same time the reason for his sorrow. For the construction, cf. *Epist.* 1, 8, 9 f. *irascar amicis | cur me funesto properent arcere verno*. — **laesa fide** : a second cause for Albius’ grief.

5 ff. The following may have been suggested by Moschus 6, 1 ff. ἦρατο Πὰν Ἀχῶς τὰς γείτονας, ἦρατο δ’ Ἀχὼ | σκιρτητᾷ Σατύρῳ, Σάτυρος δ’ ἐπεμήνατο Λύδα· | ὥς Ἀχὼ τὸν Πᾶνα, τόσον Σάτυρος φλέγεν Ἀχῶ, | καὶ Λύδα Σατυρίσκον· Ἔρως δ’ ἐσμίχε τ’ ἀμοιβά. ‘Pan loved his neighbor Echo ; Echo loved | A gamesome Satyr ; he, by her unmoved, | Loved only

declinat Pholoen ; sed prius Apulis
iungentur capreae lupis

quam turpi Pholoe peccet adultero.

10

Sic visum Veneri, cui placet imparis
formas atque animos sub iuga aenea
saevo mittere cum ioco.

15

Ipsam me melior cum peteret Venus,
grata detinuit compede Myrtale
libertina, fretis acrior Hadriae
curvantis Calabros sinus.

Lyde; thus through Echo, Pan, |
Lyde, and Satyr, Love his circle
ran' (Myers).

—*tenui fronte*; a point of beauty,
as Lycus' black hair and eyes of the
preceding ode. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 7, 26
nigros angusta fronte capillos; Pe-
tron. 126 *frons minima et quae*
apices capillorum retro flexerat. —
Lycorida: the name is apparently
taken from the elegies of Gallus,
as Pholoe from those of Tibullus
(1, 8, 69).

7. *declinat*: sc. *a Lycoride*.

9. *turpi . . . adultero*: *low-born*
lover. — *peccet*: cf. 1, 27, 17 *ingenuo*
amore peccas.

13 ff. *ipsam me*: the usual per-
sonal experience. Intr. 30. — *me-*
lior Venus: in the same sense as 1,
27, 20 *meliore flamma*. The con-
trast is furnished by *libertina* v. 15.

15 f. *fretis acrior Hadriae*: con-
cessive. The same figure is used
3, 9, 22 f. *improbo | iracundior*
Hadria. The Adriatic was pro-
verbially rough. Cf. 1, 3, 15; 2,
14, 14. — *curvantis*: *when it hol-*
lows out; *i.e.* in time of storm.
Cf. Ovid *Met.* 11, 229 *est sinus*
Haemoniae curvos falcatus in
arcus. — *sinus*: the accusative
expresses the result of the verb's
action.

34

'Careless of Heaven, devoted to a mad philosophy, I was forced by
a bolt in the clear sky to change my course and to remind myself that
God can put down the mighty and exalt the low.'

The ode tells its own story and must not be taken too seriously, for
it may have been based on a Greek model. For Horace's religious views,
see Sellar, p. 159 ff. Metre, 68.

Parcus deorum cultor et infrequens,
 insanientis dum sapientiae
 consultus erro, nunc retrorsum
 vela dare atque iterare cursus
 5 cogor relictos. Namque Diespiter,
 igni corusco nubila dividens
 plerumque, per purum tonantis
 egit equos volucremque currum,
 quo bruta tellus et vaga flumina,
 10 quo Styx et invisi horrida Taenari
 sedes Atlanteusque finis
 concutitur. Valet ima summis

2 ff. **insanientis . . . sapientiae**: Epicurean philosophy, according to which the gods lived a life apart, undisturbed by interest in mortals. Note the oxymoron.—**consultus**: an extended use from such phrases as *iuris consultus*, ‘skilled in the law.’—**cursus . . . relictos**: the old national religion, faith in which was no longer held by men of Horace’s education.

5. **Diespiter**: the ancient name for Jupiter, according to Varro. Cf. our ‘Father of light.’

7. **plerumque**: with **dividens**. Note the emphasis given this by position, as 1, 31, 14 f. *revisens aequor Atlanticum* | *impune*. Intr. 23.—**per purum tonantis**: Lucretius closes his argument that thunder and lightning come from natural causes with the words (6, 400 f.) *denique cur numquam caelo iacit*

undique puro | *Iuppiter in terras fulmen sonitusque profundit*.

9 f. **bruta**: *inert*; contrasted with **vaga**. Cf. 3, 4, 45 *terra iners*.—**Taenari**: the southern promontory of Laconia, to-day Cape Matapan, where a cleft in the rocks was said to be the entrance to the lower world. Cf. Verg. *G.* 4, 467 *Taenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis*.

11. **Atlanteus finis**: equivalent to Euripides’ *τέρμονες Ἀτλαντικοί* (*Hippol.* 3), the western boundary of the world.

12. **valet ima summis**, etc.: divinity’s power to humble and exalt is a commonplace of Greek poetry. *E.g.* *Od.* 16, 211 f. *ῥήιδιον δὲ θεοῖσι, τοῖ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν, | ἡμὲν κυδῆναι θνητὸν βροτὸν ἢ δὲ κακῶσαι*, and Archil. *Frg.* 56 B. *τοῖς θεοῖς τίθει τὰ πάντα· πολλάκις μὲν ἐκ*

mutare et insignem attenuat deus,
obscura promens; hinc apicem rapax

15

Fortuna cum stridore acuto
sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.

κακῶν | ἄνδρας ὀρθοῦσιν μελαίνῃ
κειμένους ἐπὶ χθονί, | πολλάκις δ'
ἀνατρέπουσι καὶ μάλ' εὖ βεβηκό-
τας | ὑπτίους κλίνουσ'. 'Intrust
all things to the gods. Ofttimes
from misfortune they set upright
men who lie prostrate on the
gloomy ground; ofttimes too they
overthrow and cast down even
those who have prospered ex-
tremely.' Also from the Magnifi-
cat, *St. Luke* 1, 52 'He hath put

down the mighty from their seats,
and exalted them of low degree.'

14. *apicem*: properly the conical cap worn by the flamines, but used here as 3, 21, 20 *regum apices*, equivalent to *tiara*, the symbol of royal power.

15 f. *stridore acuto*: 'the shrill whir' of Fortune's wings. Cf. Verg. *A.* 1, 387 of the swans *stridentibus alis*.—*sustulit*: gnomic perfect, *has often before now*. Intr. 103.

35

'O Goddess, Queen of Antium, who canst exalt or humble. All court thy favor, the poor man and the prince, the wild Dacian and Scythian, the sturdy Latin stock, lest thou bring wild discord (1-16). Fierce Destiny goes before with wedge and clamp (17-20), but Hope and Faith are thy companions (21-24); yet at sign of thy disfavor the fickle crowd and false friend flee (25-28). Protect Caesar, we pray, in his campaign against the Britons; guard our youth from dangers in the East (29-32). May we expiate the crimes of civil strife with swords new forged against our eastern foes (33-40).'

The motive of this prayer is probably taken from Pindar, *O.* 12, 1-6 *λίσσομαι, παῖ Ζηνὸς Ἐλευθερίου, | Ἰμέραν εὐρυσθενέ' ἀμφιπόλει, Σώ-
τειρα Τύχα. | τὴν γὰρ ἐν πόντῳ κυβερνῶνται θοαὶ | νᾶες, ἐν χέρσῳ τε λαι-
ψηροὶ πόλεμοι | κἀγοραὶ βουλαφόροι. αἶ γε μὲν ἀνδρῶν | πόλλ' ἄνω,
τὰ δ' αὖ κάτω, ψεύδη μεταμῶνια τάμνοισαι, κυλίνδοντ' ἐλπίδες*. 'I beseech thee, daughter of Zeus the Deliverer, Saving Fortune, guard wide-ruling Himera. For at thy beck the swift ships are piloted on the sea, and on the land fierce wars and council-giving assemblies. The hopes of men are tossed, often up, but again down, as they cut their way through the high waves of falsity.' Horace's ode forms the basis

of Gray's *Ode to Adversity*, while Wordsworth used Gray's poem as a model for his *Ode to Duty*.

The expedition referred to in v. 29 f. was undertaken by Augustus in 27 B.C., when, according to Dio C. 53, 22, ἐξώρμησε μὲν ὥς καὶ ἐς τὴν Βριττανίαν στρατεύσων, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰς Γαλατίας ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα διέτρυπεν. The following year he again laid plans for the invasion, but was kept back by an uprising in Spain. In this year, too, preparations were being made for the expedition of Aelius Gallus against the Arabians to which vv. 30–32 refer (cf. ode 29 of this book). 26 B.C. is therefore the most probable date of the ode. Metre, 68.

O diva, gratum quae regis Antium,
praesens vel imo tollere de gradu
mortale corpus vel superbos
vertere funeribus triumphos:

5 te pauper ambit sollicita prece
ruris colonus, te dominam aequoris

1. **diva**: Fortune, the goddess who rules at will the vicissitudes of life, is here identified with the *Fortunae Antiates*, whose temple at Antium was a famous shrine until late times. With this shrine was associated a popular oracle; therefore the goddesses were called by Mart. 5, 1, 3 *veridicae sorores*. For representations of the goddesses on coins, see Baumeister nos. 606 and 607.

— **gratum**: probably equivalent to *dilectum*, 'beloved by thee'; cf. 1, 30, 2 *dilectam Cypron*. It may, however, refer to the beauty of the place, for Cicero speaking of it says (*ad. Att.* 4, 8 a, 1), *nihil quietius, nihil alsius, nihil amoenius*.

2. **praesens** . . . **tollere**: *with power*, **praesens** being equivalent to *potens*. Intr. 108. — **imo tollere**

de gradu: these words might suggest to the Roman reader the story of Servius Tullius, as the following **superbos** . . . **triumphos** would surely call to his mind the case of Aemilius Paullus, the victor at Pydna, whose two sons died on the day of his triumph.

3 f. **mortale corpus**: *man's mortal clay*. — **vertere**: *change into*. Cf. *Epist.* 2, 3, 226 *vertere serialudo*.

5 f. **te** . . . **te**: note the frequent and emphatic anaphorae in this ode, by which the goddess addressed is constantly made prominent. Intr. 28 c. — **ambit**: *courts*. — **ruris colonus**: the farmer and the sailor (v. 7) are types of men especially dependent on the whims of Fortune, the former for his crops, the latter for his life as well as livelihood.

quicumque Bithyna laceffit
 Carpathium pelagus carina;
 te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythae
 10 urbesque gentesque et Latium ferox
 regumque matres barbarorum et
 purpurei metuunt tyranni,
 iniurioso ne pede proruas
 stantem columnam, neu populus frequens
 15 ad arma cessantis ad arma
 concitet imperiumque frangat.
 Te semper anteit saeva Necessitas,
 clavos trabalis et cuneos manu
 gestans aena, nec severus
 20 uncus abest liquidumque plumbum.

7 f. Bithyna . . . Carpathium: specializing, as I, I, 13 *trabe Cypria Myrtoum* . . . *secet mare*. — laceffit: *vexes*.

9 ff. The wild Dacian and the nomad (profugi) Scythian are contrasted with civilized peoples (urbesque gentesque et Latium ferox). — profugi: best explained by 3, 24, 9 f. *campestres* . . . *Scythae*, | *quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos*. — ferox: *fearless*. Cf. 3, 3, 44 *Roma ferox*.

11 f. regumque matres barbarorum: as Atossa, the mother of Xerxes in Aeschylus' *Persians*; and the mother of Sisera in *Judges* 5, 28. — purpurei . . . tyranni: the color of the dress being the symbol of power; cf. Verg. *G.* 2, 495 *illum non populi fascēs, non purpura regum* | *flexit*.

13 f. iniurioso: *insolent*, ὑβριστικῶ. — columnam: symbolical of stability. Cf. Sen. *Troad.* 6 f. *columen eversum occidit* | *pollentis Asiae*.

15. ad arma . . . ad arma: repeating dramatically the cry of the mob. Cf. Ovid *Met.* 12, 241 *certatimque omnes uno ore 'arma, arma' loquuntur*.

17 ff. clavos, cuneos, uncus, plumbum: these devices for fastening together building material — the *spikes*, *wedges* for loose joints, and *clamps* fastened with *lead* — are symbolical of the power of stern Necessity, who precedes Fortune, as the lictors go before the Roman consul. — clavos: *clavum figere* was used proverbially of that which was unalterably fixed by fate; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2, 53

Te Spes et albo rara Fides colit
velata panno, nec comitem abnegat,
utcumque mutata potentis
veste domos inimica linquis ;

25 at volgus infidum et meretrix retro
periura cedit, diffugiunt cadis
cum faece siccatis amici
ferre iugum pariter dolosi.

30 Serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos
orbis Britannos et iuvenum recens

ut hoc beneficium, quem admodum dicitur, trabali clavo figeret. — manu . . . aena : cf. the English 'iron hand.' — severus : *unyielding, harsh.*

21 ff. The constancy of Hope and Faith, even when Fortune denies her favor, is set over against the fickleness of the common crowd, the harlot, and false friends. — **Spes** . . . **Fides** : both had temples at Rome; tradition said that it was King Numa who established the festival to Fides (Livy 1, 21). — **rara** : since fidelity is seldom found. — **albo velata panno** : in offering sacrifices to Fides the priest wrapped his right hand in a white cloth. It is for this reason, according to Servius, that Vergil, *A.* 1, 292, calls Fides *cana*. — **nec comitem abnegat** : this is obscure, but the simplest interpretation is to supply *se* : 'even in adversity, Faith does not refuse to be man's companion.'

23 f. There were not simply

Fortunae of places, cities, etc., but also *Fortunae* of private families. — **mutata** . . . **veste** : 'changed from festal to mourning garb.' — **inimica** : predicative.

25. **volgus infidum** : proverbial ; cf. 1, 1, 7 *mobiliū turba Quiritium*.

26 f. With the idea expressed, cf. the Greek proverb ζῆι χύτρα, ζῆ φιλία. 'Friendship lives only so long as the pot boils.'

28. **pariter** : modifying **ferre**, which itself depends on **dolosi**, *too false to share*. The metaphor **ferre iugum** is a common one. Cf. Val. Max. 2, 1, 6 *impari iugo caritatis*.

29 f. **ultimos orbis Britannos** : cf. 4, 14, 47 *remoti* . . . *Britanni*. Catull. 11, 11 *ultimi Britanni*. Britain was practically a terra incognita to the Roman until the time of Claudius; the expeditions of Julius Caesar had had no permanent result except to arouse a desire for Britain's conquest.

examen Eois timendum
partibus oceanoque rubro.

Eheu cicatricum et sceleris pudet
fratrumque. Quid nos dura refugimus
35 aetas? Quid intactum nefasti
liquimus? Vnde manum iuventus

metu deorum continuit? Quibus
pepercit aris? O utinam nova
incude diffingas retunsum in
40 Massagetas Arabasque ferrum.

— *recens*: *i.e.* newly recruited for the expedition of Aelius Gallus. — *timendum*: part of the prayer.

32 f. Cf. Verg. *A.* 8, 686 *victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro*. — *cicatricum et sceleris . . . fratrumque*: note the cumulative force — ‘the scars of civil strife are our shame, a crime, a crime against our brothers.’ Cf. similar cumulations 1, 5, 11; 3, 5, 10.

34 ff. *quid nos dura*, etc.: reproducing the spirit of the first part of *Epod.* 16.

38 ff. *O utinam*, etc.: undoubtedly Horace expresses in this form his own deepest feeling, which was shared by his more earnest and wiser contemporaries. The

disastrous effects of thirty years of civil war were everywhere apparent, and the new order introduced by Augustus was the only promise of a security that would enable the state to recover its prosperity. Deeper than all this were the horrors of the struggle just ended in which members of the same family had been set in armed opposition to each other. (Cf. the story of the two brothers in Livy *Per.* 79.) These did not fail to move even the insensitive Romans.

39 f. *retunsum*: *i.e.* in civil strife. — in *Massagetas*: dependent on *diffingas*, *forge anew against*. The *Massagetae* were an Oriental people east of the Caspian Sea.

36

A greeting to Numida, lately returned from the wars in Spain. Numida here appears as the warm friend and contemporary of Aelius Lamia; therefore considerably younger than Horace (cf. introductory n. to 1, 26).

The occasion for the ode may have been a dinner given by Lamia in honor of his friend; the date is unknown. Metre, 71.

Et ture et fidibus iuvat
 placare et vituli sanguine debito
 custodes Numidae deos,
 qui nunc Hesperia sospes ab ultima
 5 caris multa sodalibus,
 nulli plura tamen dividit oscula
 quam dulci Lamiae, memor
 actae non alio rege puertiae
 mutataeque simul togae.
 10 Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota,
 neu promptae modus amphorae

1 f. *ture et fidibus*: the regular accompaniments of sacrifice. Cf. 4, I, 21-24 *illic plurima naribus | duces tura, lyraeque et Berecynthiae | delectabere tibiae | mixtis carminibus non sine fistula*. — *debito*: i.e. vowed to the gods if Numida should have a safe return. Cf. 2, 7, 17 *obligatam redde Iovidapem*.

4. *Hesperia . . . ab ultima*: from the Romans' point of view Spain was the 'farthest west land'; for the Greeks, Italy.

6. *plura*: a larger share. — *dividit*: properly used of allotting to each his portion.

8. *rege*: captain, leader in their sports. — *puertiae*: syncopated as 2, 2, 2 *lamnae*.

9. *mutatae . . . togae*: the *toga praetexta* was usually given up for the *toga virilis* at the age of sixteen or seventeen years; the occasion was made a family festival. The

phrase, therefore, is equivalent to our 'coming of age.' — *cressa*: *terra creta, chalk*. White was the color of joy, and happy days were given a white mark. Cf. Catull. 107, 6 *o lucem candidiore nota*. Cf. our 'red-letter day.' We are told that another way of marking the course of one's life was to drop each day a pebble in an urn — white for the happy, black for the sad. References in literature are not infrequent; e.g. Catull. 68, 148 *quem lapide illa diem candidiore notet*; Plin. *Epist.* 6, 11 *o diem laetum notandumque mihi candidissimo calculo*. Similar customs are reported as existing among the Thracians and Scythians. — *ne careat*, etc.: best regarded as a purpose clause dependent on the following verses, 11-16.

11. *neu . . . neu*: the repetition of the word six times marks the

neu morem in Salium sit requies pedum,
 neu multi Damalis meri
 Bassum Threicia vincat amystide,
 15 neu desint epulis rosae
 neu vivax apium neu breve lilium.
 Omnes in Damalin putris
 deponent oculos, nec Damalis novo
 divelletur adultero,
 20 lascivis hederis ambitiosior.

poet's eagerness. — **promptae**: proleptic: 'open the jar and let no bounds restrain.' — **amphorae**: dat., cf. 1, 24, 1.

12. **morem in Salium** (= *Sali-arem*): the Salii were priests of Mars who danced in triple measure in worship of the god. Here the phrase means no more than 'in the dance.'

13. **multi Damalis meri**: πολύοι-
 vos. Cf. 3, 9, 7 *multi Lydia nomi-*
nis; S. 1, 1, 33 *magni formica*
laboris; Cic. *ad fam.* 9, 26 *non multi*
cibi hospitem. — **Damalis**: δάμαλις,
 a heifer. A common name for a
 libertina. In the columbarium of
 Livia's freedwomen were placed
 the ashes of a *Damalis Liviae sar-*
cinatrix.

14. 'Bassus shall drink deep to-
 day, deeper than the expert Da-

malis.' — **amystide**: ἀμυστὶ πίνειν.
 To drink a bowl of wine at a
 draught was a diversion learned
 from the intemperate Thracians.
 Cf. *Anacreont.* 8, 2 *πιεῖν, πιεῖν*
ἀμυστί. Cf. intr. n. to 1, 27 above.

15 f. Flowers for garlands. —
vivax . . . **breve**: chosen for the
 antithesis.

17 f. 'Damalis shall be the object
 of all eyes, but none shall win her
 from Numida.' — **putris**: *swimming*.
 Porphyrio says, *putres vino intel-*
lege. — **nec**: 'yet Damalis will not.'

19 f. **adultero**: *lover, i.e.* Nu-
 mida; abl. of separation. — **lascivis**:
wandering. — **ambitiosior**: *more*
clinging than. Cf. *Epod.* 15, 5
artius atque hederā procera ad-
stringitur ilex. Catull. 61, 34 f. *ut*
tenax hederā huc et huc | arborem
implicat errans.

37

'Now is the time to drink, to dance, to render thanks unto the gods,
 my friends. Good cheer had no place with us so long as the mad queen
 with her base following threatened harm to Rome (1-12). But the
 flames of her ships checked her madness, and Caesar followed her in

her flight as hawk pursues a dove (12-21). Yet she was no humble woman; she did not shudder at the sword nor shrink at serpent's bite. She scorned to grace a Roman triumph (21-32).'

The ode begins as a song of exultation on hearing the news of Cleopatra's death, which reached Rome in September, 30 B.C. But in v. 21, after applying the opprobrious *fatale monstrum* to the queen, Horace suddenly changes to a feeling of admiration for the heroic courage with which she faced death and cheated the Romans of half the glory of their triumph. With this ode should be compared *Epod.* 9, written in celebration of the victory at Actium. It is noteworthy that in neither is Antony mentioned, the poet forbearing to glory over a fellow Roman. The poem is probably modeled on Alcaeus' ode on the death of the tyrant Myrsilus; in any case the enthusiastic verses with which Horace opens were suggested by the verses of Alcaeus preserved by Athen. 10, 430 A. (*Frg.* 20) *νῦν χρὴ μεθύσθην καὶ τινα πρὸς βίαν | πώνην, ἐπειδὴ κάτθανε Μύρσιλος*. 'Now must we drink deep and riotously carouse, for Myrsilus is dead.' Metre, 68.

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
pulsanda tellus, nunc Saliaribus
ornare pulvinar deorum
tempus erat dapibus, sodales.

1. **nunc**: the triple repetition of this word strengthens the contrast with **antehac nefas** of the following strophe.—**libero**: *freed*, as if the dangers that threatened the state had fettered the very feet of its citizens.

2. **pulsanda**: the same expression, 3, 18, 15 f. *gaudet . . . pepulisse fossor | ter pede terram*. Cf. 1, 4, 7 *terram quatiunt*.—**Saliaribus . . . dapibus**: *feasts such as the Salii enjoy*. In the later republic and under the empire the chief sacred colleges were very wealthy and became in certain senses select clubs; the luxury of the banquets of the Salii and pontifices were prover-

bial. Cf. 2, 14, 28 *mero pontificum potiore cenis*; Porphyrio remarks on this verse, *in proverbio est Saliarum cenas dicere opiparas et copiosas*.

3. **ornare pulvinar deorum**: in celebrating a *lectisternium* in thanksgiving to the gods, images of the divinities were placed on couches (*pulvinaria*), before which rich banquets were offered for a number of days; with this was associated a dinner for the priests.

4. **tempus erat**: the imperfect expresses surprise that this has not been done already, 'Why have we not . . . , for it was time.' So Aristoph. *Eccl.* 877 *τί ποθ' ἄνδρες οὐχ*

5 Antehac nefas depromere Caecubum
 cellis avitis, dum Capitolio
 regina dementis ruinas
 funus et imperio parabat

 contaminato cum grege turpium
 10 morbo virorum, quidlibet impotens
 sperare fortunaque dulci
 ebria. Sed minuit furorem

ἤκουσιν; ὥρα δ' ἦν πάλαι. Ovid *Am.* 3, 1, 23 f. *tempus erat thyrsopulsum graviore moveri, | cessatum satis est, incipe maius opus.* This interpretation is not inconsistent with the following antehac nefas.

5. antehac: dissyllabic. Intr. 38. This synizesis, as well as the neglect of the regular caesura in 5 and 14, probably marks this ode as one of Horace's earlier essays in Alcaic measure. — Caecubum: cf. *Epod.* 9, 1 ff. *quando repostum Caecubum ad festas dapes . . . tecum . . . Maecenas . . . bibam.*

6. dum Capitolio, etc.: there was genuine fear at Rome that Augustus would not be able to defend Italy against Antony and Cleopatra; cf. *Fast. Amit.* to Aug. 1, C.I.L. 1, p. 398, *feriae ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), q(uod) e(o) d(ie) imp. Caesar divi f(ilius) rem public(am) tristissimo periculo liberat.* It was even said that Cleopatra had vowed she would yet administer justice on the Capitol, and that Antony had promised her the Roman empire as a marriage portion. The Capitolium was the symbol of Rome's

lasting power. So Horace, in declaring his fame shall be eternal, says, 3, 30, 8 ff. *dum Capitolium scandet . . . pontifex, . . . dicar . . . deduxisse modos*, etc.

7. regina: even more hateful than *rex*; cf. Prop. 4, 11, 47 ff. *quid nunc Tarquinii fractas iuvat esse secures | nomine quem simili vita superba notat, | si mulier patienda fuit*; and the scornful *emancipatus feminae*, *Epod.* 9, 12. — dementis ruinas: again the transferred adjective. Cf. 1, 3, 40 *iracunda fulmina.* Intr. 99.

9 f. contaminato grege, etc.: the *spadones rugosi* of *Epod.* 9, 13 and the roués of Cleopatra's court are meant. — turpium morbo, etc.: *defiled*, with lust. Catullus (57, 6) reviles Marmurra and Caesar for their dissolute lives with the words, *morbosi pariter.* — virorum: in this connection is ironical.

10. impotens: *weak enough to hope*; her passion had blinded her judgment.

12. ebria: cf. Demos. *Phil.* 1, 49 οἶμαι ἐκείνον μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων.

vix una sospes navis ab ignibus,
 mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
 15 redegit in veros timores
 Caesar, ab Italia volantem
 remis adurgens, accipiter velut
 mollis columbas aut leporem citus
 venator in campis nivalis
 20 Haemoniae, daret ut catenis
 fatale monstrum. Quae generosius
 perire quaerens nec muliebriter
 expavit ensem nec latentis
 classe cita reparavit oras ;

13. **vix una sospes**: *the fact that hardly a single ship escaped*. As a matter of fact Cleopatra escaped with sixty ships, while Antony's fleet was burned. It may be that the first news of the battle reported the destruction of Cleopatra's ships as well.

14 ff. Her drunken madness was changed into genuine terror by Caesar's pursuit. — **lymphatam**: *νυμφόληπτος, distracted*. The word owes its origin to the belief that those who caught sight of water nymphs were bewitched and deprived of their senses. — **Mareotico**: sc. *vino*; the best wine produced near Alexandria.

16 f. **volantem**: sc. *eam*. — **remis adurgens**: an exaggeration, as Octavian did not pursue Antony and Cleopatra at once, but went in the autumn of 31 B.C. to Asia, wintered at Samos, and only reached

Egypt in the summer of 30 B.C. — **accipiter velut**: a Homeric figure. Cf. *Il.* 22, 139 f. ἤντε κίρκος ὄρεσφιν, ἐλαφρότατος πετεηνῶν, | ῥηδῖως οἴμησε μετὰ τρήρωνα πέλειαν.

19 f. **nivalis Haemoniae**: i.e. Thessaly in winter, the hunting season. — **monstrum quae**: construction according to sense. Cf. Cic. *ad fam.* 1, 9, 15 *illa furia muliebrium religionum qui*, etc.

21 f. At this point Horace suddenly changes to admiration for Cleopatra's courage, that made her prefer death to capture. — **generosius perire**: *to die a nobler death*. — **nec muliebriter expavit**: *nor like a woman did she fear*. Plutarch (*Ant.* 79) says that on the approach of Proculeius, Octavian's emissary, Cleopatra tried to stab herself.

23 f. **nec latentis**, etc.: there is a tradition (Dio C. 51, 6; Plut. *Ant.* 69) that Cleopatra thought of

- 25 *ausa et iacentem visere regiam*
 vultu sereno, fortis et asperas
 tractare serpentes, ut atrum
 corpore combiberet venenum,
- deliberata morte ferocior,*
 30 *saevis Liburnis scilicet invidens*
 privata deduci superbo
 non humilis mulier triumpho.

escaping through the Red Sea. Yet it may well be questioned whether Horace knew of such plans on the queen's part; he simply means to say that she had no fear of death, and did not run away.—*reparavit*: *exchange*; *i.e.* in return for the kingdom she had lost. Cf. 1, 31, 12 *vina reparata merce*.

25 f. Note the emphatic position of *ausa . . . fortis*.—*iacentem*: *ruined*, razed to the ground.—*tractare*: dependent on *fortis*, *courageous enough to*. Intr. 108.

27 f. *atrum*: the 'deadly' color. Cf. 1, 28, 13 *morti . . . atrae*; 2, 14, 17 *ater . . . Cocytos*; 3, 4, 17 *atris viperis*.—*corpore*: *in her body*; abl. of instrument.—*combiberet*: the compound is intensive, 'drinking deep.' So Cicero (*de fin.* 3, 9) says figuratively, *quas (artes) si, dum est tener, combiberit, ad maiora veniet paratior*.

29. *The more courageous when once resolved to die.*

30 ff. The condensation of these

verses makes translation especially difficult.—*Liburnis*: dat. with *invidens*. These were small swift ships, modeled after those of the Liburnian pirates, and proved successful against the unwieldy ships of the enemy at Actium. Cf. *Epod.* 1, 1 and n.—*scilicet*: *no doubt*.—*invidens*: cf. Shakespeare, *Ant. and Cleopatra*, 5, 2 'Shall they hoist me, | And show me to the shouting varletry | Of censuring Rome?'—*privata*: 'no longer a queen,' contrasted with *superbo triumpho*.—*deduci*: the object of *invidens*.—*non humilis mulier*: translate as parenthetical and in the predicate—*no humble woman she!* Cf. Tennyson's *Dream of Fair Women*, 'I died a Queen. The Roman soldier found | Me lying dead, my crown about my brows, | A name for ever!' It is said that Cleopatra frequently cried οὐ θριαμβεύσομαι. In Octavian's triumph in August, 29 B.C., an effigy of the queen appeared.

38

In contrast with the triumphant note of the preceding ode the book quietly closes with this little ode, in which Horace declares again his love of simplicity. 'Not orient display nor garlands rich please me, but simple myrtle crown and cup of wine beneath the arbor's shade.' Metre, 69.

Persicos odi, puer, apparatus;
displicent nexae philyra coronae;
mitte sectari rosa quo locorum
sera moretur.

5

Simplici myrto nihil adlabores
sedulus curo; neque te ministrum
dedecet myrtus neque me sub arta
vite bibentem.

1. **Persicos**: the adjective suggests Oriental luxury. Probably Horace had in mind unguents and perfumes from the east. — **philyra**: strips of the inner bark of the linden were used to fasten together the flowers of elaborate chaplets. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 5, 335 ff. *tempora sutilibus cinguntur tota coronis | et latet iniecta splendida mensa rosa. | ebrius incinctis philyra conviva capillis | saltat.*

3 f. **mitte**: equivalent to *omitte*. — **sectari**: *hunting*. — **rosa sera**: *the rose out of season*, another symbol of luxury.

5 f. **myrto**: dat. with **adlabores**, which is equivalent to *laborando addas; embellish*. The subjunctive is independent, parallel to **curo**. — **nihil**: with **adlabores**. — **sedulus**: *with care*, predicate to **adlabores**.

7. **arta**: *thick grown*.

LIBER SECVNDVS

I

As the first three odes of the first book are given in order to Maecenas, Octavianus, and Vergil, so this book opens with odes addressed to three friends, Pollio, Sallustius Crispus, and Dellius. The place of honor is given to C. Asinius Pollio, who was one of the most distinguished men of his time; born in 76 B.C. he belonged in his youth to the literary circle of Catullus, Calvus, and Cinna. He had an honorable political and military career, attaining the consulship in 40 B.C.; his military services, in the course of which he served under Caesar and after Caesar's murder under Antony, culminated in a successful campaign against the Parthini, a tribe in Dalmatia, in 39 B.C. With the booty gained he founded the first public library in Rome.

From this time he gave himself up to literary and forensic pursuits, maintaining with honor a neutral position in the struggle between Octavianus and Antony. Quintilian, Seneca, and Tacitus praise his oratory (cf. 13 f.) in which he had hoped to rival Cicero; his tragedies (11-12) were celebrated in 39 B.C. by Vergil (*E.* 8, 10) as *sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno*. Horace refers to them in the verse (*S.* 1, 10, 42 f.) *Pollio regum | facta canit pede ter percusso*. Following possibly the example of Sallust, he undertook to write a history of the civil wars, with the first triumvirate, 60 B.C., as his starting point. We do not know to what date Pollio intended to bring his work — it undoubtedly included Pharsalus, Thapsus, and probably Philippi, — or whether he completed his plan, whatever it may have been; for while the work is referred to by Tacitus and Suetonius, it is to us entirely lost. Our knowledge of his literary ability is based solely on his letters to Cicero (*ad. fam.* 10, 31-33) which show a stiff and archaic style; an attempt in recent years to ascribe to him the *bellum Africum* and a portion of the *bellum Alexandrinum* has utterly failed. Pollio first introduced the practice of reading portions of one's works to a circle of friends (*recitationes*), which became a regular habit under the empire, and we

may well believe that Horace had in this way heard portions of the work he praises, apparently the parts dealing with Pharsalus, Thapsus, and Cato's death (17-28).

The date of the ode is wholly uncertain, but it is noteworthy that vv. 29-36 express the same weariness of civil strife and bloodshed that we find C. 1, 2, and 14, *Epod.* 9 and 16. Metre, 68.

Motum ex Metello consule civicum
bellique causas et vitia et modos
ludumque Fortunae gravisque
principum amicitias et arma

5 nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
periculosae plenum opus aleae,

1 f. **motum**: *disturbance*, including all the troubles from the time of the first triumvirate. — **ex Metello consule**: L. Afranius and Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer, coss. 60 B.C. — **belli**: modifying the three following nouns. — **causas**: the defeat and death of Crassus at Carrhae (53 B.C.). Still, the death in 54 B.C. of Julia, Caesar's daughter and Pompey's wife, had already broken the last personal bond between these two members of the coalition. — **vitia**: *mistakes*. — **modos**: *phases*.

3 f. **ludum Fortunae**: here conceived as the goddess who delights in the arbitrary exercise of her power; she is so described 3, 29, 49 ff. *Fortuna saevo laeta negotio et | ludum insolentem ludere pertinax | transmutat incertos honores, | nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna*. The varied fortunes and tragic deaths of Caesar, Crassus,

and Pompey were eminent examples of Fortune's wanton sport. — **gravisque principum amicitias**: the first triumvirate, in which the compact and subsequent quarrels between the leading citizens (**principum**) were of serious import to the state. Cf. Caelius, *ad fam.* 8, 14, 2 *sic illi amores et invidiosa coniunctio* (sc. *inter Caesarem et Pompeium*) *non ad occultam recidit obtrectionem, sed ad bellum se erupit*. Also Lucan, 1, 84 ff. — **arma**: *i.e.* those used at Pharsalia, Thapsus, Philippi.

5. **nondum expiatis**: the sin of fraternal strife is still to be atoned for. Cf. 1, 2, 29; *Epod.* 7, 3. 19 f. — **cruoribus**: the plural emphasizes the different instances.

6 ff. **opus**: in apposition with the foregoing sentence. While Octavian was clearly victor after Actium, the struggles of the civil war were too recent to allow a

tractas et incedis per ignis
suppositos cineri doloso.

10 Paulum severae musa tragoediae
desit theatris; mox ubi publicas
res ordinaris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes coturno,
insigne maestis praesidium reis
et consulenti, Pollio, curiae,
15 cui laurus aeternos honores
Delmatico peperit triumpho.

frank historical treatment; old wounds would be torn open and old animosities revived. The expression *per ignis*, etc., is proverbial. Cf. Callim. *Epig.* 44, 2 πῶρ ὑπὸ τῇ σποδίῃ, Propert. 1, 5, 4 f. *infelix, properas ultima nosse mala | et miser ignotos vestigia ferre per ignes*. Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.* c. 6. 'When the historian of this troubled reign (that of James II) turns to Ireland, his task becomes peculiarly difficult and delicate. His steps — to borrow the fine image used on a similar occasion by a Roman poet — are on the thin crust of ashes beneath which the lava is still glowing.'

9 ff. Note how skillfully Horace introduces these complimentary allusions to Pollio's other literary attainments. — *paulum*: *for a little*: i.e. until the history shall be finished. — *severae*: *solemn*. — *desit*: the public will miss the tragedies. — *theatris*: with the plural, cf. 1, 2, 15 f. This is not

proof that Pollio's plays were acted; they were probably intended to be read.

11 f. *ordinaris*: *set in order*, i.e. have arranged the details of thy work. — *repetes*: *thou shalt resume thy glorious task* (*grande munus*). — *Cecropio coturno*: the high buskin (*cothurnus*) was worn by actors in tragedy, the low slipper (*soccus*) in comedy. The adjective *Cecropio* is appropriate, as Athens was the place where tragedy came to its highest perfection.

13 f. *praesidium . . . reis*: eight of the nine titles of Pollio's speeches are for the defense. This verse was probably in Ovid's mind when he wrote of Germanicus *Fasti* 1, 22 *civica pro trepidis cum tulit arma reis*. — *consulenti*: *in its deliberations*. The phrase *insigne praesidium* is still applicable here, as Pollio's advice was a defense to the welfare of the state.

16. Cf. introductory note to this ode.

Iam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
 perstringis auris, iam litui strepunt,
 iam fulgor armorum fugacis
 20 terret equos equitumque voltus.

Audire magnos iam videor duces
 non indecoro pulvere sordidos
 et cuncta terrarum subacta
 praeter atrocem animum Catonis.

25 Iuno et deorum quisquis amicior
 Afris inulta cesserat impotens

17. **iam nunc**: Horace dramatically represents himself as actually listening to the reading of the history.

18 f. **perstringis**: *dinnest*. — **fulgor armorum**: cf. the Homeric χαλκοῦ στεροπή, and Quint. 10, 30 *fulgorem qui terreat, qualis est ferri, quo mens simul visusque praestringitur*. — **fugacis**: proleptic with **terret**, — 'throws the horses into terrified flight.' — **equos equitumque**: cf. Tennyson's similar assonance 'while horse and hero fell.' — **voltus**: by zeugma with **terret**, *daunts the rider's gaze*, etc. To make this refer to the story that Caesar ordered his soldiers at Pharsalus to strike at the faces of the young nobles in the opposing army is strained and unnatural. The phrase is intended simply to give us a vivid picture of the panic-stricken horsemen.

21 ff. **audire . . . videor**: 'as you read,' continuing the vividness of **iam nunc**, v. 17. — **duces . . .**,

cuncta . . . subacta: both the objects of **audire** — *to hear the story of*.

23 f. **cuncta terrarum**: cf. 4, 12, 19 *amaracurarum*. — **atrocem**: *stubborn*; in praise, as Sil. Ital. 13, 369 *atrox virtus*. — **Catonis**: the canonized object of praise by stoics and rhetoricians. Cf. n. to 1, 12, 35.

25 ff. The mention of Cato recalls Thapsus and the long history of wars in Africa. Juno was the patron goddess of Carthage, in the *Aeneid* the opponent of Aeneas, and so hostile to Italy. With this strophe Horace passes to expressions of regret for the civil struggles that form the subject of Pollio's history.

— **cesserat**: note the tense. 'Once the gods had been forced to withdraw from the doomed African cities, powerless (**impotens**) to help them; now they have had their revenge.' The Romans had a rite (*evocatio*) for

tellure victorum nepotes
rettulit inferias Iugurthae.

30 Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
campus sepulcris impia proelia
testatur auditumque Medis
Hesperiae sonitum ruinae?

35 Qui gurgēs aut quae flumina lugubris
ignara belli? Quod mare Dauniae
non decoloravere caedes?
Quae caret ora cruore nostro?

calling forth from a beleaguered city of the enemy the local divinities, whose departure was necessary before the town could be captured. When the gods had gone, the city was doomed. Cf. Vergil *A.* 2, 351 f. (of Troy) *excessere omnes, adytis arisque relictis, | di, quibus imperium hoc steterat*, and Tac. *Hist.* 5, 13, of the capture of Jerusalem by Titus.

27. *victorum nepotes*, etc.: the commander of the Pompeian army at Thapsus was Metellus Scipio, grandson of the Metellus Numidicus who commanded (109–107 B.C.) in the war against Jugurtha. The Pompeians who fell at Thapsus, ten thousand in number, are here described as offerings at the tomb of the Numidian king. It is interesting to remember in this connection that Sallust had published his *Jugurtha* in recent years.

29. *Latino sanguine*: cf. *Epod.* 7, 3 f. *parumne campis atque*

Neptuno super | fusum est Latini sanguinis?—*pinguior*: *fatter*. Cf. Verg. *G.* 1, 491 f. *nec fuit indignum superis, bis sanguine nostro | Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos*.

30. *impia*: as *pietas* denotes the proper relation between relatives, the adjective *unholy* is especially applicable to the unnatural struggles of the civil war. Cf. *Epod.* 16, 9 *impia . . . aetas*.

31 f. *auditumque Medis*, etc.: the Parthians would naturally rejoice at the internal quarrels of Rome. Cf. *Epod.* 7, 9 f. *sed ut secundum vota Parthorum sua | urbs haec periret dextera*.—*Hesperiae*: *i.e.* the western world, Italy.

33 f. *gurgēs*: *flood*, but often nothing more than the poetic equivalent of *mare*. Cf. Verg. *G.* 4, 387 *in Carpathio Neptuni gurgite*.—*Dauniae*: Apulian, in the sense of Italian. Cf. n. to 1, 22, 14.

Sed ne relictis, musa procax, iocis
 Ceae retractes munera neniae;
 mecum Dionaeo sub antro
 quaere modos levioꝛe plectro.

40

37 ff. Horace suddenly checks himself; as the poet of love he must not allow his muse to raise a strain of grief. In a similar fashion he suddenly stops his serious verses 3, 3, 69 f. *non hoc iocosae conveniet lyrae*; | *quo, Musa, tendis?* — *ne* . . . *retractes*: dependent on *quaere*, etc. *You must not, . . . but rather*, etc. Cf. 1, 33, 1 ff. — *procax*: *bold*, here hardly to be distinguished in meaning from *lascivus*, applicable to the muse of love poetry. — *iocis*: *παίγνια*, songs of love and wine, as e.g. the fourth ode of this book. Cf. 3, 3, 69 *iocosa lyra*.

38. *Ceae retractes munera neniae*: *assume again the functions of the Cean dirge*. Simonides of Ceos (556–467 B.C.) was noted for the pathos of his elegies (*θρήνοι*), such as he wrote on those who fell at Thermopylae and Salamis.

39 f. *Dionaeo sub antro*: Dione was the mother of Venus. The poet of love naturally seeks his inspiration in her grotto. — *levioꝛe plectro*: cf. Ovid. *Met.* 10, 150 f. where Orpheus says *cecini plectro graviore gigantas*, | *nunc opus est levioꝛe lyra*.

2

‘Silver shines from use, Crispus, not when hidden in the earth. Proculcius has won eternal fame by his generosity. He who curbs his eager soul is more a ruler than the lord of Africa and Europe; avarice like dropsy grows by indulgence. True wisdom counts not happy even Phraates seated on the throne of Cyrus, but reckons king only him who has no lingering look for heaps of gold.’

The ode is addressed to C. Sallustius Crispus, the grandnephew and adopted son of Sallust the historian, whose great wealth he inherited in 36 B.C. At first he was a partisan of Antony, but later attached himself to Augustus and became his most trusted confidant next to Maecenas; like the latter he was content with equestrian rank, enjoying in reality greater power and position than senatorial dignity could have brought him. The moderation in expenditures here attributed to him is hardly consistent with the statement of Tacitus, whose full account (*Annal.* 3, 30) is as follows, *atque ille, quamquam prompto ad capessendos honores aditu, Maecenatem aemulatus, sine dignitate senatoria multos*

triumphalium consulariumque potentia anteiit, diversus a veterum instituto per cultum et munditias copiaque et affluentia luxu propior. Suberat tamen vigor animi ingentibus negotiis par, eo acrior, quo somnum et inertiam magis ostentabat. His generosity is celebrated in an epigram of Crinagoras, *Anth. Pal.* 16, 40 γείτονες οὐ τρισσαὶ μῶνον Τύχαι ἔπρεπον εἶναι, | Κρίσπε, βαθυπλούτου σῆς ἔνεκεν κραδίης, | ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ πάντων πᾶσαι · τί γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τοσῶδε | ἀρκέσει εἰς ἐτάρων μυρίον εὐφροσύνην; | νῦν δέ σε καὶ τούτων κρέσσων ἐπὶ μείζον' ἀέξοι | Καῖσαρ · τίς κείνου χωρὶς ἄρῃε τύχη. 'Not three goddesses of Fortune alone should be thy neighbors, Crispus, for thy rich and generous heart, but rather every kind of Fortune in every event should be thine. For what can be enough for such a man to reward his endless kindness toward his friends? Nay, now may Caesar who is mightier than these, exalt thee still more; what Fortune is pleasing without his favor?'

The ode is an expansion on the Stoic paradox, 'the wise alone is rich.' The date of composition is probably fixed by 17 ff. as soon after 27 B.C. Metre, 69.

Nullus argento color est avaris
abdito terris, inimice lamnae
Crispe Sallusti, nisi temperato
splendeat usu.

5 Vivet extento Proculeius aevo,
notus in fratres animi paterni;

1. An imitation of the verse quoted by Plutarch *περὶ δυσωπίας* 10, οὐκ ἔστ' ἐν ἀντροῖς λευκὸς, ὦ ξέν', ἄργυρος. — color: *luster*. — avaris: the adjective describing the greed of the miser is here applied to the earth, that hides the silver from the light. Intr. 99.

2. terris: abl. For the sentiment, cf. *S.* 1, 1, 41 f. *quid iuvat, inmensum te argenti pondus et auri | furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?* — lamnae: *bullion*. — Crispe Sallusti: the inversion of *nomen* and *cognomen* be-

came common in the late republic when the *praenomen* was omitted; it possibly belonged to familiar address, but Cicero uses it in his speeches as well as in his letters.

3 f. nisi . . . splendeat: the protasis to *inimice lamnae*.

5 f. extento aevo: *with life prolonged beyond the grave*. Generosity secures immortality. — Proculeius: the brother-in-law of Maecenas and one of the closest friends of Augustus. He divided his property equally with his two brothers Caepio and Murena, who

illum aget penna metuente solvi
fama superstes.

10 Latius regnes avidum domando
spiritum quam si Libyam remotis
Gadibus iungas et uterque Poenus
serviat uni.

15 Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops,
nec sitim pellit, nisi causa morbi
fugerit venis et aquosus albo
corpore languor.

20 Redditum Cyri solio Phraaten
dissidens plebi numero beatorum
eximit Virtus populumque falsis
dedocet uti

had lost their wealth in the civil wars. — **animi paterni**: genitive of specification, giving the reason for his fame (**notus**). Intr. 93.

7 f. **metuente solvi**: *i.e. indissolubili*; 'bear on wing that will not flag.' The idea of 'fearing' in **metuente** has in this phrase faded to that of 'shrinking,' 'hesitating.' Cf. 3, 11, 10 *metuit tangi = intacta*. — **superstes**: 'ever surviving' and so 'immortal.'

9. Cf. *Proverbs* 16, 32 'He that ruleth his spirit is mightier than he that taketh a city.'

11 f. **iungas**: *i.e.* as king and owner. — **uterque Poenus**: expanding the previous phrase. Horace means the Carthaginians of Africa and of Spain. — **uni**: *sc. tibi*.

13. **indulgens sibi**: the means by which avarice, like dropsy, grows. — **hydrops**: the disease is almost personified.

15 f. **fugerit**: *be driven from*; virtually the passive of *fugare*. — **aquosus . . . languor**: *weariness caused by the water*. — **albo**: *pallid*, from the disease.

17. **redditum**: probably in 27 B.C. Cf. n. to 1, 26, 5. Note the emphasis, 'for all his return.'

18 f. **beatorum**: 'the really fortunate and rich.' Note the hypermetric line. — **Virtus**: *right reasoning, i.e.* the opinion of the wise and good — the Stoics — opposed to the estimates of the vulgar herd (**dissidens plebi**).

20. **dedocet**: *teaches the people to give up the use of, etc.*

vocibus, regnum et diadema tutum
deferens uni propriamque laurum,
quisquis ingentis oculo inretorto
spectat acervos.

21 ff. *falsis* . . . *vocibus*: 'to call a man *beatus* simply because he is rich or powerful is a misuse of the term. Wealth and power are the sure possession of him alone who is not moved by greed.' Cf. Sen. *Thy.* 389 f. *rex est, qui cupiet nihil; | hoc regnum sibi quisque dat.* — *regnum* . . . *deferens*: the method by which *virtus* drives home her lesson. — *diadema*: properly the blue band that

went around the Persian king's tiara.

22. *uni*: *to him and him alone, who.* — *propriam*: *as his sure possession*, repeating the idea expressed in *tutum*.

23 f. 'Whoever can look at great heaps of treasure (and pass on) without one backward glance.' — *inretorto*: a compound made by Horace with the negative prefix *in-* and the participle of *retorqueo*.

3

In the preceding ode Horace expanded a Stoic maxim; in this he gives us a similar treatment of a favorite Epicurean principle, 'enjoy life while you may, but never too extravagantly, for death is close at hand. Neither riches nor family can save us from the common doom.'

The Dellius addressed is undoubtedly Q. Dellius, whom Messala nicknamed *desultor bellorum civilium* because of his frequent changes of allegiance during the civil wars. In 31 B.C. he returned finally to Octavian's side, and later became one of his trusted courtiers. The place of the ode here was determined both by the similarity of its subject with that of 2, and especially by Horace's desire to give Dellius a place next Sallust. Cf. intr. n. to 2, 1.

The date of composition cannot be determined, but is clearly later than the reconciliation between Dellius and Octavianus. Metre, 68.

Aequam memento rebus in arduis
servare mentem, non secus in bonis

1 f. *aequam* . . . *mentem*, etc.: 'a calm and even spirit is a defense against every change of life.' The sentiment is a common-

place. Cf. Archil. *Frg.* 66 μήτε νικῶν ἀμφάδην ἀγάλλεο | μήτε νικηθεὶς ἐν οἴκῳ καταπεσὼν ὀδύρεο. 'Rejoice not openly when victori-

ab insolenti temperatam
laetitia, moriture Delli,

5 seu maestus omni tempore vixeris,
seu te in remoto gramine per dies
festos reclinatum bearis
interiore nota Falerni.

10 Quo pinus ingens albaque populus
umbram hospitem consociare amant

ous, nor when defeated lie down and weep within thy house.'—**arduus**: placed at the end of the verse to contrast with **aequam**, *an even mind*, . . . *a steep and toilsome path*. Intr. 27.—**non secus** . . . **temperatam**: *and no less to keep*, etc.—**in bonis**: in position as well as in thought contrasted with **in arduis**. Intr. 27.

3 f. **insolenti**: *unwonted*, and so *extravagant*.—**morture**: equivalent to *cum moriturus sis*. The knell that gives the reason for the previous advice. Intr. 110.

5 f. **seu . . . seu**: following on **morture**, not **memento**. With the sentiment of the strophe, cf. an anonymous epigram to Anacreon *Anth. Pal.* 7, 33 'πολλὰ πῶν τέθνηκας, Ἀνάκρεον.' 'ἀλλὰ τρυφήσας | καὶ σὺ δὲ μὴ πίνων ἔξειαι εἰς Αἴδην.' 'Deep hast thou drunk and art dead, Anacreon.' 'Yet I enjoyed it. And thou, though thou drink not at all, wilt still come to Hades.'—**in remoto gramine**: *on some retired and grassy spot*. Cf. 1, 17, 17 *in reducta valle*.—**per dies festos**: the

preposition is distributive,—*on every festal day*. Cf. 2, 14, 15 *per autumnos*.

8. **interiore nota**: *with an inner brand*. The wine after fermentation was drawn from the dolia into amphorae, which then were sealed with the name of the consuls of the year. Cf. 3, 21, 10 *nata mecum consule Manlio* (sc. *testa*). The sealed amphorae were stowed away in the apotheca; and those in the farthest part of the store-room (hence **interiore**) naturally contained the oldest and best wine.—**Falerni**: cf. n. to 1, 27, 9.

9–12. After vv. 6–8 Horace dramatically imagines that he and his friend are already lying on the grass with cups in hand, and puts the questions naturally suggested by the surroundings, 'Why do these things exist except for our enjoyment?'—**quo**: *why*.—**pinus** . . . **pōpulus**: the tall Italian pine with its dark shade forms an artistic contrast to the white poplar with its trembling leaves. For the order, see Intr. 20.—**consociare**: *to entwine*.—**amant**: literally,

ramis? Quid obliquo laborat
lympa fugax trepidare rivo?

Huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis
flores amoenae ferre iube rosae,
15 dum res et aetas et sororum
fila trium patiuntur atra.

Cedes coemptis saltibus et domo
villaque flavus quam Tiberis lavit,
cedes et exstructis in altum
20 divitiis potietur heres.

not equivalent to *solent*. — *quid obliquo*, etc.: *why does the fleeting water fret its quivering way along the winding stream?* — *trepidare*: for the infin., see Intr. 107; for the order, 21.

13 f. *nimium brevis*, etc.: 'Gather ye rosebuds while ye may; | Old time is still a flying; | And this same flower that blooms to-day, | To-morrow will be dying.' With *brevis* cf. 1, 36, 16 *breve lilium*. The adjective emphasizes the fleeting character of life, expressed in the following *dum . . . patiuntur*.

15 f. *res*: *fortune, affairs*, in general. — *aetas*: *i.e.* before old age comes on us. Cf. 1, 9, 17 *donec virenti canities abest morosa*. — *sororum*: the Fates who spin the threads of life. Cf. Lowell *Villa Franca*, 'Spin, spin, Clotho, spin! Lachesis twist! and, Atropos, sever!' — *atra*: because the cutting of the thread brings death. Cf. n. to 1, 37, 27 *atrum venenum*.

17 ff. *cedes . . . cedes*: *thou shalt give up . . . , aye, give up*. Intr. 28c. 'All thy riches cannot save thee.' — *saltibus*: *upland pastures*, in the mountain valleys between the hills, valuable for grazing. Cf. *Epist.* 2, 2, 177 ff. *quidve Calabris | saltibus adiuncti Lucani* (sc. *prosunt*), *si metit Orcus | grandia cum parvis, non exorabilis auro?* — *domo villaque*: the city residence and country seat alike.

19 f. The dreaded specter of the heir who enters into the fruits of his predecessor's labors is common enough in Horace's moralizing. Cf. 2, 14, 25; 3, 24, 62; 4, 7, 19. So *Ecclesiastes*, 2, 19 'And who knoweth whether he shall be a wise man or a fool? yet shall he have rule over all my labour wherein I have laboured, and wherein I have shewed wisdom under the sun.' *Ecclesiasticus* 14, 4 'He that gathereth by defrauding his own soul gathereth for others, that shall spend his goods riotously.'

Divesne p̄risco natus ab Inacho
 nil interest an pauper et infima
 de gente sub divo moreris,
 victima nil miserantis Orci.

25

Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
 versatur urna serius ocius
 sors exitura et nos in aeternum
 exsilium impositura cumbae.

21 f. *divesne*, etc.: predicate with *natus* and dependent on *nihil interest*; the verb is supplied by *moreris* below. — *Inacho*: Inachus, the mythical king of Argos, typical of antiquity. Cf. 3, 19, 1. 'An ancient noble line is of no more avail than a poor and humble one.'

23 f. *sub divo*: *beneath the light of day*, 'under the canopy.' Cf. 1, 1, 25 *sub Iove*. — *moreris*: 'this life is but an inn, no home.' Cf. Cic. *C.M.* 84 *commorandi enim natura devorsorium nobis, non habitandi dedit*. — *victima*, etc.: grammatically in apposition to the subject of *moreris*; but from its position at the end of the strophe it acquires an effective emphasis — *for none the less thou art*, etc.

25 f. *omnes* . . . , *omnium*: Intr.

28 c. — *cogimur*: the souls of the dead are driven by Mercury like cattle. Cf. 1, 24, 18 *nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi*. — *versatur urna*: in ancient determinations by lot small billets of wood or pebbles (*sortes*), each of which had a name written on it, were cast into a jar. This was then shaken until one of the lots leaped out. — *serius ocius*: *sooner or later*; in such combinations, asyndeton is common.

27 f. *aeternum*: with this hyper-metric verse, cf. 2, 2, 18. — *exilium*: 'death is an exile from the joys of life; thence no man returns.' — *cumbae*: Charon's boat. Cf. Verg. *A.* 6, 303 *ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba*, and Prop. 4, 18, 24 *scandendast torvi publica cumba senis*.

4

Horace teases one of his friends who has fallen in love with a maid-servant, and in mock-heroic style brings his victim precedents from the age of heroes. 'Achilles, Ajax, and even mighty Agamemnon have been smitten with captive hand-maidens before you. Be sure that your flame, like theirs, is the child of royal parents; she must be noble, she is so true. What, jealous! Bless you, I'm too old to play the part of rival.'

Who Horace's friend was is quite unknown. The name Xanthias of Phocis is an invention, like 'Cnidius Gyges' in v. 20 of the following ode. The date of composition is fixed by v. 23 f. as about 25 B.C. Metre, 69.

Ne sit ancillae tibi amor pudori,
Xanthia Phoceu, prius insolentem
serva Briseis niveo colore
movit Achillem,

5 movit Aiace[m] Telamone natum
forma captivae dominum Tecmessae;
arsit Atrides medio in triumpho
virgine rapta,

10 barbarae postquam cecidere turmae
Thessalo victore et ademptus Hector

1 ff. **ne sit**: a negative purpose clause, depending on the following illustrations. Cf. 1, 33, 1 ff.; 4, 9, 1. We may translate, *You need not be ashamed . . . , for Briseis, etc.* — **ancillae**: objective genitive with **amor**. — **prius**: used adverbially, belonging to all three examples; 'you are not the first.' — **insolentem**: *for all his haughtiness*. Cf. Horace's directions for the portrayal of Achilles, *Epist.* 2, 3, 120 ff. *scriptor si forte reponis Achillem, | impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer | iura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.* — **niveo colore**: instrumental abl. with **movit**. So Helen's fair beauty was described by the Alexandrians, *νιφόεσσα Ἑλένη*.

4 ff. **movit . . . movit . . . arsit**: Intr. 28 c. — **Telamone natum**: the Homeric *Τελεμώνιος Αἴας*. —

forma: connect with **Tecmessae**. — **captivae dominum**: the contrast is emphasized by the juxtaposition. Intr. 26. — **Tecmessae**: for the quantity, cf. Intr. 34.

8. **virgine rapta**: Cassandra, who was torn from the altar of Athena by Ajax Oileus; in the division of the spoils after the capture of Troy she fell to Agamemnon's share.

9–12. The strophe fixes the time and gives the details of the triumph in the midst of which the victor was humbled by love for his captive. — **barbarae**: *i.e. Phrygiae*, a term frequently used by the Latin poets in imitation of the Greek. — **cecidere** . . . **Thessalo victore**: *i.e.* when Achilles returned to the battle after Patroclus' death, and drove the Trojans in flight before him. — **ademptus Hector**: *the loss of Hector*. Cf. 1, 3, 29 and n.

tradidit fessis leviora tolli
Pergama Graia.

15 Nescias an te generum beati
Phyllidis flavae decorent parentes;
regium certe genus et penatis
maeret iniquos.

20 Crede non illam tibi de scelesta
plebe dilectam, neque sic fidelem,
sic lucro aversam potuisse nasci
matre pudenda.

Bracchia et voltum teretisque suras
integer laudo: fuge suspicari
cuius octavum trepidavit aetas
claudere lustrum.

11. *fessis*: i.e. with the ten years' war. — *leviora tolli*: *an easier prey*. Intr. 108. Horace seems to have had in mind *Il.* 24, 243 f. ῥήϊτεροι γὰρ μᾶλλον Ἀχαιοῖσιν δὴ ἔσσεσθε | κείνου τεθνηῶτος ἐναιρέμεν.

13 f. *nescias*: potential, *you cannot tell, it may well be that*. — *generum*: in bantering tone, 'you really will marry her.' — *beati*: cf. n. to 2, 2, 18. — *flavae*: a point of beauty. Cf. 1, 5, 4. — *decorent*: in contrast to the ne . . . sit amor pudori with which the ode opens.

15. *regium certe genus*: in the same construction as, *Penatis iniquos*: *the unkindness of her Penates*. 'Phyllis will prove to be of no less royal birth than Briseis, Tecmessa, and Cassandra.'

17 ff. Another proof of noble lineage. — *scelesta plebe*: the *vulgus infidum*, on whom doubtless Xanthias looked with scorn. — *sic* . . . *sic*: in mocking irony, *as she is*. — *lucro aversam*: likewise in mockery, for Phyllis' class was noted for its greed.

21 f. *teretis*, *shapely*. — *integer*: *heart-whole*, as 3, 7, 22 (*Gyges*) *adhuc integer*. — *fuge suspicari*: Intr. 104.

23 f. *trepidavit*: a favorite word with Horace. Cf. its use, 2, 3, 12. 11, 4; 4, 11, 11. His life has hurried to the verge of forty years. Horace says this almost with a sigh, 'I am too old, or faith, I would have been your rival.' — *claudere*: Intr. 107.

5

‘Lalage is too young to bear the yoke of love. Wait a bit, and she will follow you and outshine your former loves.’

The comparison of the young Lalage to the heifer and the unripe grape, as well as the bluntness of expression, did not offend the ancient as it does the modern taste. The ode lacks the unity of the better lyrics, for the last strophe distracts our attention from the central object. There is no hint of the date of composition. Metre, 68.

Nondum subacta ferre iugum valet
cervice, nondum munia comparis
aequare, nec tauri ruentis
in venerem tolerare pondus.

5 Circa virentis est animus tuae
campos iuvencae, nunc fluviis gravem
solantis aestum, nunc in udo
ludere cum vitulis salicto
praegeſtientis. Tolle cupidinem
10 immitis uvae; iam tibi lividos

1 f. The figure is as old as Homer, who uses *παρθένος ἀδμής* of a young girl; so *δάμαλις* and *πόρτις* in later writers.—*valet*: the indefinite subject is to be supplied from the context, either *puella*, *iuvenco*, or *Lalage*.—*munia*: continuing the figure of the first line,—‘to do her part in dragging the plow.’

5. *circa . . . est*: *is busy with*; an extension of the local use, first found in Horace; evidently in imitation of the Greek *εἶναι περί τι*.

6 f. *nunc . . . nunc*: *now . . . again*.—*fluviis*: instrumental abl. with *solantis*.

7 f. *udo . . . salicto*: *i.e.* which grows on the banks of the stream.

9 f. *praegeſtientis*: a doubly emphatic compound, in place of the simple *gestio*, expressing eager desire. Lalage’s only thought is to gambol with her mates.—*cupidinem . . . uvae*: the figure of the heifer is abandoned for that of the unripe grape, made familiar by Alexandrian poetry. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 5, 19, 3 f. *εἴη μήτ’ ὄμφαξ μήτ’ ἀσταφίς· ἥ δὲ πέπειρος | ἐς Κύπριδος θαλάμους ὥρία καλλοσύνη*. ‘May she be neither a green nor an over-ripe grape; but let her beauty be

distinguet autumnus racemos
purpureo varius colore.

Iam te sequetur ; currit enim ferox
aetas, et illi quos tibi dempserit
15 adponet annos ; iam proterva
fronte petet Lalage maritum,

dilecta quantum non Pholoe fugax,
non Chloris, albo sic umero nitens
ut pura nocturno renidet
20 luna mari, Cnidiussve Gyges,

quem si puellarum insereres choro,
mire sagacis falleret hospites
discrimen obscurum solutis
crinibus ambiguoque voltu.

ready, full grown for Cypris' bowers.' — iam : *presently*.

12. purpureo . . . colore : the color of the ripening, not the ripe, grape. Cf. Ovid. *Met.* 3, 484 f. *ut variis solet uva racemis | ducere purpureum, nondum matura, colorem.* — varius : *many-colored*, with almost active meaning.

13 f. sequetur : sc. *Lalage*. — ferox aetas : not *Lalage's* youth, but time in general, that unrelentingly hurries on. — tibi dempserit, etc. : as if time took from the lover's years, of which too many already have gone, to add to the child's small sum.

15 f. proterva fronte : half returning to the figure of the heifer. *Lalage* : the name is reserved to this point to avoid conflict with

the comparisons that occupy the first three strophes.

17 ff. 'Then when she comes of her own accord, she will be dearer than any of thy former loves.' — fugax : *coquettish*.

19. pura : *unclouded*.

21 f. si . . . insereres : as Achilles was concealed by his mother among the daughters of Lycomedes, king of Scyros, that he might not go to Troy. Cf. n. to 1, 8, 13. — mire : with falleret. — hospites : *strangers* ; with reference to Ulysses and Diomedes, who came in disguise to Lycomedes' court that they might find Achilles.

24. crinibus . . . voltu : ablative of means with obscurum, which is equivalent to *obscuratum*.

6

Addressed to the poet's devoted friend Septimius, probably the same whom he commends to Tiberius, *Epist.* 1, 9; he is also named in a letter by Augustus to Horace, of which a fragment has been preserved by Suetonius in his life of Horace (p. 297 R.). A melancholy strain runs through the ode: the poet is filled with thoughts of his old age and prays that Tivoli, or if that spot be refused, beautiful Tarentum, may be the home of his last years. There Septimius shall shed a tear over the ashes of his friend.

The exact date of composition cannot be determined, but it has been conjectured with good reason that the ode was written during an illness, or when Horace was oppressed with fears of early death; it was certainly at a time when he felt his position established so that he could speak of himself as '*vates*,' *i.e.* it was after the publication of the epodes. Possibly the reference in v. 2 may fix the date as between 27 and 25 B.C. See n. below. Metre, 69.

Septimi, Gadis aditure mecum et
Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra et
barbaras Syrtis, ubi Maura semper
aestuat unda:

5 Tibur Argeo positum colono
sit meae sedes utinam senectae,

1. Gadis: the modern Cadiz; 'to the limits of the world.' Cf. 2, 2, 11 *remotis Gadibus*. — aditure: *who wouldst go*. Intr. 110. So Catullus says ironically 11, 1 f. *Furi et Aureli, comites Catulli, | sive in extremos penetra-bit Indos*, etc.

2. iuga ferre: dependent on indoctum. This figure taken from the breaking of cattle is a poetical commonplace. The Cantabri were a fierce people in northwestern Spain who successfully resisted the Romans for many years.

Augustus conducted campaigns against them in person in 27–25 B.C., but they were not finally subjugated until 19 B.C. Cf. 3, 8, 22 *Cantaber sera domitus catena*, and 4, 14, 41 *Cantaber non ante domabilis*.

3. barbaras Syrtis: so called alike from their situation and cruel nature. Cf. 1, 22, 5 *per Syrtis . . . aestuosas* and Verg. *A.* 4, 41 *inhospita Syrtis*.

5. Tibur: for Horace's affection for Tivoli, cf. 1, 7, 1–21. — Argeo positum, etc.: *i.e.* Tiburtus,

sit modus lasso maris et viarum
militiaeque.

10

Vnde si Parcae prohibent iniquae,
dulce pellitis ovibus Galaesi
flumen et regnata petam Laconi
rura Phalantho.

Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnis
angulus ridet, ubi non Hymetto

who with his brothers came from Greece and founded Tiber. Cf. n. to 1, 7, 13. — *colono*: dat. of agent.

6 ff. Cf. Mart. 4, 25, 7 *vos eritis nostrae requies portusque senectae*. — *sit . . . sit*: Intr. 29. — *utinam*: for the position, see Intr. 31. — *modus*: *bound*. Cf. Avien. *orb. terr.* 100 H. *hic modus est orbis Gadir*. — *lasso*: sc. *mihi*. — *maris et viarum*: cf. *Epist.* 1, 11, 6 *odio maris atque viarum*; the phrase was adopted by Tacitus *Ann.* 2, 14 *si taedio viarum ac maris finem cupiant*.

9 ff. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 7, 44 f. *parvum parva decent: mihi iam non regia Roma, | sed vacuum Tibur placet aut inbelle Tarentum*. — *prohibent*: sc. *me*. — *iniquae*: 'refusing their favor.'

10. *pellitis ovibus*: the sheep bred in the valley of the Galaesus near Tarentum had such fine fleeces that they were protected by skin blankets, according to Varro *R. R.* 2, 2. The river valley seems to have had an especial

charm. It is praised by Archilochus *Frg.* 21 οὐ γάρ τι καλὸς χῶρος οὐδ' ἐφίμερος | οὐδ' ἐρατὸς, οἷος ἀμφὶ Σίριος ῥοάς. 'For no spot is fair or charming or lovely, as is that by Siris' streams.'

11 f. *regnata . . . rura Phalantho*: tradition said that Tarentum was founded by Phalanthus, who led hither a band of Lacedaemonian youth after the second Messenian war. — *Phalantho*: dat. of agent. Intr. 87.

13 f. *angulus*: *nook, corner*, a snug retreat for his old age. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 14, 23 *angulus iste feret piper*, of Horace's own farm, and Prop. 5, 9, 65 f. *angulus hic mundi . . . me . . . accipit*. — *ridēt*: *has a charm for*. For the quantity, see Intr. 35. — *Hymetto*: equivalent to *melli Hymettio*. The honey of Mt. Hymettus was famous for its white color and its sweetness. With this use of the name of the place for the local product, cf. *Venafrō* v. 16, *Aulon* v. 18, and 2, 14, 28 *mero . . . pontificum potiore cenis*.

15 mella decedunt viridique certat
 baca Venafro ;

 ver ubi longum tepidasque praebet
 Iuppiter brumas et amicus Aulon
 fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
20 invidet uvis.

Ille te mecum locus et beatae
postulant arces, ibi tu calentem
debita sparges lacrima favillam
vatis amici.

15 f. *decedunt* : *yield to*. — *baca* *i.e.* the olive. — *Venafro* : Venafrum, in Campania near Minturnae, was famed for its olives.

17 ff. Ausonius four centuries later praises his native Burdigala in the same terms *ord. urb. nobil.* 20, 9 f. *ubi . . . ver longum brumaeque novo cum sole tepentes*. — *Aulon* : it is disputed whether this was a mountain or a valley near Tarentum, but in all probability it was a mountain side suited for sheep grazing and the production of grapes. Cf. Martial's description 13, 125 *nobilis et lanis et felix vitibus Aulon | det pretiosa tibi vellera, vina mihi*.

19. *Baccho* : dative with *amicus*. — *Falernis* : cf. n. to 1, 27, 9.

21 ff. *te mecum . . . postulant* : *invite*, returning to the sentiment of the first strophe. — *beatae* : because of their mild climate and productiveness. — *ibi tu . . . sparges* : the future is half pro-

phetic and half appealing. Horace will die first, he cannot bear to lose his friend. Cf. the appeal *Anth. Pal.* 2, p. 855 J. μέμνεο κῆν ζωῶς ἐμέθεν καὶ πολλάκι τύμβῳ | σπείσον ἀπὸ βλεφάρων δάκρυ' ἀποιχομένη. 'I pray thee remember me even among the living, and let fall oftentimes from thine eyelids tears on my grave as thou turnest away.'

— *calentem . . . favillam* : when the ashes of the dead were gathered from the pyre and placed in the funeral urn, wine and perfume were regularly sprinkled over them, but Horace asks Septimius for the tribute of the tear due their friendship. — *vatis amici* : effectively placed at the end, the last word emphasizing the relationship between them. Cf., however, 4, 6, 44 *vatis Horati*, where Horace reserves the mention of his name to the end for other reasons. See n. on the passage.

7

A welcome home to Pompeius, Horace's old companion in arms.

'Who has restored thee to thy home, Pompeius mine, with whom I once endured the dangers of the field and shared the joys of revelry (1-8)? The hurry of Philippi's rout we knew together. Yes, I ran away and saved myself—thanks be to Mercury. But thee war's tide swept off upon the sea of further trouble (9-16). Come then, make sacrifice and drain full cups of wine saved up against thy coming. Away with all restraint, for thou art home again (17-28)!'

We know nothing more of Pompeius than the ode tells us. Apparently Horace had not seen his friend from the year of Philippi (42 B.C.) to the time at which the ode was written; this was most probably 29 B.C., when Augustus' mild policy allowed those who had taken arms against him to return to Italy in safety. Metre, 68.

O saepe mecum tempus in ultimum
deducte Bruto militiae duce,
quis te redonavit Quiritem
dis patriis Italoque caelo,

5 Pompei, meorum prime sodalium,
cum quo morantem saepe diem mero
fregi coronatus nitentis
malobathro Syrio capillos?

1. **saepe**: possibly somewhat of an exaggeration for the two years preceding Philippi. — **tempus in ultimum**: *i.e. into extremest peril*. So Catullus, 64, 151, and 169, uses *tempus supremum*, *tempus extremum*.

2 f. **deducte . . . duce**: a play on words similar to that in v. 7 **fregi** and v. 11 **fracta**. — **redonavit**: found only here and 3, 3, 33, where the sense is different. Stronger than the common *reddere*. —

Quiritem: *i.e.* a citizen, with no loss of civic rights.

5 ff. **Pompei**: dissyllabic, Intr. 38. — **prime**: in point of time, *earliest*. — **morantem . . . diem . . . fregi**: cf. Tennyson *In Mem.* 79 'And break the livelong summer day | With banquet in the distant woods.' — **coronatus**: a middle participle. Intr. 84. — **malobathro Syrio**: connect with **nitentis**. *malobathrum* is the Latinized form of the Indian

10 Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
 sensi, relictā non bene parmula,
 cum fracta virtus et minaces
 turpe solum tetigere mento.

15 Sed me per hostis Mercurius celer
 denso paventem sustulit aere;
 te rursus in bellum resorbens
 unda fretis tulit aestuosis.

'tamalapatram,' the leaf of the 'tamela' tree, identified with the fragrant laurel. Here of course the oil prepared from the leaf. The adjective **Syrius** was applied in general to all oriental goods, for which Antioch was the emporium.

9 f. **tecum**: emphatic. Cf. **me** 13, **te** 15. — **relicta** . . . **parmula**: no doubt Horace ran away with the others at Philippi, but only blind pedantry could take these words literally. If Horace had been very earnest he would not have used the diminutive **parmula**; he was 'reconstructed' and reconciled so that he was ready to joke at his own expense after the model of Archilochus *Frsg.* 6 ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαίων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἣν παρὰ θάμνῳ | ἔντος ἀμώμητον κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων | αὐτὸς δ' ἐξέφυγον θανάτου τέλος · ἀσπὶς ἐκείνῃ | ἐρρέτω · ἐξαὐτίς κτήσομαι οὐ κακίῳ. 'Some Saian glories in my shield which quite against my will I left beside a bush — a good shield too it was. Still I escaped death's end.

The shield may go; some other day I'll get one just as good.'

11 f. **minaces**: *for all their threats*. — **turpe**: the character of their action — we might expect *turpiter tetigere* — is transferred to the dust. Intr. 99. — **solum tetigere mento**: in mock heroic imitation of the Homeric phrase, *Il.* 2, 418 πρήνεις ἐν κονίῃσιν ὁδὰξ λαζοίατο γαῖαν.

13 f. Horace was saved too like the Homeric heroes. Cf. *Il.* 3, 380 f. τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξ' Ἀφροδίτῃ | ρεία μάλ' ὥς τε θεός, ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἥερι πολλῇ. — **Mercurius**: the guardian of poets. Cf. 2, 17, 29 *viri Mercuriales* and n. — **paventem**: another hit at himself as *imbellis*.

15 f. **te**: emphatic contrast with **me** v. 13. — **rursus in bellum**: connect with both **resorbens** and **tulit**. The figure is that of the retreating billow that sweeps its victim out to sea. Horace says of his own entrance into war, *Epist.* 2, 2, 47 *civilisque rudem belli tulit aestus in arma*. — **fretis**: abl., *with its boiling flood*.

Ergo obligatam redde Iovi dapem,
longaque fessum militia latus
depone sub lauru mea, nec
parce cadis tibi destinatis.

20

Oblivioso levia Massico
ciboria exple, funde capacibus
unguenta de conchis. Quis udo
deproperare apio coronas

25

curatve myrto? Quem Venus arbitrum
dicet bibendi? Non ego sanius
bacchabor Edonis; recepto
dulce mihi furere est amico.

17. 'Enough of these reflections on the past. You are safe back once more, so then (*ergo*) we'll turn to revelry.' Horace is unwilling to awaken in his friend bitter memories of events during his long absence from Italy.—*obligatam*: *i.e.* the offering you vowed for your safe return; a technical word for obligations incurred by vows to the gods.

18 f. *longa* . . . *militia*: 44–29 B.C. See the introductory note above.—*latus*: *self*.—*lauru mea*: the scene of the welcome is Horace's own farm.

21 f. *oblivioso*: *that brings forgetfulness*. Alcaeus' οἶνον λαθικαδέα.—*ciboria*: cups made in imitation of the pods of the Egyptian bean. In the use of this foreign word some imagine that there is a reference to Pompeius' service with Antony in Egypt.—

exple: *fill to the brim*.—*capacibus*: 'abundance shall prevail.'

23 f. *quis*, etc.: hurried questions that dramatically take us into the midst of the preparations.—*deproperare*: *have prepared with all speed*; the compound with *de-* is intensive as 1, 18, 9 *rixa* . . . *debellata*, 2, 1, 35 *decoloravere caedes*.—*apio*: the fragrant parsley was regularly used in chaplets. Cf. Verg. *E.* 6, 68 *floribus atque apio crinis ornatus amaro*.

25 f. *Venus*: *i.e.* the *iactus Veneris*, the best throw at dice in which each of the four *tali* fell on different sides.—*arbitrum* . . . *bibendi*: *i.e.* to preside over the drinking bout. Cf. 1, 4, 18 *nec regna vini sortiere talis* and the note.

27 f. *Edonis*: Thracians, notorious for their heavy drinking and riotous bouts. Cf. 1, 27, 1f.—*furere*: cf. 3, 19, 18 *insanire iuvat*.

8

To Barine, a heartless coquette. 'All thy false oaths go unpunished, else I would believe thee. But with all thy perjuries thou growest still more beautiful, and the gods of love laugh in favor toward thee (1-16). The number of thy suitors grows from day to day (17-24).'

Horace must not be taken here too seriously. For the depth of his love poems, see Intr. 13. There is no hint of the date of composition. Metre, 69.

Vlla si iuris tibi peierati
poena, Barine, nocuisset umquam,
dente si nigro fieres vel uno
turpior ungui,

5 crederem; sed tu simul obligasti
 perfidum votis caput, enitescis
 pulchrior multo, iuvenumque prodis
 publica cura.

10 Expedit matris cineres opertos
 fallere et toto taciturna noctis

1. **iuris . . . peierati**: formed after the analogy of *ius iurandum*; equivalent to *peiurii*.

3 f. **dente . . . ungui**: both ablatives of degree with *turpior*. — **si fieres**: generalizing, *if ever*. — **nigro . . . uno**: with both nouns. For the arrangement of words see Intr. 21. The ancients believed that perjury was punished by bodily blemish; and the Greeks had the same superstition which is current with us, that white spots on the nails are caused by lying.

5 f. **simul**: cf. n. to 1, 4, 17. — **obligasti**: for this technical word, see n. to 2, 7, 17. — **votis**: dative, equivalent to *devotionibus*,

the punishments she has invoked on herself if she forswear. — **enitescis**: *i.e.* thy beauty is not diminished (cf. vv. 2-4), but becomes all the more brilliant.

7 f. **prodis**: *comest forth*, with thy admirers about thee. — **cura**: technically used of the object of one's love. Cf. Prop. 3, 25, 1 *unica nata meo pulcherrima cura dolori*, and Verg. *E.* 10, 22 *tua cura Lycoris*. Pindar *P.* 10, 92 says of Hippocleas *νέαισιν τε παρθένοισι μέλημα*.

9. **expedit**: sc. *te*. 'So far from perjury harming you, you actually profit by it.' — **matris fallere**, etc.: *to swear falsely by*, etc.

signa cum caelo gelidaque divos
morte carentis.

15 Ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa, rident
simplices Nymphae ferus et Cupido,
semper ardentis acuens sagittas
cote cruenta.

20 Adde quod pubes tibi crescit omnis,
servitus crescit nova, nec priores
impiae tectum dominae relinquunt,
saepe minati.

So Propertius swears 3, 20, 15
*ossa tibi iuro per matris et ossa
parentis* | (*si fallo, cinis heu sit
mihi uterque gravis!*) | *me tibi ad
extremas mansurum, vita, tene-
bras.* — *opertos* : *i.e. sepultos.*
She prays her mother's shade may
haunt her, if she be not true.

10 f. *taciturna* . . . *signa* : 'the
silent stars' that look down on the
passionate loves of men. Cf.
Epod. 15, 1 f. and n. — *gelida
divos*, etc. : the advantage by which
gods excel mankind.

13. *ridet* . . . *rident* : Intr. 28 c.
This gives the reason for Barine's
escape. The idea that the gods
laugh at lovers' perjuries is old as
Plato, *Symp.* 183 B. Cf. Pseudo-
Tibul. 3, 6, 49 *periuria ridet
amantum* | *Iuppiter et ventos in-
rita ferre iubet.* Echoed by
Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* 2,
2 'At lovers' perjuries | They say
Jove laughs.'

14. *simplices* : *easy going*, εὐήθεις.
Cf. Verg. *E.* 3, 9, *sed faciles Nymphae*

risere. — *ferus* . . . *Cupido* : since he
pitilessly wounds and fires men's
hearts. — *acuens sagittas* : Cupid is
represented on ancient gems as
sharpening his arrows on a grind-
stone. — *cruenta* : transferred from
the arrows to the whetstone. Intr.
99.

17 f. *adde quod*, etc. : in place
of the common prose *accedit quod*.
Translate, — *to say nothing of the
fact that.* It introduces with em-
phasis a new ground for the poet's
distrust, — the number of her vic-
tims grows so that she has no need
to be faithful. — *pubes* . . . *omnis* :
repeated in the predicate *servitus
nova*, *to be a new band of devoted
slaves*, thereby expressing the com-
pleteness of Barine's conquest. —
crescit : *is growing up.* — *nec pri-
ores*, etc. : *i.e.* while Barine entraps
the rising generation, she still keeps
her hold on the former.

19 f. *impiae* : for her perjuries.
— *saepe minati* : her lovers cannot
carry out their threats to leave her.

Te suis matres metuunt iuven-
 cis,
 te senes parci miseraeque nuper
 virgines nuptae, tua ne retardet
 aura maritos.

So Horace once made determined vows, but still returned to his heartless Inachia, *Epod.* 11, 19–22. Cf. Tibul. 2, 6, 13 f. *iuravi quotiens rediturum ad limina numquam! | cum bene iuravi, pes tamen ipse redit.*

21 ff. *te...te*: Intr. 28 c. Three classes fear Barine: mothers for their sons, miserly old men for their money, and brides for their new husbands. — *iuven-
 cis*: *their dear*

sons. Cf. 2, 5, 6. — *senes parci*: who know she will squeeze their money bags if once she gets the chance. — *miserae*: proleptic, ‘made wretched by their fear.’ — *virgines*: like *puellae*, not infrequently used of newly married women. Cf. 3, 14, 11. — *tua aura*: *the breath of thy charm*. Cf. 1, 5, 11 *popularis aura*, and Propert. 3, 27, 15 *si modo clamantis revocaverit aura puellae*.

9

Horace exhorts his friend Valgius to give up mourning for his favorite Mystes.

‘Winter rains and winds are not eternal, Valgius. It is not always the gloomy season. Yet you weep without ceasing (1–12). Not so did Nestor mourn for his Antilochus, nor Troilus’ relatives for his loss. Give up your weak complaints, and rather sing the triumphs of Augustus Caesar (13–24).’

The reproof at the end runs into a celebration of the Emperor’s deeds, and shows the court poet. The name Augustus (v. 19) proves that the date of composition is later than 27 B.C., but it cannot be more exactly fixed. See, however, notes to vv. 20 ff.

C. Valgius Rufus, consul suffectus in 12 B.C., was an elegiac poet belonging to Maecenas’ circle. According to the Scholiast, Vergil alludes to his elegiac verses in *E.* 7, 22. An epic was apparently expected from him. Pseudo-Tibul. 4, 1, 179 f. *est tibi, qui possit magnis se accingere rebus, | Valgius: aeterno propior non alter Homero*. We hear also of his rhetorical and medical works, but none of his writings are preserved to us. His friendship with Horace is further attested by S. 1, 10, 81 f. *Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque, | Valgius et probet haec Octavius*. Metre, 68.

Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos
manant in agros aut mare Caspium
vexant inaequales procellae
usque, nec Armeniis in oris,

5 amice Valgi, stat glacies iners
mensis per omnis aut Aquilonibus
querceta Gargani laborant
et foliis viduantur orni :

10 tu semper urges flebilibus modis
Mysten ademptum, nec tibi Vespero

1 ff. For the careful arrangement of words, see Intr. 28 c. — non semper, etc. : cf. 2, 11, 9, and Herrick, 'Clouds will not ever poure down rain; | A sullen day will cleere again. | First, peales of thunder we must heare, | Then lutes and harpes shall stroke the eare.' — hispidos : *unkempt and dank*; i.e. covered with stubble (cf. 4, 10, 5) and drenched by the winter's rains. The comparison is between such fields and Valgius' countenance.

2. mare Caspium : the stormy character of this sea is mentioned by Mela 3, 5 *mare Caspium omne atrox, saevum, sine portibus, procellis undique expositum*. It is probable, however, that Horace's choice of this concrete example and of Armeniis in oris (cf. n. to 1, 1, 14) was determined by the coming reference to Augustus' successful diplomacy in the East (vv. 20–24).

3 f. inaequales : *gusty, squally*. — usque : temporal, as 1, 17, 4. —

Armeniis in oris : i.e. on Mount Taurus.

5. stat : expressive of the stability of the glacier. — glacies iners : cf. 4, 7, 12 *bruma iners*.

7 f. Gargani : with this Horace returns to Italy for his example. Garganus is a thickly wooded mountain in Apulia, especially exposed to storms. Cf. *Epist.* 2, 1, 202 *Garganum mugire putes nemus aut mare Tuscum*. — querceta . . . laborant : cf. 1, 9, 3 *silvae laborantes*. — viduantur : *are widowed of*, the climax of his figures of desolation. The temporal idea, varied by semper usque, mensis per omnis, continues to the end of the second strophe.

9 f. tu semper : contrasted with Nature. — urges : *pursuest, dwell-est on*; used by Propertius (5, 11, 1) as if the mourning distressed the dead, *desine, Paule, meum lacrimis urgere sepulcrum*.

10 ff. Vespero surgente, etc. : so

surgente decedunt amores
nec rapidum fugiente solem.

At non ter aevo functus amabilem
ploravit omnis Antilochum senex
15 annos, nec impubem parentes
Troilon aut Phrygiae sorores
flevere semper: desine mollium
tandem querellarum, et potius nova

Orpheus mourned for his lost Eurydice, Verg. *G.* 4, 466 *te veniente die, te decedente canebat*. Cf. Helvius Cinna's lines, *te matutinus flentem conspexit Eous | et flentem paulo vidit post Hesperus idem*; and Tennyson's *Mariana*, 'Her tears fell with the dews of even; | Her tears fell ere the dews were dried.' — **amores**: *i.e.* his elegies. — **rapidum**: placed in contrast with **fugiente**. It is a stock epithet of the sun. Cf. Mimn. 10, 5 ὠκέος Ἡελίοιο ἀκτῖνες, and Verg. *G.* 1, 92 *rapidive potentia solis*.

13 ff. **ter aevo functus**: Nestor, described *Il.* 1, 250 ff. τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων | ἐφθίαθ', οἳ οἱ πρόσθεν ἅμα τράφεν ἡδ' ἐγένοντο | ἐν Πύλῳ ἡγαθέη, μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσαν. Cf. Cic. *C. M.* 31 *tertiam enim aetatem hominum videbat*. — **amabilem**: placed here with adversative force, *in spite of all his loveliness*. Cf. **impubem** (v. 15), *a mere child*. The two adjectives doubtless are chosen as applying also to Mynes, whom Valgius has lost. — **non ploravit omnis an-**

nos: when, in the *Odyssey*, Telemachus and his companion visit Nestor at his home in Pylos, they find him cheerful in spite of the loss of his son Antilochus, whom Memnon slew. — **Troilon**: Priam's young son, whom Achilles caught and slew near a spring. This was a favorite scene with vase painters of the early fifth century (Baum. p. 1901 f.). Troilus' sister Polyxena is frequently represented as witnessing his death. His fate was in poets the type of early death; cf. *e.g.* Verg. *A.* 1, 474 ff., where indeed Vergil is describing a wall painting, and Chaucer, *T. and C.* 5, 1806 '(Troilus) dispiteously him slough the fiers Achille.'

17. **desine . . . querellarum**: this construction with the genitive of separation is in imitation of Greek usage with λήγω, παύομαι, etc. Cf. 3, 17, 16 *operum solutis*; 3, 27, 69 *abstineto irarum*.

18 f. **nova tropaea**: what successes are meant is uncertain. Some think of Augustus' campaigns against the Cantabri, 27–25 B.C.; others regard

20

cantemus Augusti tropaea
Caesaris et rigidum Niphaten

Medumque flumen gentibus additum
victis minores volvere vertices,
intraque praescriptum Gelonos
exiguus equitare campis.

tropaea as a general term, defined by what follows—**Niphaten**, **Medum flumen** . . . **volvere**, **Gelonos** . . . **equitare**. It is probable, however, that Horace had no definite victories in mind, but wished to say, 'Come, Valgius, let us turn to epic song; our subject is ready—Augustus' new successes (in general) and (in particular) the Niphates,' etc.

20 ff. These were victories of diplomacy rather than of arms.—**rigidum**: *ice-bound*.—**Niphaten**: according to Strabo and Dio Cassius, a mountain of Armenia. But Lucan 3, 245 and Sil. Ital. 13, 765 and Iuv. 6, 409 consider it a river. Verg. *G.* 3, 30 celebrates the same extension of the empire, *addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten*.—**Medum flumen**: the Euphrates. The construction changes from the simple accusative to the accusative and infinitive, 'sing the

Niphates, sing that,' etc. Propertius has a similar construction, 2, 1, 19 ff. *non ego Titanas canerem, non Ossan Olympo | inpositam, ut caeli Pelion esset iter | . . . Xerxis et imperio bina coisse vada*.—**minores**: in token of its submission. Cf. Verg. *A.* 8, 726 *Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis*.

23. **Gelonos**: a nomad Scythian people on the river Don. The poets of this time, however, use their name for the Scythians in general.—**exiguus**: for they are now limited **intra praescriptum**.—**equitare**: *ride their raids*. Cf. 1, 2, 51. The reference in the last two verses is probably to an embassy from the Scythians which Augustus received at Tarraco in Spain. Cf. *Mon. Anc.* 5, 51 *nostram amicitiam petierunt per legatos Bastarnae Scythaeque et Sarmatarum qui sunt citra flumen Tanaim et ultra reges*.

IO

A series of sententiae on the dangers of high and low estate and the advantages of the golden mean, which should be compared with 2, 2 and 3. The ode is an expansion of the Greek *μηδὲν ἄγαν*; more weight,

however, is laid on the disadvantages of great position than on the wretchedness of extreme poverty.

Licinius Murena, to whom the ode is addressed, was apparently the son of the Murena whom Cicero defended; he was adopted by M. Terentius Varro, and so became the brother-in-law of Proculeius (2, 2) and of Terentia, Maecenas' wife. In 23 B.C. he was consul with Augustus: during this year he entered into a conspiracy with Fannius Caepio against the emperor, but was detected and put to death. This is clear evidence that Horace's poem was published before that date. It is said that he was inordinately ambitious, so that the advice here given acquires a special significance in view of his later fate. Metre, 69.

Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum
semper urgendo neque, dum procellas
cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
litus iniquum.

5 Auream quisquis mediocritatem
diliget, tutus caret obsoleti
sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
sobrius aula.

10 Saepius ventis agitur ingens
pinus et celsae graviore casu

1 ff. *rectius*: bearing the emphasis; *more fitly*. — *neque altum*, etc.: the common allegory of the voyage of life is a favorite with Horace. Cf. 1, 5, 13. 34, 3; 3, 2, 28. 29, 62; *Epist.* 2, 2, 202. — *urgendo*: *by pressing out to*, in contrast to hugging the shore (*premendo*). — *iniquum*: *unkind*, because of its dangerous reefs.

5 f. *auream mediocritatem*: *the golden mean*. A translation of the Greek *μεσότης, τὸ μέτριον*, which Cicero *de off.* 1, 89 defines *mediocritatem illam . . . quae est inter*

nimum et parum. — *tutus caret*, etc.: *is safe and free from a squalid tumble-down house*.

7 f. *caret . . . caret*: *Intr.* 28 c. — *invidenda . . . aula*: cf. 3, 1, 45 f. *invidendis postibus*. — *sobrius*: *in his temperance*, the Greek *σώφρων*.

9–12. Three typical illustrations drawn from nature of the danger to too great prominence. Cf. Herod. 7, 10, 5. Seneca employs similar figures in a number of passages in his tragedies, e.g. *Oed.* 8–11 *ut alta ventos semper excipiunt iuga | rupemque saxis vasta dirimentem*

decidunt turrez feriuntque summos
fulgura montis.

Sperat infestis, metuit secundis
alteram sortem bene praeparatum
pectus. Informis hiemes reducit
Iuppiter, idem

submovet; non, si male nunc, et olim
sic erit; quondam cithara tacentem
suscitat musam neque semper arcum
tendit Apollo.

Rebus angustis animosus atque
fortis appare; sapienter idem
contrahes vento nimium secundo
turgida vela.

*freta | quamvis quieti verberat
fluctus maris, | imperia sic excelsa
Fortunae obiacent.* Notice that the
emphasis is on *saepius, ingens, cel-
sae graviore, summos.* Intr. 25.

13 f. 'A well-prepared breast can
withstand all changes of fortune.'
—*sperat . . . metuit*: emphatic, the
subject being deferred to the end.
—*infestis, secundis*: abstract neu-
ters plural, dat. with the verbs.—
alteram sortem: *the opposite lot*.

15. *informis*: *shapeless*, and so
ugly. Cf. Verg. *G.* 3, 354 f. *sed iacet
aggeribus niveis informis et alto |
terra gelu.*—*reducit*: *brings back*
(in their due season). For this
force of *re-*, cf. 3, 8, 9 *anno red-
eunte.*—*idem*: *and yet he*. Cf. v.
22; 2, 19, 27.

17 f. *si male*: *sc. est.*—*olim*:
some day, in contrast to *nunc*.—
quondam: *sometimes*, in a general
sense.—*cithara*: instrumental ab-
lative.

19 f. Apollo does not always
send war and pestilence (*arcum
tendit*), but at times brings men
song. The common application
is to point the desirability of com-
bining play with work. Repro-
duced in the *Laus Pis.* 142 f. *nec
semper Gnosius arcum | destinat,
exempto sed laxat cornua nervo.*—
rebus angustis: *when times are
hard.*—*sapienter idem*, etc.: *yet
you will do wisely to take in*, etc.
Horace closes, as he began, with
a figure drawn from the sea.—*ni-
mium*: connect with *secundo*.

I I

Horace will teach his friend Hirpinus his own philosophy. 'Little is enough for life, enjoy the present fleeting moment with no thought of distant dangers, no greed for useless wealth. Youth quickly flies, and old age comes. All is change. How useless then to vex our souls with endless aims and efforts.'

Quinctius Hirpinus, apparently the friend to whom *Epist.* 1, 16 is addressed, is not further known. He seems to have been ambitious for wealth, but not averse to pleasures. The date of composition is probably fixed as 26-25 B.C. by the mention of the *bellicosus Cantaber* v. l. Metre, 68.

Quid bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes,
Hirpine Quincti, cogitet Hadria
divisus obiecto, remittas

quaerere nec trepides in usum

5 poscentis aevi pauca. Fugit retro
levis iuventus et decor, arida

1 ff. *Cantaber*: cf. n. to 2, 6, 2.—*Hirpine Quincti*: for the transposition of nomen and cognomen, see n. to 2, 2, 3.—*Hadria divisus obiecto*: as a matter of fact, not simply the Adriatic, but long tracts of land and sea separated the Scythians from Italy; but Quinctius was too anxious over these distant dangers, and Horace playfully exaggerates—'set off from us only by,' etc. The danger of a barbarian invasion from the northeast was not sufficiently present to the Roman mind at this time to cause Horace to speak seriously of the barrier the Adriatic would afford. In later centuries, however, this sea often protected Italy.—*remittas quaerere*: cf. 1, 38, 3 *mitte sec-*

tari; 3, 29, 11 *omitte mirari*. There is probably also the accessory idea of relaxing the anxious strain. We may translate, *give up thy anxious questioning*. Cf. Ter. *And.* 827 *remittas iam me onerari iniuriis*.—*trepides in usum*: *and do not fret about the needs*, etc. Cf. 1, 9, 14 f.; 3, 29, 32 f.

5-12. The thought is a commonplace. Cf. Theog. 985 f. *αἴψα γὰρ ὥστε νόημα παρέρχεται ἀγλαὸς ἥβη· | οὐδ' ἵππων ὄρμη γίνεται ὠκυτέρη*. 'For quick as thought bright youth passes; horses' speed is not swifter.' Auson. *Anth. Lat.* 646 *collige virgo rosas, dum flos novus et nova pubes, | et memor esto aevum sic properare tuum*; and, 'Gather ye rosebuds while ye may, | Old Time is still a-flying, | And

pellente lascivos amores
canitie facilemque somnum.

10 Non semper idem floribus est honor
vernīs, neque uno luna rubens nitet
vultu. Quid aeternis minorem
consiliis animum fatigas?

15 Cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac
pinu iacentes sic temere et rosa
canos odorati capillos,
dum licet, Assyriaque nardo

this same flower, that smiles to-day, | To-morrow will be dying.'

6 f. *lēvis*: *smooth cheeked, imberbis*. Cf. 4, 6, 28 *lēvis Agyieū*. — *arida* . . . *canitie*: *sapless, withered, and gray old age*; when 'the juice of life is gone.'

8. *facilem*: *gentle*. The same epithet 3, 21, 4; cf. 2, 16, 15 *lēvis somnos*.

9 f. *honor*: *beauty*. — *vernīs*: corresponding to man's youth. — *rubens nitet*: *shines blushing*. Cf. Prop. 1, 10, 8 *quamvis* . . . *mediis caelo Luna ruberet equis*; Sen. *Phaedr.* 747 *exerit vultus rubicunda Phoebe*.

11 f. *aeternis* . . . *consiliis*: *endless schemings*. The ablative is dependent on both *minorem* and *fatigas*. Intr. 100. With the thought, cf. 4, 7, 7 f. *immortalia ne speres, monet annus et ilium | quae rapit hora diem*.

13 ff. 'Far better give thyself up to pleasures here beneath the shade.' The following questions

give the verses a vivid dramatic turn. — *platano* . . . *pinu*: the two most beautiful Italian shade trees; the plane (sycamore) came from the Orient and was cultivated in parks and gardens. — *hac*: 'this one close by.' — *sic temere*: *just as we are*; οὕτως εἰκῇ, Plat. *Gorg.* 506 D. 'No long elaborate preparation is necessary to gain life's pleasures; a garland, perfume, and the zither-playing Lyde are enough.'

15 f. *canos*: Horace describes himself *Epist.* 1, 20, 24 as *prae-canūs, prematurely gray*; he was at this time about forty. — *odorati*: a middle participle; so *uncti* v. 17 below. Intr. 84. — *dum licet*: 'our time is short.' Cf. 2, 3, 15. Ten years before Horace could say *Epod.* 13, 3 ff. *rapiamus, amici, | occasionem de die, dumque virent genua | et decet*. Now he has passed the line of middle age and knows that soon dry old age will steal from him his capacity for enjoyment. — *Assyria* . . . *nardo*:

potamus uncti? Dissipat Euhius
 curas edacis. Quis puer ocius
 restinguet ardentis Falerni
 20 pocula praetereunte lympa?

Quis devium scortum eliciet domo
 Lyden? Eburna dic age cum lyra
 maturet, in comptum Lacaenae
 more comam religata nodum.

the same as the *malobathro Syrio* of 2, 7, 8. Cf. Tibull. 3, 6, 63 f. *Syrio madefactus tempora nardo* | *debueram sertis implicuisse comas*.

17 f. *dissipat*: cf. Cypria *Frg.* 10 K. οἶνόν τοι, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ ποίησαν ἄριστον | θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν ἀποσκεδάσαι μελεδώνας. 'Wine, Menelaus, the gods made the best means to scatter the cares of mortal men.'—*Euhius*: formed from the cry of the Bacchanals, εὐοῖ. Cf. 1, 18, 9.—*edacis*: *gnawing, carking*. Cf. 1, 18, 4 *mordaces* . . . *sollicitudines*.

18 f. *puer*: cf. n. to *Epod.* 9, 33 and 1, 29, 7.—*restinguet*: *temper* (the fierceness of).—*ardentis Falerni*: cf. n. to 1, 27, 10.

21 ff. *devium scortum*: *the coy wench*, a zither player whose home, for the purpose of the ode, is supposed to be not far away. Yet the adjective *devium*, which apparently means here 'solitary,' 'apart,' as in Livy 3, 13, 10 *devio quodam tugurio* (hut) *vivere*, implies that Lyde is one who does not bestow her favors on all; this implication is emphasized by *eliciet*, *lure forth*.—*dic age*, etc.: *go bid her hasten*. Cf. 1, 32, 3 *age dic Latinum, barbite, carmen*; and 3, 4, 1.—*maturet*: the subj. is independent, parallel to *dic*.—*in comptum nodum*: *in a neat simple knot*. No elaborate coiffure would be fitting for this extemporaneous carouse.—*religata*: cf. n. to 1, 5, 4.

12

Maecenas had apparently urged Horace to celebrate in verse Octavian's victory over Antony and his other successes in the East. This ode is the poet's reply.

'Not deeds of war long past (1-4), not ancient mythology (5-8), nor Caesar's present deeds and triumphs (9-12), but modest love, the charms of thy Licymnia, are alone fit subjects for my lyric muse (13-28).'

. The ode should be compared with 1, 6, Horace's answer to a similar request from Agrippa. Metre, 72.

Nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae
nec durum Hannibalem nec Siculum mare
Poeni purpureum sanguine mollibus
aptari citharae modis,

nec saevos Lapithas et nimium mero
Hylaeum domitosque Herculeam manu
Telluris iuvenes, unde periculum
fulgens contremuit domus

1. **nolis**: emphatic, *you certainly would not wish*. — **longa bella**: nine years, 141–133 B.C. — **ferae**: the war was ended with the suicide of the inhabitants and the burning of the city. Flor. 2, 18, 15 *deplorato exitu in ultimam rabiem furoremque conversi postremo mori hoc genere destinarunt: Rhoecogene duce se suos patriam ferro et veneno subiectoque undique igne peremerunt*.

2 ff. **durum**: since the defeat of Hannibal proved a hard task for the Romans. — **purpureum sanguine**: in 260 B.C. when C. Duilius won his famous naval victory at Mylae, and again in 242 B.C. at the battle of the Aegatian Islands. — **mollibus**: in sharp contrast to **ferae**, **durum**, and the savage picture called up by **mare . . . purpureum sanguine**. Such fierce themes are not suited to the gentle strains of the lyre.

5 ff. The stock mythological themes of epic song. — **saevos Lapi-**

thas, etc.: *i.e.* the quarrel between the Centaurs and the Lapithae at the marriage of Peirithous and Hippodamia. Cf. n. to 1, 18, 8. — **nimium mero**: *made insolent with wine*. Cf. Tac. Hist. 1, 35 *nimii verbis*. — **Hylaeum**: one of the Centaurs. Cf. Verg. G. 2, 457 *et magno Hylaeum Lapithis cratere minantem*. — **domitos . . . iuvenes**: the giants who tried to storm the citadels of heaven. Cf. 3, 4, 42 ff. — **Herculeam manu**: Hercules was summoned by the gods to aid them, for an oracle said that only a mortal could conquer the earth-born monsters. — **unde**: connect with **contremuit**; *from whom*. Cf. 1, 12, 7; 28, 28.

8. **fulgens . . . domus**: because of its place in the bright upper air. Cf. 1, 3, 29 *aetheria domus*; 3, 3, 33 *lucidas sedes* and the Homeric δῶματα μαρμαίροντα. — **contremuit**: transitive, as the simple verb, Verg. A. 3, 648 *sonitumque pedum vocemque tremesco*.

10 Saturni veteris ; tuque pedestribus
dices historiis proelia Caesaris,
Maecenas, melius ductaque per vias
regum colla minacium.

15 Me dulcis dominae Musa Licymniae
cantus, me voluit dicere lucidum
fulgentis oculos, et bene mutuis
fidum pectus amoribus ;

quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris
nec certare ioco nec dare bracchia

9 f. **tuque**: emphatically introducing the specific reason why Horace cannot celebrate Caesar's deeds, — 'And then *you* will tell,' etc. — **pedestribus** . . . **historiis**: *prose*, in contrast to poetry. Horace was the first to adopt this term, in imitation of the Greek *πεζὸς λόγος*. There is no evidence that Maecenas ever undertook such a work as Horace here suggests.

11 f. **ducta**: *i.e.* in the triumphal procession. — **colla**: 'with chains about their necks.' Cf. *Epod.* 7, 7 f. *intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet | sacra catenatus via*, and Prop. 2, 1, 33 f. with reference likewise to Augustus' triumphs (*canerem*) *regum auratis circumdata colla catenis | Actiaque in sacra currere rostra via*. — **minacium**: *but just now threatening*.

13. **me** . . . **me**: 'My task is this.' Intr. 30. — **dominae**: this became under the empire the regular title of address to a mar-

ried woman, like our 'Mrs.' 'Madam,' the Italian 'donna.' Translate, *my lady*. — **Licymniae**: ancient critics agreed that under this name Terentia, Maecenas' wife, is meant. The fact that the two names are metrically identical makes this very probable. So Catullus calls Clodia, Lesbia; Tibullus employs Delia for Plania, etc. That Licymnia in any case was a free-born Roman lady is proved by v. 19 f. See note. — **cantus**: modified by **dulcis**. — **bene**: connect with **fidum**. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 2, 44 *bene magnus*, and the French *bien*. The opposite is *male*; so 1, 17, 25 *male dispar*; Verg. *A.* 2, 23 *male fida*.

17 f. **ferre pedem**: *to move her feet in*, etc. Cf. Verg. *G.* 1, 11 *ferre simul Faunisque pedem*. Dancing, except as part of a religious ceremony, was thought unbecoming a Roman woman, although the severity of custom was

20 ludentem nitidis virginibus sacro
Dianae celebris die.

Num tu quae tenuit dives Achaemenes
aut pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes
permutare velis crine Licymniae,
plenas aut Arabum domos,

25 cum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula
cervicem, aut facili saevitia negat
quae poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
interdum rapere occupet?

relaxed enough at this time to allow dancing within one's own house, and the reference here may be to such private amusement. Cf. 3, 6, 21 and n. — **nec . . . dedecuit**: cf. Ovid. *Am.* 1, 7, 12 *nec dominam motae dedecueret comae*. — **certare ioco**: *i.e.* in light conversation. — **dare brachia**: rhythmical movements of the arms formed an important part of ancient dances, as they still do, *e.g.* in the Italian tarantella.

19 f. **nitidis**: *i.e.* in holiday dress. — **Dianae . . . die**: the chorus which sang and danced in honor of a divinity was composed of free-born youths and maidens, so that it is evident that Licymnia was in any case *ingenua*. — **celebris**: *thronged* with celebrants.

21 ff. 'Not all the riches of the East could purchase from you one lock of her hair.' — **Achaemenes**: the founder of the royal house of Persia. Cf. 3, 1, 44. — **Mygdonias**: Mygdon was an early king of

Phrygia. The mention of Phrygia calls to mind Midas, whose touch turned all things to gold. — **crine**: *a lock* of hair. For the construction, see Intr. 98. — **plenas . . . Arabum domos**: cf. 3, 24, 1 f. *intacti . . . thesauri Arabum*.

25 ff. **detorquet**: for the caesura, see Intr. 53. — **facili**: because her sternness (*saevitia*) is easily overcome. — **poscente**: dependent on **magis**. 'Don't ask her for kisses, she would take more satisfaction in having them stolen from her than the one (*i.e.* you, Maecenas) who begs them would delight to get them; indeed she would sometimes begin by stealing them from you.' Cf. Tibul. 1, 4, 53 ff. *rapias tum cara licebit | oscula: pugnabit, sed tamen apta dabit; | rapta dabit primo, mox offeret ipse roganti, | post etiam collo se implicuisse volet*. — **rapere occupet**: equivalent to the Greek *φθάνοι ἂν ἀρπάζονσα*. Cf. 1, 14, 2.

13

Horace was nearly killed one day on his farm by a falling tree. The following ode was suggested by this event, which seems to have made a deep impression on him. (Cf. 2, 17, 27; 3, 4, 27.) Still here his very extravagance of earnestness gives the treatment a half jesting tone. After declaring that the man who planted the fatal tree could be guilty of any crime, Horace wanders into reflection on his favorite theme—the uncertainty of human life and the proximity of death. On the first anniversary of the event, he wrote 3, 8, which fixes the date of his narrow escape as March 1, 30 B.C. This ode then was probably written within that month. Metre, 68.

Ille et nefasto te posuit die,
quicumque primum, et sacrilega manu
produxit, arbos, in nepotum
perniciem opprobriumque pagi;

5 illum et parentis crediderim sui
fregisse cervicem et penetralia

1 ff. Cf. Ovid's amusing diatribe against his writing tablets, *Am.* 1, 12, 15 ff. *illum etiam, qui vos (sc. tabellas) ex arbore vertit in usum, | convincam puras non habuisse manus, | praebuit illa arbor misero suspendia collo, | carnifici diras praebuit illa cruces: | illa dedit turpes ravis bubonibus umbras; | vulturis in ramis et strigis ova tulit.* — *nefasto* . . . *die*: technically the days on which the magistrates might not give judgment, *i.e.* utter the three words *do, dico, addico*. Cf. Ovid *Fasti* 1, 47 f. *ille nefastus erit, per quem tria verba silentur | fastus erit, per quem lege licebit agi.* Gradually extended, the word came to

include all unlucky or ill-omened days.

2 ff. *quicumque primum*: parenthetical, *sc. te posuit* from the preceding verse. — *produxit in*, etc.: *reared to be*. — *pagi*: *district*.

5. *illum*: emphatically repeating the initial *ille* above; itself repeated by *ille* v. 8 below. *Intr.* 28 c. — *crediderim*: potential.

6 f. *fregisse cervicem*: *strangled*. Cf. *Epod.* 3, 2 *si quis . . . senile guttur fregerit*. — *penetralia*: the shrines of the household gods, the sacred hearthstone. Protection of one's guest was a holy obligation. — *nocturno*: giving an added touch of horror to the description, — *with blood of his guest slain by night*.

sparsisse nocturno cruore
hospitis; ille venena Colcha

et quicquid usquam concipitur nefas
10 tractavit, agro qui statuit meo
te triste lignum, te caducum
in domini caput immerentis.

Quid quisque vitet, numquam homini satis
cautum est in horas. Navita Bosporum
15 Poenus perhorrescit neque ultra
caeca timet aliunde fata;

miles sagittas et celerem fugam
Parthi, catenas Parthus et Italum

8 ff. **Colcha**: a standing epithet, as Medea, whose home was Colchis, was chief of sorceresses. Cf. *Epod.* 5, 24; 17, 35. — **tractavit**: *has had a finger in*; extended by a slight zeugma from **venena** to **quicquid nefas**. For this meaning, cf. *Epod.* 3, 8.

11 f. **triste lignum**: *fatal log*. Cf. 3, 4, 27 *devota arbor*; and Verg. *E.* 3, 80 *triste lupus stabulis*. Nearly the same meaning appears 2, 14, 8 *tristi unda*, said of the Styx. — **te . . . te**: the anaphora shows the poet's earnestness. — **caducum**: *ready to fall*. — **domini**: *owner*, showing that Horace's escape took place on his own farm.

13 ff. 'No one ever knows the particular danger he should avoid: with all the timid caution of sailor,

soldier, or Parthian, death still comes in unexpected forms.' — **homini**: dat. of agent with **cautum est**. — **in horas**: *from hour to hour*, formed after the analogy of *in dies*. — **navita . . . Poenus**: of Sidon or Tyre. Cf. Soph. *Frg.* 823 N. Φοῖνιξ ἀνὴρ, Σιδώνιος κάπηλος. — **Bosporum**: *i.e.* the Thracian Bosphorus, notorious for its storms. Cf. 3, 4, 30 *insanientem . . . Bosporum*. — **ultra . . . aliunde**: *from any other source besides*. — **timēt**: for the quantity, see Intr. 35.

17 ff. **miles**: *i.e.* the Italian, whose most dreaded foe was the Parthian. — **sagittas**, etc.: cf. n. to 1, 19, 11. The Parthian in his turn most fears subjection to the Romans (**catenas**) and the brave soldiers of Italy (**Italum robur**).

robur : sed improvisa leti
 20 vis rapuit rapietque gentis.

Quam paene furvae regna Proserpinae
 et iudicantem vidimus Aeacum
 sedesque discriptas piorum et
 Aeoliis fidibus querentem

25 Sappho puellis de popularibus,
 et te sonantem plenius aureo,
 Alcaee, plectro dura navis,
 dura fugae mala, dura belli.

— **sed improvisa** : emphatic, *still it is the unexpected*, etc.

21 ff. Horace returns to reflections on his own possible fate and to thoughts of the shades he would have seen in the lower world. As a poet he would desire to behold his great models, Sappho and Alcaeus; exactly as Socrates, in his cheerful anticipation of Hades (Plat. *Apol.* 40E-41C), wished to meet Palamedes, Ajax son of Telamon, and all others who had been victims of unjust judgments like himself. — **furvae** : *dusky*, the proper epithet for regna, here transferred to Queen Proserpina. Intr. 99. Seneca had the same thought in mind when he wrote *H. l.* 547 ff. *qua spe praecipites actus ad inferos | audax ire vias inre-meabiles | vidisti Siculae regna Proserpinae?* — **Proserpinae** : here the first syllable is short, but ordinarily it is long. Cf. 1, 28, 20. — **Aeacum** : with Minos and Rhadamanthus, judge of the dead.

23 f. **sedes discriptas** : *homes set apart (separated)*, i.e. from the place of punishment. So Vergil *A.* 8, 670 has *secretos pios*. Note the order of progress : the throne of Proserpina, the judgment seat, and after that the Elysian fields. — **Aeoliis** : the Aeolic dialect was the speech of Lesbos, the home of Horace's chief models, Sappho and Alcaeus, so that this adjective instantly suggested to the educated Roman these two poets. — **querentem**, etc. : because the maidens of her city were so cold in love.

25 ff. **Sappho** : accusative. — **sonantem plenius** : *sounding a fuller strain*. Alcaeus sang of war and exile, as well as love. — **aureo . . . plectro** : instrumental abl. The adjective marks the splendor of Alcaeus' song. Cf. Quint. 10, 1, 63 *Alcaeus in parte operis aureo plectro merito donatur*. — **fugae** : *exile*. For the triple anaphora **dura, dura, dura**, see Intr. 28 c.

30 Vtrumque sacro digna silentio
 mirantur umbrae dicere; sed magis
 pugnas et exactos tyrannos
 densum umeris bibit aure volgus.
 Quid mirum, ubi illis carminibus stupens
 demittit atras belua centiceps
 35 auris et intorti capillis
 Eumenidum recreantur angues?
 Quin et Prometheus et Pelopis parens
 dulci laborem decipitur sono,

29 ff. **utrumque . . . dicere**: dependent on **mirantur**, *listen with wonder at*. — **sacro . . . silentio**: such as was observed during prayers and religious rites. The very song is divine. The phrase is reproduced by Milton *P. L.* 5, 555 'Worthy of sacred silence to be heard.' — **sed magis**: *i.e.* the common crowd is stirred more by Alcaeus' songs of battles and civil strife than by Sappho's softer strains. — **exactos tyrannos**: *the expulsion of tyrants*. Cf. 2, 4, 10. Alcaeus took part in the struggles of his native island against the tyrants. One of the fragments of his poems (No. 37) is an invective against the tyrant Pittacus; another (No. 20) a triumphant ode over Myrsilus' death. Cf. introductory note to 1, 37.

32. **densum umeris**: *crowded shoulder to shoulder*, in desire to hear. — **bibit aure**: a common phrase for eager attention. Prop. 4, 6, 8 *suspensis auribus ista*

bibam; Ovid. *Trist.* 3, 5, 14 *auribus illa bibi*; cf. Verg. *A.* 4, 359 *auribus hausi*.

33. **quid mirum, ubi**: *i.e.* 'what wonder that the shades listened, when even fierce Cerberus and the Furies relaxed their rage.' — **stupens**: *charmed, lulled by*. — **demittit auris**: *i.e.* under the spell of Alcaeus' music he gives up his fierceness. — **centiceps**: possibly Horace had in mind the snakes about Cerberus' head. — **recreantur**: *find rest*, with this strophe cf. Vergil's account, *G.* 4, 481–483, of the power of Orpheus' song *quin ipsae stupere domus atque intima Leti | Tartara | caeruleosque implexae crinibus anguis | Eumenides tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora*.

37. **quin et**: introducing a still greater marvel. Cf. 1, 10, 13. — **Prometheus**: only Horace places Prometheus' punishment in the lower world. Cf. 2, 18, 35; *Epod.* 17, 67. He is probably chosen simply as typical of those who

nec curat Orion leones

40

aut timidos agitare lyncas.

suffered the severest punishments ; or was Horace following Maecenas' *Prometheus?* — Pelopis parens : *Tantalus*.

38 ff. *laborem decipitur*: are beguiled to forget their toil. In sense the phrase is like *laborem fallere* S. 2, 2, 12. Probably *decipitur* is to be regarded as a middle. For the meaning of labor, cf. n. to *Epod.* 17, 64. —

Orion: Odysseus on his visit to the lower world found Orion still engaged in his favorite sport. *Od.* 11, 572 f. τὸν δὲ μέτ' Ὀρίωνα πελώριον εἰσενόησα | θήρας ὁμοῖ εἰλεῦντα κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνι. Milton seems to have had vv. 33-40 in mind, *P. L.* 2, 552 ff. 'Their song was partial, but the harmony | Suspended Hell and took with rapture | The thronging audience.

I 4

A lament on the fleeting character of life. 'Alas, good friend, do what we will, old age and death come on apace. No sacrifice can stay the hand of the pitiless lord of death ; rich and poor alike must come unto his realm, and all thy efforts to avoid war, the sea, or fell disease are vain. Thou must leave all behind that thou holdest now most dear. Then thy stored wine, thy heir, worthier than thou, will waste.' In the last strophe Horace in negative fashion returns to his philosophy of life, 'Seize the pleasure of the passing hour, and do not waste your time in gathering wealth you do not use yourself. To-morrow we all die and another wastes our savings.'

The Postumus to whom the ode is addressed was an imaginary personage ; at least the name was so used by Martial 2, 23, 1 f. *non dicam, licet usque me rogetis, | quis sit Postumus in meo libello*, and 5, 58, 7 f. *cras vives? hodie iam vivere, Postume, serum est: | ille sapit, quisquis, Postume, vixit heri*. Horace's thoughts frequently turned to death ; but this and 4, 7 are his finest treatments of the theme. There is no indication of the date of composition. Metre, 68.

Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,
labuntur anni, nec pietas moram

1-4. *eheu*: the opening word is a sigh, which indicates the gloomy nature of the entire ode. The second word emphasizes the

fleeting character of life ; and the repetition of the proper name shows the poet's earnestness. — *labuntur*: *slip by*, before we notice

rugis et instanti senectae
adferet indomitaeque morti,

5 non si trecenis quotquot eunt dies,
amice, places inlacrimabilem
Plutona tauris, qui ter amplum
Geryonen Tityonque tristi

10 compescit unda, scilicet omnibus,
quicumque terrae munere vescimur,

it. Cf. Ovid. *Fasti* 6, 771 *tempora labuntur tacitisque senescimus annis*. — *pietas*: i.e. toward the gods, expanded below in vv. 5–7. — *rugis . . . senectae . . . morti*: note the climax. — *instanti*: cf. Sen. *Q. N. praef.* 3 *premit a tergo senectus*. Mimner. 5, 4 γῆρας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτίχ' ὑπερκρέματα. — *indomitae . . . morti*: i.e. *indomabili*, the Homeric Ἀΐδης τοι ἀμείλιχος ἢ δ' ἀδάμαστος (*Il.* 9, 158). Cf. also Aeschylus *Frg.* 161 μόνος θεῶν γὰρ θάνατος οὐ δώρων ἐράῃ, | οὐδ' ἄν τι θύων οὐδ' ἐπισπένδων ἄνοις, | οὐδ' ἔστι βωμὸς οὐδὲ παιωνίζεται. 'For alone among the gods death cares not for gifts: thou canst not stay him a whit by sacrifice or libation; no altar has he nor is he praised in paeon hymns.'

5 f. *non si*: *no, not even if*. — *trecenis . . . tauris*: *three hecatombs every day*. — *amice*: for the short anacrusis, cf. 2, 9, 5. — *places*: conative. — *inlacrimabilem*: *tearless*, not moved to tears. Cf. n. to 1, 3, 22.

The same adjective is passive 4, 9, 26.

7 f. *ter amplum*: a translation of the Greek τρισώματον, which Euripides *H. F.* 423 applies to Geryones. Cf. Verg. *A.* 8, 202 *tergemini . . . Geryonae*. — *Geryonen*: the monster with three bodies whom Hercules slew and then drove off his cattle. For a vase painting illustrating the fight, see Baumeister, p. 662. — *Tityon*: the son of earth, who offered violence to Leto. Cf. Verg. *A.* 6, 595–600. — *tristi*: cf. n. to *triste lignum* 3, 13, 11; Verg. *G.* 4, 478 ff. *quos circum limus niger et deformis arundo | Cocyti tardaue palus inamabilis unda | alligat, et noviens Styx interfusa coerces*.

9 f. *scilicet omnibus*, etc.: *which all of us in very truth*; dat. of agent with *enaviganda*. — *quicumque terrae*, etc.: imitated from the Homeric phrases *Il.* 6, 142 βροτοὶ οἱ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν, and *Od.* 8, 222 ὅσσοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ σῖτον ἔδοντες. — *munere*: *bounty*.

enaviganda, sive reges
sive inopes erimus coloni.

Frustra cruento Marte carebimus
fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae,
15 frustra per autumnos nocentem
corporibus metuemus Austrum.

Visendus ater flumine languido
Cocytos errans et Danai genus
infame damnatusque longi
20 Sisyphus Aeolides laboris.

Linquenda tellus et domus et placens
uxor, neque harum quas colis arborum

11 f. **enaviganda**: an intensive compound formed by Horace to express the idea of sailing completely across — to the further shore of — the gloomy stream. — **reges**: the rich in contrast to the poor farmers (**coloni**). Cf. our term 'merchant-princes.' See also 1, 4, 14.

13 f. Notice the alliteration and assonance in this and the following line. — **frustra** . . . **frustra**: emphatic anaphora; *it is all in vain that we . . . , in vain*. Intr. 28c. — **carebimus**: *try to avoid*. — **rauci**: *i.e.* as the waves break on the shore.

15 f. **per autumnos**, etc.: particularly the latter part of August and the month of September when the Sirocco (**Auster**) blows. — **corporibus**: with both *nocentem* and *metuemus*. Intr. 100.

17 f. **ater** . . . **Cocytus**: cf. Verg. *G.* 4, 478–80 quoted on v. 8 above, and *A.* 6, 132 *Cocytosque sinu labens circumvenit atro*. — **genus infame**: because they all, save **Hypermetra**, killed their husbands on the wedding night. Cf. 3, 11, 23 ff. and notes.

19 f. **damnatus** . . . **laboris**: the genitive of the sentence inflicted is here used after the analogy of the objective genitive of the crime. — **longi**: in the sense of *aeterni*. Cf. 2, 16, 30; 3, 11, 38. For an archaic vase painting illustrating the punishment of the Danaids and Sisyphus, see Baum. p. 1924.

21 f. Possibly Horace had in mind here Lucretius' beautiful verses, 3, 894 ff. *iamiam non domus accipiet te laeta neque uxor | optima nec dulces occurrent*

te praeter invisas cupressos
ulla brevem dominum sequetur.

25

Absumet heres Caecuba dignior
servata centum clavibus et mero
tinguet pavimento superbo,
pontificum potiore cenis.

*oscula nati | praeripere et tacita
pectus dulcedine tangent.* Cf. also
Gray's *Elegy* 21 ff. 'For them no
more the blazing hearth shall burn,
| Or busy housewife ply her even-
ing care; | No children run to
lisp their sire's return, | Or climb
his knees the envied kiss to share.'
— *placens*: *beloved*. — *quas colis*:
thou now prizest.

23 f. *invisas cupressos*: because
the cypress is the sign of mourn-
ing. Cf. *Epod.* 5, 18 *cupressos fu-
nebris*; Whittier, 'Alas for him who
never sees the stars shine through
his cypress trees.' — *brevem*:
short-lived. 'Your very trees out-
live you.' Cf. 1, 4, 15 *vitae summa
brevis spem nos vetat incohare
longam*, and Tennyson's 'little
lives of men.'

25. *heres*: the dreaded heir.

Cf. n. to 2, 3, 19 f. — *Caecuba*: cf.
n. to 1, 20, 9. — *dignior*: because
he knows how to use wealth.
'You hoard it.' With this taunt
Horace drives home his lesson of
the folly of treasuring one's pos-
sessions too highly.

26 f. *centum*: an indefinite num-
ber. — *mero . . . superbo*: the very
wine is conscious of its excellence
and proud that it outlives man.
Cf. Petron. 34 *eheu! ergo diutius
vivit vinum quam homuncio*. —
tinguet: in his riotous *commissa-
tio*.

28. *pontificum*: whose dinners
were proverbial for their luxury
and splendor. Cf. 1, 37, 2 *Sal-
liaribus . . . dapibus* and n. —
potiore cenis: *better than that
drunk at the*, etc. A compendi-
ous expression. Cf. n. to 2, 6, 14.

15

A protest against the increasing luxury of the time. 'Palaces and
fish ponds now leave little ground for cultivation; vineyards and or-
chards have given way to shade trees and flower beds. It was very
different in the good old days, when private fortunes were small and
men's first care was for the state; then private houses were not great;
public buildings and temples only were of marble.'

Such protests are common to all times of wealth and luxury. Another example is 3, 6. Augustus tried to restrain the growth of private extravagance, and to restore the agricultural prosperity of Italy. Some editors have wished, therefore, to connect this ode with the date (28 B.C.) at which Octavian assumed the duties of censor, and indeed it is quite possible that it was written at the emperor's request. The verses are stiff, and bear the marks of being made to order. The position here after 14, from which in some manuscripts it is not separated, is a natural one, for it continues the attack on the folly of great wealth. The ode is, however, wholly impersonal, not even the indefinite second person being used, and lacks the poetical quality of 14. Metre, 68.

Iam pauca aratro iugera regiae
moles relinquent; undique latius
extenta visentur Lucrino
stagna lacu, platanusque caelebs

5 evincet ulmos; tum violaria et
myrtus et omnis copia narium

1 ff. Cf. with the the general sentiment of the ode Seneca *Epist.* 89, 21 *quousque nullus erit lacus, cui non villarum vestrarum fastigia immineant, nullum flumen, cuius non ripas aedificia vestra praetexant? . . . ubicumque in aliquem sinum litus curvabitur vos protinus fundamenta facietis, nec contenti solo, nisi quod manu feceritis, mare agetis introrsus* (cf. C. 2, 18; 3, 24). — *regiae moles*: i.e. the palaces of the rich. Cf. n. to 2, 14, 11, also 3, 29, 10, where Maecenas' city house is called *molem propinquam nubibus arduis*.

3 f. *visentur*: will be seen with wonder. — *Lucrino* . . . *lacu*: near Baiae, famous for its oysters and fish. Cf. n. to *Epod.* 2, 49. — *stagna*: *piscinae*, in which the fish dear

to Roman epicures were raised. — *platanus caelebs*: during the last century B.C. the plane tree became a favorite for parks and gardens. Cf. 2, 11, 13. The thick shade which its broad leaves cast made it unsuited as a support for the vine — therefore called *caelebs*. Cf. n. to *Epod.* 2, 10. Martial, 3, 58, 3, names it *vidua platanus*.

5. *evincet*: shall drive out. — *violaria*: violet beds; with the myrtle — a flowering shrub — and other sweet-smelling flowers, typical of luxury.

6 ff. *omnis copia narium*: all the wealth (of flowers) that fills the nostrils; an intentionally artificial expression for *odor*, used here to hint at Horace's dislike for such elaborate flower gardens. — *olivētis*: lo-

spargent olivetis odorem
fertilibus domino priori;

10 tum spissa ramis laurea fervidos
excludet ictus. Non ita Romuli
praescriptum et intonsi Catonis
auspiciis veterumque norma.

15 Privatus illis census erat brevis,
commune magnum; nulla decempedis
metata privatis opacam
porticus excipiebat Arcton,
nec fortuitum spernere caespitem
leges sinebant, oppida publico

cative ablative. — **fertilibus**: predicate, *that were productive*. With the preceding, cf. Quintilian's question, 8, 3, 8 *an ego fundum cultiorem putem, in quo mihi quis ostenderit lilia et violas et anemonas, fontes surgentes, quam ubi plena messis aut graves fructu vites erunt? sterilem platanum tonsasque myrtos quam maritam ulmum et uberes oleas praeoptaverim?*

9 f. **ramis**: instrumental abl. The laurel was trimmed into fanciful shapes, and grew thick and close (**spissa**). — **laurea**: sc. *arbor*. — **ictus**: sc. *solis*. — **non ita**, etc.: 'it was different in the good old days.' — **Romuli**: like **Catonis**, modifying **auspiciis**.

11. **praescriptum**: sc. *est*. — **Catonis**: Cato the Censor, who died 149 B.C., devoted his best efforts to an attempt to stem the modern

Hellenizing tendencies of his time; as a sign of his conservatism he is said to be bearded, like Curius in 1, 12, 41. He became typical of the stern, old-fashioned Roman. — **auspiciis**: *the example*. The *auspicia* could be taken only by high magistrates, so that the sentence means — 'when men like a Romulus or a Cato ruled the state.'

13 f. **census**: *income*. — **brevis**: *i.e.* the record of their property was short. — **nulla**, etc.: *i.e.* as nowadays. — **decempedis**: surveyors' rods, *perticae*, used in measuring the new-fashioned porticoes of private citizens. — **privatis**: grammatically connected with **decempedis**, but emphasizing the fact that these are private buildings.

16. **excipiebat**: *caught*, *i.e.* opened to the cool north.

17 f. **fortuitum**: the first chance turf that came to hand, opposed

sumptu iubentes et deorum

20

templa novo decorare saxo.

to **novo saxo** v. 20. — **caespitem**: for building a simple altar (cf. 1, 19, 13) or for thatching roofs. Verg. *E.* 1, 69 *congestum caespitem culmen*. — **leges**: *i.e.* the prescriptions of ancient ritual. — **oppida**: *i.e.* the public buildings. — **publico sumptu**: in contrast to the private luxury typified in 14–16.

20. **novo . . . saxo**: undoubtedly marble is meant, which came into use for private dwellings only in the last half-century before the em-

pire. Pliny *N. H.* 36, 48 says that Mamurra, in the time of Julius Caesar, was the first Roman to use marble slabs for lining the walls of his house, but marble columns had been used in private houses for half a century before this date. On the changes in the appearance of Rome during Augustus' reign, cf. his famous statement (Suet. *Aug.* 28) *marmoream se relinquere (urbem), quam latericiam acceperisset*.

16

A collection of sententiae on Horace's favorite theme: 'a contented spirit is beyond all other possessions.'

'Peace is the prayer of all men — the sailor on the stormy sea, the warlike Thracian and Mede. Peace thou canst not buy. Neither wealth nor power will drive away men's wretched cares. He only lives well who lives on little, undistressed by fear or greed. Why should we move from land to land and put forth our weak efforts? Care follows hard upon us. No, life is mingled sweet and bitter, and all things have their compensation. Perhaps the flitting hour gives me something thou hast not. For thee an hundred herds low, thou hast thy stud and royal purple; yet I possess my little farm, a slight inspiration for Greek verse, and the power to scorn the envious.'

The Grosphus here addressed is probably the same Pompeius Grosphus recommended by Horace, *Epist.* 1, 12, 22–24, to his friend Iccius (cf. introduction to 1, 29), when the latter was managing Agrippa's estates in Sicily. That Grosphus also had large possessions there is evident from vv. 33–37, but that he was still a man who could appreciate Horace's expansion of his life's text may be a fair conclusion from the character given him in the epistle mentioned above, *nil nisi verum orabit et aequum*.

The exact date of composition cannot be determined, but the mention of Thrace and the Medes may point to a date before 27 B.C. In

July of that year M. Licinius Crassus enjoyed a triumph over the Thracians and Getae. In any case the verses came from the time when Horace felt his happiness secured and his position as lyric poet sure, so that he could scorn those who grudged him his position. Metre, 69.

Otium divos rogat in patienti
prensus Aegaeo, simul atra nubes
condidit lunam neque certa fulgent
sidera nautis ;

5 otium bello furiosa Thrace,
 otium Medi pharetra decori,
 Gropshe, non gemmis neque purpura ve-
 nale neque auro.

10 Non enim gazae neque consularis
 submovet lictor miseros tumultus

1 f. *otium*: *peace*, in its widest meaning—escape from the dangers of the storm, relief from war, and freedom from the anxiety that ambition brings.—*patienti*: *the open*.—*prensus*: *caught*, for the more common *depressus*.—*simul*: cf. n. to 1, 4, 17.

3 f. *certa*: predicate, *with sure and certain light*. The constellations by which the ancient sailor directed his vessel are meant by the general term, *sidera*.

5 f. For the emphatic anaphora, see Intr. 28c.—*bello furiosa*, etc.: Thrace is called by Vergil *A.* 3, 13 *Mavortia terra*.

7. *purpura*: calling to mind the stripe on the praetexta of the Roman magistrates, or the 'royal purple' of kings; in either case

symbolizing power.—*ve-nale*: for close connection between the third and fourth verses, see n. to 1, 2, 19. Intr. 69.

9 f. *gazae* . . . *lictor*: repeating the thought of the two preceding verses—'neither wealth nor power can free the anxious mind.' This is a common moral sentiment; the most famous expression of it is by Lucretius 2, 37–52. Cf. also Tibull. 3, 3, 21 *non opibus mentes hominum curaeque levantur*; | *nam Fortuna sua tempora lege regit*.—*submovet*: a technical term for clearing the road before a magistrate, or making a crowd 'move on.' Cf. Liv. 3, 48, 3 *i, lictor, submove turbam*. The figure is continued in *tumultus*.

mentis et curas laqueata circum
tecta volantis.

Vivitur parvo bene cui paternum
splendet in mensa tenui salinum
15 nec levis somnos timor aut cupido
sordidus aufert.

Quid brevi fortes iaculamur aevo
multa? Quid terras alio calentis
sole mutamus? Patriae quis exsul
20 se quoque fugit?

11. laqueata . . . tecta: *paneled ceilings*, of the rich man's house, round which cares batlike flit. 'Wealth brings anxiety with it.' Cf. Sen. *H. O.* 646 f. *aurea rumpunt tecta quietem | vigilesque trahit purpura noctes.*

13 f. vivitur, etc.: sc. *ab eo*; *he lives well on little*, etc. — bene: *well and happily*. — paternum . . . salinum: the one piece of family plate on his modest board is the sacred saltcellar kept brightly polished. In the old days of Rome's greatness a saltcellar and a plate for offerings to the gods were all the silver that a Fabricius or an Aemilius possessed. Val. Max. 4, 4, 3 in *C. Fabricii et Q. Aemilii Papi, principum saeculi sui, domibus argentum fuisse confitear oportet: uterque enim patellam deorum et salinum habuit*. The saltcellar is used by Persius 3, 24 ff. as typical of 'little and enough,' *sed rure pa-*

terno | est tibi far modicum, purum et sine labe salinum: | quid metuas? Notice that Horace is commending not poverty, but small estate as the proper environment for happiness. It is the desirable *aurea mediocritas* again.

15. levis somnos: cf. n. to 2, 11, 8 *facilem somnum*, and to *Epod.* 2, 28. — cupido: always masculine in Horace, in other writers generally feminine except when personified.

17 f. brevi . . . aevo: the juxtaposition of *brevi* and the ironical *fortes*, *so brave*, lends a certain concessive force to this ablative, *despite our life's brief span*. — multa: emphatically placed. — quid . . . mutamus: sc. *patria*. For the construction, see *Intr.* 98.

20. fūgit: perfect, *has ever*, etc. With the sentiment cf. *Epist.* 1, 11, 27 *caelum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*.

Scandit aeratas vitiosa navis
Cura nec turmas equitum relinquit,
ocior cervis et agente nimbos
ocior Euro.

25 Laetus in praesens animus quod ultra est
oderit curare, et amara lento
temperet risu : nihil est ab omni
parte beatum.

30 Abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem,
longa Tithonum minuit senectus,
et mihi forsan tibi quod negarit
porriget hora.

Sen. *Epist.* 28, 2 *quaeris, quare te fuga ista non adiuvet? tecum fugis*; and Emerson *Self-Reliance*, 'I pack my trunk . . . and at last wake up in Naples, and there beside me is the stern fact, the sad self, unrelenting, identical, that I fled from.'

21-24. An amplification of the preceding two verses—'neither ship nor horse is swift enough to escape pursuing care.' The same idea is better expressed 3, 1, 37 ff.—*aeratas*: *bronze-beaked*.—*vitiosa*: *carking, morbid*.—*ocior* . . . *ocior*: emphasizing the swiftness with which care moves. Intr. 28c.

25. 'Take with joy the present hour, do not be "careful" of tomorrow.' Cf. with the injunction contained in the subject *laetus* . . . *animus*, 3, 8, 27 f. *dona praesentis cape laetus horae ac | lin-*

que severa.—*oderit*: subjunctive, *shrink from*.—*lento*: *quiet*, as befits a man who knows how to meet life's changes.

29 ff. Concrete illustration of the general statement in v. 27 f.—*clarum*: *glorious*. Notice its position next to *cita mors*, 'for all his glory death came quickly.'

30. The opposite fate of Tithonus. Cf. n. to 1, 28, 8.—*longa*: *i.e. aeterna*, as 2, 14, 19.

31 f. *et mihi*: Horace here, as frequently, drives home his statements by personal illustrations at the close. The following two strophes give the details of the bold comparison between himself and Grosphus. The contrast is modestly put, but the poet's pride rings in the last words, *malignum spernere volgus*.—*tibi*: with *negarit*.—*hora*: *the chance hour*.

Te greges centum Sicalaeque circum
 mugiunt vaccae, tibi tollit hinnitum
 35 apta quadrigis equa, te bis Afro
 murice tinctae
 vestiunt lanae: mihi parva rura et
 spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae
 Parca non mendax dedit et malignum
 40 spernere volgus.

33-36. *te . . . tibi . . . te*: making Grosphus' wealth prominent in comparison with Horace's *parva rura*. — *centum*: like *mille* a round number. — *hinnitum*: *whinny*. For the hypermetric verse, see Intr. 69. — *equa*: cf. Verg. *G.* 1, 59 *Eliadum palmas . . . equarum*. — *bis . . . tinctae*: *twice dyed*, the Greek *δίβαφα*, a technical term. Cf. *Epod.* 12, 21 *muricibus Tyriis iteratae vellera lanae*. — *Afro murice*: the shell-fish from which the scarlet dye was obtained was found on the coast of Africa as well as on the southern shore of the Peloponnesus.

37 f. Note the modest *parva, tenuem*. For the meaning of the

latter here, cf. 1, 6, 9 *nec conamur tenues grandia*. — *spiritum*: *inspiration*. — *Camenae*: identified completely with the Greek *Μοῦσαι*. Cf. 1, 12, 39.

39 f. *non mendax*: *who does not deceive, true*. A stock epithet. Cf. *C. S.* 25 *veraces cecinisse Parcae*. Pers. 5, 48 *Parca tenax veri*. — *spernere*: in the same construction as *rura, spiritum*. Horace's rise in the world aroused much envy and ill-natured comment among those of better birth but poorer talents. That he was sensitive to this is shown by his references here and elsewhere, and his pride is most natural. Cf. 2, 20, 4 *invidia maior*, and n.

17

The following ode seems to have been called forth by Maecenas' gloomy forebodings that his end was near. He was a great sufferer from insomnia and fever, but shrank from death. The verses open with a rebuke, but presently become an assurance of the deepest affection: the very gods have willed that the poet shall not outlive his friend. Moreover, the hour set by the Fates is not yet come, else Maecenas had not recovered from his last illness and Faunus had not saved Horace from the falling tree. So then they both must offer to the gods the sacrifices due.

Horace's prophecy was fulfilled, for he outlived Maecenas but a short time; both died in 8 B.C. The date of the occasions referred to in 25 ff. is 30 B.C. Cf. 1, 20, 3 ff.; 2, 13. The ode was probably written soon after. Metre, 68.

Cur me querellis exanimas tuis?
Nec dis amicum est nec mihi te prius
obire, Maecenas, mearum
grande decus columenque rerum.

5 A, te meae si partem animae rapit
maturior vis, quid moror altera,
nec carus aequae nec superstes
integer? Ille dies utramque
ducet ruinam. Non ego perfidum
10 dixi sacramentum: ibimus, ibimus,

1 f. *exanimas*: *half kill me*. Cf. *Epod.* 14, 5 *occidis saepe rogando*. — *amicum est*: the Greek φίλον ἐστί, equivalent to *placet*.

3 f. *obire*: sc. *diem supremum*. — *grande decus columenque*: cf. 1, 1, 2 *o et praesidium et dulce decus meum*. The figure is old, e.g. Pindar *O.* 2, 89 calls Hector Τροίας κίονα, but Horace invented this phrase, which in his verse is no mere formal expression. It was adopted by the later poets, Ausonius, Prudentius, and Apollinaris Sidonius. Cf. e.g. the last's *C.* 23, 2 *Consenti columen decusque morum*. — *mearum . . . rerum*: τὰ ἐμά, *me and all I have*.

5 f. *partem animae*: sc. *alteram*, i.e. the half. Cf. the term of affection applied to Vergil 1, 3, 8 *animae dimidium meae*. — *ma-*

turior: *too early, untimely*. — *vis*: the same as 2, 13, 19 *improvisa leti vis*. — *altera*: sc. *pars*, predicate to *moror*.

7 f. *carus*: i.e. *mihi*. — *aeque*: 'as before thou wert snatched away.' — *superstes*: modifying both *carus* and *integer*. — *integer*: for half his life will then be gone. — *utramque*: with possessive force, equivalent to *utramque nostrum ruinam*. Cf. the full form v. 21 below.

9. *ducet*: with a reminiscence of the figure in *columen*, *will drag down*. Cf. *traho* in the same sense Verg. *A.* 2, 465 (*turris*) *elapsa repente ruinam cum sonitu trahit*. — *non ego*: both emphatic. Cf. n. to 1, 18, 11. The negative affects *perfidum* alone.

10 f. *dixi sacramentum*: the technical term for the soldier's

utcumque praecedes, supremum
carpere iter comites parati.

Me nec Chimaerae spiritus igneae
nec, si resurgat, centimanus Gyas
15 divellet umquam; sic potenti
Iustitiae placitumque Parcis.

Seu Libra seu me Scorpions adspicit
formidulosus, pars violentior
natalis horae, seu tyrannus
20 Hesperiae Capricornus undae,

oath of allegiance to his commander, by which he bound himself to follow wherever he might lead.—*ibimus, ibimus*: the repetition marks Horace's earnestness. Intr. 28a.—*utcumque*: temporal, as always in Horace. Cf. 1, 17, 10.

13 f. *Chimaerae*: cf. n. to 1, 27, 23.—*igneae*: cf. Pindar *O*, 13, 90 *χίμαιραν πῦρ πνέουσαν*.—*si resurgat*: *i.e.* from beneath the earth to confront me.—*Gyas*: like Briareus (*Il.* 1, 401–405) a hundred-handed giant, son of Uranus and Earth.

15 f. *divellet*: sc. *a te*.—*Iustitiae*: the Greek Themis.—*placitumque*: for the position of the conjunction, see Intr. 31.

17 ff. 'It matters not what stars presided over my natal hour, our horoscopes agree in marvelous fashion.' This reference to astrology is an indulgence to Maecenas' belief in the art, for Horace had no faith in the *numeri* of the Babylonians (1, 11).—*Scorpions* . . . *formidulosus*: the adjective

is apt, for under this sign warriors were born. Cf. Manil. 4, 220 f. *in bellum ardentis animos et Martia castra | efficit* (sc. *Scorpions*) *et multum gaudentem sanguine civem*. Libra, however, gave a more favorable destiny. Cf. Manil. 4, 548 *felix aequato genitus sub pondere Librae!*—*adspicit*: the present is used since astrologers taught that the constellation which presided over the child's birth affected him through life.—*pars violentior*: *the member* (any one of the three constellations named) *with greater power*.—*tyrannus*, etc.: the various quarters of the earth were assigned to the different signs of the zodiac; the system of astrology current in the early empire gave Capricornus the western part of the world. Cf. Manil. 4, 791 ff. *tu, Capricorne, regis, quicquid sub sole cadente | est positum, gelidamque Helicen quod tangit ab illo, | Hispanas gentes et quot fert Gallia dives*.

utrumque nostrum incredibili modo
consentit astrum : te Iovis impio
tutela Saturno refulgens
eripuit volucrisque fati

25 tardavit alas, cum populus frequens
laetum theatri ter crepuit sonum ;
me truncus inlapsus cerebro
sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum

dextra levasset, Mercurialium
30 custos virorum. Reddere victimas

21 ff. *utrumque*, etc. : cf. n. to v. 8 above. — *consentit* : the passage is imitated by Persius 5, 45 f. *non equidem hoc dubites, amborum foedere certo | consentire dies et ab uno sidere duci*. — *te* : the contrasted *me* follows v. 27. 'Thou art under the protection of supreme Jove.' Possibly in Maecenas' horoscope Jupiter was in the ascendant. — *impio* . . . *Saturno* : connect with both *refulgens* and *eripuit*. According to the astrology of the time Saturn's influence was baneful. Cf. Prop. 5, 1, 84 *grave Saturni sidus in omne caput* ; and our 'jovial' and 'saturnine.' — *refulgens* : *flashing out against*. Jupiter offsets Saturn's power to harm.

24. *volucris* : with *alas*. — *fati* : here equivalent to *mortis*. Cf. S. 2, 1, 58 *seu mors atris circumvolat alis*.

25 f. *cum* . . . *crepuit* : the date was 30 B.C. For the occasion, see n. to 1, 20, 4. — *theatri* :

locative abl. — *ter* : a stock number. Cf. Prop. 4, 9, 4 *Camenae . . . manibus faustos ter crepuere sonos*.

27 f. *me truncus*, etc. : cf. 2, 13. — *sustulerat* : the indicative emphasizes the certainty of Horace's fate which was suddenly averted by Faunus. Cf. 3, 16, 3.

28 f. *Faunus* : the kindly woodland spirit, who loved to visit Horace's farm and to care for his flocks (1, 17), is named here as protector. The Muses hold this position 3, 4, 27 ; Liber 3, 8, 7. — *Mercurialium*, etc. : Mercury as god of speech and inventor of the lyre (3, 11, 1 ff.) is here made the guardian of poets. Ordinarily the phrase means the devotees of Mercury, the god of gain, as S. 2, 3, 24 f. *hortos egregiasque domos mercarier unus | cum lucro noram : unde frequentia Mercuriale | inposuere mihi cognomen compita*.

30. *reddere* : *to pay*, because the offering vowed is due the gods.

aedemque votivam memento ;
nos humilem feriemus agnam.

Cf. 2, 7, 17 *ergo obligatam redde Iovi dapem*. — *victimae*: i.e. many large cattle.

32. *humilem* . . . *agnam*: in playful reference to the difference

in their estate. So Horace says (4. 2, 53 f.) to his rich friend Julius Antonius *te decem tauri totidemque vaccae, | me tener solvet vitulus*.

18

'No lordly pile or fortune great is mine, but a kind poetic gift, a little farm, are all that I possess. 'Tis quite enough for me. But you, though life is insecure, still build your palaces and grudge the very sea its shore; you drive your poor clients from their homes that you may satisfy your greed for land. Your sure home is the halls of Death; Earth's doors open for rich and poor alike. No bribes move the grim ferryman.'

This ode handles again Horace's favorite theme — the vanity of riches and ambition, the wisdom of the golden mean. The same sentiments are expressed 1, 31; 2, 16; 3, 1, 40-48. 24, 1 ff. As frequently elsewhere he takes his own case as an illustration of the ideal lot, in which man is content with his moderate estate, and contrasts it with that of the rich man whose greed defies the sacred laws of nature and of man. Horace has no individual in mind, but with his fondness for concrete statement gives his verses a dramatic turn by the direct form of address. His model may have been a poem of Bacchylides, *Frg.* 21 Bl. οὐ βοῶν πάρεστι σώματ', οὔτε χρυσός, | οὔτε πορφύρεοι τάπητες, | ἀλλὰ θυμὸς εὐμενής | Μοῦσά τε γλυκεῖα, καὶ βοιωτίοισιν | ἐν σκύφοισιν οἶνος ἡδύς. The date of composition is uncertain. Metre (only here), 82.

Non ebur neque aureum
mea renidet in domo lacunar,

1-5. Horace has in mind the splendid *atria* adorned with rare marbles which the rich had begun to build toward the end of the Republic. Cf. n. to 2, 15, 20. — *ebur*: equivalent to the prose

eburneum; ivory and gold were used to adorn the panels (*lacunaria*) of the atrium. Cf. *Lucr.* 2, 27 f. *nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet | nec citharae reboant laqueata aurataque tecta*.

non trabes Hymettiae
 premunt columnas ultima recisas
 5 Africa, neque Attali
 ignotus heres regiam occupavi,
 nec Laconicas mihi
 trahunt honestae purpuras clientae;
 at fides et ingeni
 10 benigna vena est, pauperemque dives
 me petit: nihil supra
 deos lacesso nec potentem amicum
 largiora flagito,
 satis beatus unicus Sabinis.

3 f. The architraves of this splendid atrium are made of the bluish white marble from Mt. Hymettus; the columns of yellow *giallo antico* from Numidia.

5 f. *neque Attali*, etc.: the inheritance of great fortunes by persons not related to the testator was already known in Horace's day. In the following century inheritance hunting became a business. The ancient commentators believed that Horace here expressed his disapproval of the inheritance by the Romans of King Attalus' wealth in 133 B.C. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that many of the conservative Romans dated the introduction of luxury and the consequent degeneracy at Rome from this time. — *ignotus*: *i.e.* to the testator. The heir has no right to the fortune he greedily seizes. — *occupavi*: note the greed expressed in this word.

7 f. 'Nor am I so rich that I have high-born clients to spin me robes dyed with the purple.' — *Laconicas*: the murex from which the purple dye was obtained was found in great abundance on the shore of the island Cythera and along the Laconian coast.

9 f. *at*: marking the sharp transition to what the poet does possess. — *benigna*: *kindly*. — *pauperemque*, etc.: instead of going to the rich man's house to give him the morning greeting (*salutatio*), Horace is visited in his humble home by the rich who honor his poetic talent.

12. *lacesso*: *vex with my demands*; with two accusatives as a verb of asking. — *amicum*: Maecenas, as is shown by v. 14.

14. *satis beatus*: *enriched enough*; *beatus* has here an original participial sense. Cf. *Epod.* 1, 31 f. *satis superque me benignitas tua* |

- 15 Truditur dies die
 novaeque pergunt interire lunae :
 tu secanda marmora
 locas sub ipsum funus, et sepulcri
 immemor struis domos,
 20 marisque Bais obstrepentis urges
 submovere litora,
 parum locuples continente ripa.
 Quid quod usque proximos
 revellis agri terminos et ultra
 25 limites clientium
 salis avarus? Pellitur paternos

ditavit. — *unicis Sabinis*: *my one dear Sabine farm.* For this meaning of *unicus*, cf. 3, 14, 5 *unico marito*.

15 ff. 'Time hurries on, and yet you are unmindful of your approaching end.' — *truditur*: cf. *Epod.* 17, 25 *urget diem nox et dies noctem*, and also Petron. 45 *quod hodie non est, cras erit: sic vita truditur.* — *interire*: *Intr.* 107.

17 f. *tu*: emphatic, *still you.* — *secanda . . . locas*: a technical expression for letting out a contract; the work to be done being expressed by the gerundive. — *marmora*: *i.e.* slabs to adorn the walls. Cf. n. to 2, 15, 20. — *sub*: almost with concessive force, 'though you are on the very brink of.'

19. *domos*: in contrast to *sepulcri*, — 'you should be thinking of your tomb.'

20 ff. *Bais*: dat. with *obstrepentis*. The town, situated about ten

miles northwest of Naples, was a favorite resort of the Romans of this time. — *urges submovere*: *strive to push out.* The rich man is not content with the natural shore line, but must push out his seaside villa into the very sea. Seneca, *de tranquill.* 3, 7, uses the same expression as typifying luxury, *incipiemus aedificia alia ponere, alia subvertere et mare summovere.* — *parum*: cf. n. to 1, 12, 59. — *continente ripa*: abl. abs., *so long as the shore restrains you.*

23 ff. *quid quod*: a rhetorical transition to a new point; *quid* directing the attention to the substantive clause that follows. Cf. *Epod.* 1, 5 *quid nos.* — *usque*: *still*, used to express the continuation and repetition of the action. — *revellis*: a strong word to express the man's unscrupulous greed. Cf. *salis* v. 26. The ordinary *movere*, *exarare* would be colorless here. To move

in sinu ferens deos
 et uxor et vir sordidosque natos.
 Nulla certior tamen
 30 rapacis Orci fine destinata
 aula divitem manet
 erum. Quid ultra tendis? Aequa tellus
 pauperi recluditur
 regumque pueris, nec satelles Orci
 35 callidum Promethea
 revexit auro captus. Hic superbum

the boundary stone without warrant was an act of the greatest impiety. Cf. Paul. p. 368 *Numa Pompilius statuit eum qui terminum exarasset et ipsum et boves sacros (accursed) esse*; and *Deuteronomy*, 27, 17 'Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark.' — *ultra limites*, etc.: the sacred duty of patron toward client likewise has no weight with such a man. The laws of the Twelve Tables condemned the patron who should do his client wrong, PATRONVS SI CLIENTI FRAVDEM FECERIT, SACER ESTO.

26 ff. *salis*: cf. *revellis* v. 24 and 1, 3, 24 *transiliunt*. Horace may have seen an eviction like this in his own district. — *pellitur*: for the number, see Intr. 101. — *pater-nos . . . deos*: the little images of his household gods are all that the evicted client now possesses. — *sordidos*: *ragged*.

29. *tamen*: 'in spite of all thy wealth and unrestrained greed, no palace is so sure for thee as Orcus'

hall.' — *fine . . . destinata*: to be taken together; ablative with *certior*. It is the end which Orcus fixes; the Greek *θανάτοιο τελευτή*. *finis* is feminine only here and *Epod.* 17, 36.

30. *rapacis Orci*: the adjective is emphatic — the rapacity of Orcus outdoes that of the greedy rich at last.

31 f. *divitem . . . erum*: in sharp contrast to the position which he will presently hold. 'Now thou art rich and lord, but in Orcus' home thy riches will not help thee.' — *ultra*: *i.e.* 'strive to gain more than thou now possessest.' — *aequa*: *impartially, without distinction*. Cf. 1, 4, 13 f. *pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas | regumque turris*.

34 ff. *pueris*: equivalent to *filiis*; for the metre, cf. Intr. 56. — *nec satelles Orci*, etc.: an attempt by Prometheus to bribe Charon to ferry him back is referred to only here. Cf. n. to 2, 13, 37. — *callidum*: predicate, *for all his clever-*

Tantalum atque Tantali
genus coerces, hic levare functum
pauperem laboribus

40

vocatus atque non vocatus audit.

ness; imitated from the Greek αἰολόμητις, ἀγκυλομήτης, epithets applied to Prometheus.

37 ff. Tantali genus: Pelops, Atreus, Agamemnon, and Orestes. —levare: Intr. 107. —functum... laboribus: *done with life's toils*. Cf. the Greek θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον.

40. Cf. Aesop's fable, 'Death and the Old Man,' and Suidas s.v. καλούμενος· καλούμενος καὶ ἄκλῆτος ὁ θεὸς παρέσται. Horace gives the phrase a somewhat different turn in applying it to the poor. Note the oxymoron in non vocatus audit. Cf. the opposite 3, 7, 21 f. scopulis surdior Icarī voces audit.

19

In dithyrambic strains Horace hymns the power of Bacchus. He pretends that he has unexpectedly discovered the god in a retired spot, and then filled with a divine frenzy bursts into song, celebrating the deeds and attributes of the divinity who has inspired him. Much of the ode was probably suggested by Euripides' *Bacchae*. It may be compared with the praise of Mercury 1, 10; cf. also the beginning of 3, 25. The date of composition is uncertain. Metre, 68.

Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
vidi docentem, credite posterī,
Nymphasque discentis et auris
capripedum Satyrorum acutas.

1 f. remotis...rupibus: *i.e.* far from the busy paths of men. The lonely mountain tops are Bacchus' favorite haunt. Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 1105 ὁ Βακχεῖος θεὸς ναίων ἐπ' ἄκρων ὀρέων. —carmina: *hymns*, dithyrambic verses in his honor.

2 ff. Cf. 1, 1, 31. —Nymphas: who nursed the infant Bacchus. —auris...acutas: *the pricked ears*; indi-

cating the eagerness with which they listen, rather than calling attention to the shape of the satyrs' ears. —capripedum: the characteristics of Pan (τραγόπους, αἰγίπόδης, τραγοσκελής) and the Panisci are here transferred to the satyrs, as by Lucretius 4, 580 f. *haec loca capripedes satyros nymphasque tenere | finitimi fingunt*.

5 Euhoe, recenti mens trepidat metu
plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
 laetatur; euhoe, parce Liber,
 parce gravi metuende thyrsos!

10 Fas pervicacis est mihi Thyiadas
vinique fontem lactis et uberes
 cantare rivos atque truncis
 lapsa cavis iterare mella;

5 f. The sight of the god has filled the poet with mingled fear and joy and raised him to ecstasy, in which he joins in the Bacchanal cry *euhoe*, *euhoe* (εὐοῖ). Cf. 2, 11, 17. — *trepidat*: the sight of a divinity was always fearful to mortals. Cf. *Il.* 20, 131 χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς. — *pleno... pectore*: the god possesses him fully. Cf. 3, 25, 1 *quo me, Bacche, rapis tui plenum?* *Iuv.* 7, 62 *satur est cum dicit Horatius eue*. — *turbidum*: accusative expressing the manner of his joy; cf. 2, 12, 14 *lucidum fulgentis oculos*.

7 f. *parce... parce*: in eager appeals to the god to spare him the maddening touch of the thyrsus. — *gravi metuende thyrsos*: cf. 1, 12, 23 *metuende certa Phoebe sagitta*.

9. *fas... est*, etc.: without further warning the ecstatic poet begins his song, for the vision has given him certain inspiration. — *pervicacis*: *the never tiring, persistent*. Cf. *Epod.* 17; 14 where the adjective is applied to Achilles. — *Thyiadas*: properly the women who

celebrated the ὄργια in honor of the god; from θύω, 'to rush wildly.'

10 ff. Wine, milk, and honey are the signs of Bacchus' fructifying power. The verses were probably suggested by Euripides' *Bacchae* 142 f. ῥεῖ δὲ γάλακτι πέδον, ῥεῖ δ' οἴνω, ῥεῖ δὲ μελισσᾶν | νέκταρι, also 706 ff. ἄλλη δὲ νάρθηκ' ἐς πέδον καθῆκε γῆς, | καὶ τῇδε κρήνην ἐξ-ανῆκ' οἴνου θεός· | ὅσαις δὲ λευκοῦ πώματος πόθος παρήν, | ἄκροισι δακτύλοισι διαμῶσαι χθόνα | γάλακτος ἔσμονς εἶχον· ἐκ δὲ κισσίνων | θύρσων γλυκεῖαι μέλιτος ἔσταζον ῥοαί. 'One in earth's bosom planted her reed-wand. | And up there-through the God a wine fount sent: | And whoso fain would drink white-foaming draughts, | Scarred with their finger-tips the breasts of earth, | And milk gushed forth unstinted: dripped the while | Sweet streams of honey from their ivy-staves.' (Way.) So the children of Israel were promised *Exod.* 3, 8 'a good land and a large — a land flowing with milk and honey.' — *truncis... mella*: cf. Horace's

fas et beatae coniugis additum
 stellis honorem tectaque Penthei
 15 disiecta non leni ruina
 Thracis et exitium Lycurgi.
 Tu flectis amnis, tu mare barbarum,
 tu separatis uvidus in iugis
 nodo coerces viperino
 20 Bistonidum sine fraude crinis.
 Tu, cum parentis regna per arduum *
 cohors Gigantum scanderet impia,

picture, *Epod.* 16, 47, of the Fortunate Isles, to which he exhorts his countrymen to flee, *mella cava manant ex ilice*. So Vergil says, *E.* 4, 30, in naming the blessings of the golden age that is about to come, *et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella*.—*iterare*: a variant on *cantare*, equivalent to *narrare*.

13. *coniugis*: Ariadne, blessed (beatae) by becoming Bacchus' consort.—*additum . . . honorem*: her crown, the wedding gift of Venus, was set among the constellations.—*Penthei*: king of Thebes, who tried to hinder the Theban women in their worship, but was torn in pieces by them; and his palace was overthrown by an earthquake. His death and the attendant disasters form the subject of Euripides' *Bacchae*.—*Thracis . . . Lycurgi*: who drove from Thrace Bacchus and his nurse, but was punished with blindness and early death.

17. *tu . . . tu . . . tu*: the triple anaphora indicates the poet's rising ardor and forms a climax to *fas . . . fas . . .* above. The god's power extends over all nature. Horace probably refers to the story of Bacchus' Indian travels, for Nonnus 12, 123 ff. says that at the touch of his thyrsus the Hydaspes and Orontes retreated, and let him pass dry shod.—*flectis*: *i.e.* 'by thy command.'—*mare barbarum*: the Persian Gulf. Cf. Sen. *H. F.* 903 *adsit Lycurgi domitor et rubri maris*.

18 ff. *separatis*: equivalent to *remotis*, v. 1.—*uvidus*: *i.e.* *maddidus*, *βρεχθεís*, with wine. Cf. 1, 7, 22 *uda Lyaeo tempora*.—*Bistonidum*: Thracian maenads who join in the bacchanal rout.—*sine fraude*: *without harming them*, archaic for *sine noxa*. Cf. C. S. 41 ff. *cui per ardentem sine fraude Troiam | castus Aeneas . . . munivit iter*.

21 ff. *tu*: more effective than a conjunction. Intr. 29.—*cum parentis*, etc.: according to a post-

Rhoetum retorsisti leonis
 unguibus horribilique mala,

25 quamquam choreis aptior et iocis
 ludoque dictus non sat idoneus
 pugnae ferebaris ; sed idem
 pacis eras mediusque belli.

30 Te vidit insons Cerberus aureo
 cornu decorum, leniter atterens
 caudam, et recedentis trilingui
 ore pedes tetigitque crura.

Hesiodic myth Bacchus, with Hercules, gave victory to the gods in their battle against the giants in the Phlegraean fields. The story of this attempt by the giants to storm heaven was confused with the older one of the Titans, if indeed it did not owe its origin to it. — *retorsisti*: alliterative with *Rhoetum*, expressing the force with which the giant was thrown back. — *leonis*: the god took on the lion's form, as when he was beset by pirates, who tried to make him captive. *Hom. Hymn 7, 44.*

25 ff. Bacchus' double nature often appears. — *quamquam*: corrective, *and yet*, with *ferebaris*. — *choreis . . . dictus*: sc. *a diis*, giving the reason for the gods' disbelief in his prowess. — *sed idem*: *still thou wast the same*. — *mediusque*: for

the position of *-que*, see *Intr. 31* — *belli*: with *medius*, the earliest example of this construction imitated from the Greek. It was employed by later poets, *e.g.* Ovid. *Met. 6, 409 qui locus est iuguli medius summique lacerti.*

29 ff. *te vidit*, etc.: when Bacchus descended to Hades to bring back his mother Semele. — *te*: cf. n. on *tu v. 21*. — *insons*: predicate, *and did no harm to thee*. — *aureo cornu*, etc.: the Greek χρυσόκερως, κερασφόρος. Here the golden drinking-horn is meant, rather than the horn as an emblem of power. — *atterens*: *wagging*. — *recedentis*: *as thou withdrewest*; opposed to the god's entrance, implied in *te vidit*. — *trilingui*: cf. 2, 13, 34 where Cerberus is *centiceps*. — *tetigitque*: *Intr. 31*.

20

In an allegory Horace prophesies his own immortality. He is not to die, but shall be transformed into a swan and fly from the Stygian wave to the confines of the world. His description of the change which he feels coming on him is given in such detail (9-12) as to rob the poem, for the modern reader at least, of much of the charm that it would otherwise possess. The identification of the poet's song with the flight of a bird was common in antiquity, as it is to-day. Cf. *e.g.* Theog. 237 ff., 1097 f.; Pind. *N.* 6, 47 ff.; Eurip. *Frg.* 911 N.; Theoc. 7, 47.

Apparently Horace wrote this ode after his collection in three books was practically complete, intending it as an epilogue to his lyric verse. Fortunately his second attempt, which now stands at the end of the third book, was far superior, so that he relegated these verses to their present position. Metre, 68.

Non usitata nec tenui ferar
 penna biformis per liquidum aethera
 vates, neque in terris morabor
 longius, invidiaque maior

5 urbis relinquam. Non ego pauperum
 sanguis parentum, non ego quem vocas,

1 ff. non usitata, etc.: *no ordinary or weak*; for his verse was in new forms and his poetic gift was great.—biformis: in a literal sense, both bard and bird. The familiarity of the ancients with the idea of combining human forms with those of beasts, *e.g.* the centaur, minotaur (called *biformis* Verg. *A.* 6. 25) no doubt gave them a different feeling for Horace's concept than we can possibly have. Porphyrio too subtly interprets the adjective to mean writer in both hexameter and lyric measure.—liquidum: *clear*, as Verg. *G.* 1, 404 *apparet liquido sublimis in aere*

Nisus.—vates: in its original sense of *inspired bard*. Cf. n. to 1, 1, 35.

4. invidia maior: the phrase may have been borrowed from the Greek. Cf. Callim. *Epigr.* 21, 4 ὁ δ' ἦεισεν κρέσσονα βασκανίης. In his earlier years, before his position as lyric poet was established, Horace suffered from the jibes of those who envied him Maecenas' favor. Cf. *S.* 1, 6, 46 f. *quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum, | nunc quia sim tibi, Maecenas, convictor*. When his fame was certain he took no little satisfaction in scorning those who once scorned him. Cf. 2. 16. 39 f.

dilecte Maecenas, obibo,
nec Stygia cohibebor unda.

Iam iam residunt cruribus asperae
10 pelles et album mutor in alitem
superne nascunturque leves
per digitos umerosque plumae.

Iam Daedaleo notior Icaro
visam gementis litora Bospori
15 Syrtisque Gaetulas canorus
ales Hyperboreosque campos.

5 f. *urbis*: the plural is more effective than the simple *terram* would have been. — *non ego . . . non ego*: intensive; Intr. 28c. — *pauperum sanguis parentum*: Horace never was ashamed of his low birth, but took a pardonable pride in his success in raising himself to an honored position by his own merits. — *vocas*: *invitest*.

9 ff. These — to us certainly — tasteless verses may have been suggested by Eurip. *Frg.* 911 N. χρύσεαι δὴ μοι πτέρυγες περὶ νώτῳ | καὶ τὰ σειρήνων πτερόεντα πέδιλα [ἁρμόζεται], | βάσομαι τ' εἰς αἰθέριον πόλον ἄρθεῖς | Ζηνὶ προσμείξων. 'Golden winds are fastened on my back and I have on the Sirens' winged sandals. I shall go aloft to the aethereal sky, to be with Zeus.' But Horace has gone far beyond his model. — *iam iam*: cf. *Epod.* 17, 1. — *cruribus*: abl. of place. — *asperae pelles*: the horny skin of the bird's legs and claws into which his human skin is set-

ting. — *supernē*: with short ultima as in Lucretius and *Epist.* 2, 3, 4.

11. *lēves*: in contrast to *asperae*.

13 f. *iam*: *presently*. — *notior Icaro*: who gave his name to a sea. Cf. Ovid. *Fasti* 4, 283 f. (*mare*) *Icarium, lapsas ubi perdidit alas | Icarus et vastae nomina fecit aquae*. — *visam*, etc.: 'my fame will extend to the limits of the world.' — *gementis*: cf. Verg. *A.* 5, 806 *cum . . . gement repleti amnes*. Soph. *Antig.* 592 στόνῳ βρέμονσι δ' ἀντιπλήγες ἄκται. Tennyson, *In Mem.* 35 'the moanings of the homeless sea.'

15 f. *canorus ales*: the swans are called by Callimachus *Hymn. in Del.* 252 Μουσάων ὄρνιθες, ἀοιδότατοι πετεηνῶν. Vergil *E.* 9, 29 says to his friend, *Vare, tuum nomen. . . . cantantes sublime ferent ad sidera cycni*. — *Hyperboreos*: beyond the North Wind was a mythical folk said to live in unbroken peace and happiness. But Horace means only the distant North.

Me Colchus et qui dissimulat metum
 Marsae cohortis Dacus et ultimi
 noscent Geloni, me peritus
 20 discet Hiber Rhodanique potor.

Absint inani funere neniae
 luctusque turpes et querimoniae;
 compesce clamorem ac sepulcri
 mitte supervacuos honores.

17 f. 'The barbarous peoples in the East shall learn to know my works as well as the Romanized Spaniard and Gaul.'—**me**: cf. n. to 2, 19, 21.—**Marsae cohortis**: the Marsi were one of the bravest Italian peoples. Cf. n. to 1, 2, 39.

19 f. **Geloni**: cf. n. to 2, 9, 23.—**peritus Hiber**, etc.: that Spain and Gaul had made great advances in Roman civilization in Horace's day is shown by the fact that in the first century A.D. the former country furnished Rome with her most prominent writers—the two Senecas, Lucan, probably Valerius Flaccus, Columella, Mela, Quintilian, Martial, and others; the latter province with orators and rhetoricians.—**Rhodani potor**: cf. 3, 10, 1 *extremum Tanain si biberes, Lyce*, and *Il.* 2, 825 *πίνοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Αἰσίοιο, Τρώες*. The circumlo-

cution is frequently employed by Apoll. Sid. e.g. *Epist.* 4, 17 *potor Mosellae*.

21 ff. Possibly suggested by Ennius' famous epitaph, *nemo me dacrums decoret nec funera fletu | faxit. cur? volito vivos per ora virum*.—**inani**: for the poet will have flown away.—**neniae**: the mourning chants sung over the dead by women hired for that purpose (*praeficae*).—**luctus turpes**: *disfiguring grief*, such as tearing the hair, scratching the cheeks, and beating the breast.

23 f. **clamorem**: the *conclamatio*, the last call to the dead. It apparently consisted of a repetition of the dead man's name.—**supervacuus**: for the tomb will not contain the poet's body, and his verse will be his lasting memorial, a *monumentum aere perennius*.

LIBER TERTIVS

THE first six odes of this book, addressed to all patriotic citizens, are distinguished by a unity of purpose and a seriousness of tone not found elsewhere in Horace. The fact that all are in the Alcaic measure also contrasts them with other groups of his lyric poems, and proves that he has a particular purpose in mind: he wishes to show that mere riches and power are vain; that only by a return to the stern virtues and simple habits of an earlier day can Rome regain her greatness; and that the present disregard of religion and of domestic virtue is the gravest danger that threatens the future. It is remarkable that after expressing in the third and fourth odes confidence in Caesar's rule and the permanence of the Roman State, Horace closes his sixth ode with gloomy forebodings,—‘each generation is worse than the last, and our children will be baser than we.’ The most probable explanation of this is that the sixth ode was written while Horace felt a certain despair for the future; in arranging his lyrics for publication he let these expressions stand, in the hope that they might rouse his audience by their very gloom.

The unity of the six is so marked that Porphyrio regarded them as a single ode—*multiplex* (ᾠδὴ) *per varios deducta est sensus*. Yet the entire collection was probably not written at the same time. The sixth ode is apparently the earliest, composed after Octavian's acceptance of the censorial power (28 B.C.); the third was written after January, 27 B.C., as the name Augustus (v. 11) shows; and the mention of the projected conquest of Britain in the fourth and fifth seems to refer them to 27–26 B.C.

I

The opening strophe of the first ode serves as introduction to the entire group. In exalted tone Horace announces that he, as sacred priest of the Muses, will sing to the rising generations the Muses' teachings in strains never heard before. He then shows that the powerful and the rich are alike subject to Necessity's impartial rule (5–16). ‘Luxury will not bring gentle sleep; only they whose wants are few have easy spirits; the great owner cannot escape Fear, Threats, and black

Care (17-40). If then all that wealth can buy fails to ease the anxious spirit, why should I exchange my humble happy lot for one that brings only burdens with it (41-48).’ Metre, 68.

Odi profanum volgus et arceo.
Favete linguis! Carmina non prius
audita Musarum sacerdos
virginibus puerisque canto.

5 Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
reges in ipsos imperium est Iovis,

1 f. Like a priest about to begin sacrifice, Horace bids the uninitiate, **profanum volgus**, withdraw. Cf. Callim. *Hymn. in Apoll.* 2 ἐκάς, ἐκάς, ὅστις ἀλιτρός, (*profanus*); Verg. *A.* 6, 258 *procul o, procul este, profani*. By **profanum volgus** Horace means those who have not heard, and will not listen to, the teachings of the Muses, whose sacred priest he is. — **favete linguis**: the solemn call for holy silence, the Greek εὐφημέιτε. Cf. Ovid. *Fasti* 1, 71 *linguis animisque favete*. — **carmina**, etc.: hymns of new and deeper meaning than have been sung before. Many commentators wish to see here a reference primarily to the new form, the Alcaic measure in didactic verse (cf. 2, 20, 1; 3, 30, 13 and nn.); but Horace has a more serious intention.

3 f. **Musarum sacerdos**: poets are the inspired interpreters of the Muses’ will. Cf. Theoc. 16, 29 Μουσάων δὲ μάλιστα τίειν ἱεροὺς ὑποφήτας. ‘To honor most of all

the sacred interpreters of the Muses’; likewise Ovid. *Am.* 3, 8, 23 *ille ego Musarum purus Phoebique sacerdos*. Horace claims that his sacred office gives him a right to speak with authority. — **virginibus puerisque**: *i.e.* the rising generation, on whom the state’s whole hope depends.

5 f. **regum timendorum**: modifying **imperium** of the next verse — ‘Kings rule their peoples, but are themselves the subjects of Jove.’ The expression seems almost proverbial. Cf. Philemon *Frg.* 31, 4. δοῦλοι βασιλέων εἰσὶν, ὁ βασιλεὺς θεῶν. — **in**: *over*, showing the direction in which their rule is exercised. Cf. 4, 4, 2 f. *cui rex deorum regnum in avis vagas | permisit*. — **greges**: *herds*, a contemptuous word, fitting **regum timendorum**, which would call up to the Roman mind the thought of absolute tyrants, whose subjects were mere cattle. Notice the chiasmic order in these and the two following verses. Intr. 21.

clari Giganteo triumpho,
cuncta supercilio moventis.

10 Est ut viro vir latius ordinet
arbusta sulcis, hic generosior
descendat in Campum petitor,
moribus hic meliorque fama
contendat, illi turba clientium
sit maior: aequa lege Necessitas
15 sortitur insignis et imos,
omne capax movet urna nomen.

7 f. clari: *who is glorious for*. — Giganteo: cf. 2, 12, 7 f.; 19, 21 f. — supercilio moventis: a reminiscence of *Il.* 1, 528 ff. ἡ καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων · | ἀμβρόσια δ' ἄρα χαίται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος | κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο · μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον. Cf. Verg. *A.* 9, 106 *adnuat, et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum*.

9 ff. 'Men may differ in wealth, birth, reputation, and number of followers — Necessity levels all.' — est ut: *it is true that*. The subjects of est are the substantive clauses which follow, ut... ordinet, ... descendat, ... contendat, ... sit. — viro vir: *one, another*; cf. Verg. *A.* 10, 361 *haeret pede pes densusque viro vir*. — latius: *i.e.* over a larger estate. — arbusta: trees on which vines could be trained. — sulcis: abl. with ordinet; *furrows*, made to mark the rows (*ordines*) of trees. — generosior: *nobler born*.

11 f. descendat: either literally, since the nobility lived on the hills

(cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2, 6 *hodie non descendit Antonius*); or metaphorically of entering a contest, as Cic. *Tusc.* 2, 26 *descendere in certamen*. — campum: the Campus Martius, in which the elections were held. — meliorque: for the position of -que, see Intr. 31.

13 f. turba clientium: *i.e.* at the morning salutation and in his train when the great man walks abroad. The number of such attendants showed their patron's power. — aequa lege: emphatically placed — 'all in vain, for with impartial rule.' Cf. 1, 4, 13 *aequo pede*; 2, 18, 32 *aequa tellus*.

15 f. sortitur: *allots the fate of*. Cf. Verg. *A.* 3, 375 f. *sic fata deum rex | sortitur*. — insignis, etc.: cf. 1, 34, 12 f. *valet ima summis | mutare et insignem attenuat deus*. — omne, etc.: cf. 2, 3, 25 ff. *omnium | versatur urna serius ocus | sors exitura*, and the explanation there given of the ancient method of 'casting lots.' — movet: *shakes*.

- Destrictus ensis cui super impia
 cervice pendet, non Siculae dapes
 dulcem elaborabunt saporem,
 20 non avium citharaeque cantus
 somnum reducent; somnus agrestium
 lenis virorum non humilis domos
 fastidit umbrosamque ripam,
 non zephyris agitata tempe.
 25 Desiderantem quod satis est neque
 tumultuosum sollicitat mare

17 f. **destrictus ensis**, etc.: the reference is to the familiar story of the sword of Damocles, told by Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 61. It here typifies the uneasy conscience and ever-present fear of death that threaten the wicked; hence **impia cervice**.—**cui**: equivalent to *ei cui*.—**Siculae**: the Sicilians were proverbially luxurious, and the adjective is especially appropriate in connection with the reference to Damocles. Note that **dapes** is by its position contrasted with **impia**—‘No rich banquets can offset the tyrant’s wickedness.’

19 f. **elaborabunt**: *produce*, when his natural appetite is gone. For the prepositional prefix, cf. n. to 1, 5, 8.—**avium**: aviaries were common in houses of the rich in Horace’s day.—**citharaeque cantus**: we are told by Seneca, *De Prov.* 3, 10 that Maecenas, who suffered from insomnia, tried to allure sleep by soft and distant music, but naturally Horace is not here referring to his patron.

21 f. **reducent**: *bring back*, when it has fled.—**somnus**: note the effect of the repetition.—**agrestium . . . virorum**: belonging grammatically to **somnus lenis**, but felt also with **domos**. The simple farmers with their lowly homes, the murmur of the breezes in pleasant valleys, are here contrasted with the rich man’s palace, its aviaries and instrumental music. The sleep of the poor is proverbially sweet. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 7, 35 *somnum plebis laudo*. Also, *Ecclesiastes* 5, 12 ‘The sleep of a labouring man is sweet . . .; but the abundance of the rich will not suffer him to sleep.’

23 f. Cf. *Epod.* 2, 25–28 *labuntur altis interim ripis aquae, | queruntur in silvis aves, | frondesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus | somnos quod invitet levis*.—**tempe**: used here for any shady valley. Cf. n. to 1, 7, 4.

25 ff. **desiderantem**, etc.: ‘the man who longs simply for enough to satisfy Nature’s demands will

nec saevos Arcturi cadentis
 'impetus aut orientis Haedi,
 non verberatae grandine vineae
 30 fundusque mendax, arbore nunc aquas
 culpante, nunc torrentia agros
 sidera, nunc hiemes iniquas.
 Contracta pisces aequora sentiunt
 iactis in altum molibus; huc frequens
 35 caementa demittit redemptor
 cum famulis dominusque terrae
 fastidiosus: sed timor et minae
 ● scandunt eodem quo dominus; neque

not be distressed by the chances of winds and floods.' Cf. 3, 16, 43 f. *bene est, cui deus obtulit | parca quod satis est manu.* — *neque tumultuosum*, etc.: cf. *Epod.* 2, 6 *neque horret iratum mare.*

27 f. *saevos . . . impetus*: the savage onset of Arcturus as he sets. The time is the stormy month of October. — *Haedi*: regularly accompanied by rain. Cf. Verg. *A.* 9, 668 f. *quantus ab occasu veniens pluvialibus Haedis | verberat imber humum.*

29 ff. *non . . . que*: continuing the *nec* of v. 27. — *verberatae grandine vineae*: the lashing of his vineyards by the hail. — *mendax*: the farm is personified, — it promised well, but has failed to keep its word. For similar personification, cf. 3, 16, 30 *segetis certa fides meae*; *Epist.* 1, 7, 87 *spem mentita seges.* — *arbore culpante*: continuing the

personification. The (olive) tree excuses its failure by throwing the blame now on the excess of rain, now on the drought, and again on the cruel winters. — *sidera*: especially the Dog-star, which holds sway during the hottest season. Cf. 1, 17, 17.

33 f. *contracta pisces*: note the emphasis of position — 'the fish feel the narrowing of the main as the greedy rich man pushes his villa marina out into the very sea.' Cf. 2, 18, 19–22 and n.; 3, 24, 3 f. Also Apoll. Sid. *Carm.* 2, 57 *itur in aequor | molibus, et veteres tellus nova contrahit undas.* — *molibus*: masses of stone. — *huc*: i.e. in altum. — *frequens . . . redemptor*: many a contractor.

36. *terrae*: obj. gen. with *fastidiosus*. Cf. 2, 18, 22 *parum locuples continente ripa.*

37 ff. 'No place is so secluded, no ship or horse so swift, that man

decedit aerata triremi et
 40 post equitem sedet atra Cura:

Quod si dolentem nec Phrygius lapis
 nec purpurarum sidere clarior
 delenit usus nec Falerna
 vitis Achaemeniumque costum,

45 cur invidendis postibus et novo
 sublime ritu moliar atrium?
 Cur valle permutem Sabina
 divitias operosiores?

can escape his own self.' — **minae**: the threatening specters called up by the uneasy imagination of the rich, over whose heads (metaphorically) a drawn sword hangs; cf. 17 f. With this strophe, cf. 2, 16, 21–24 and n. Also *S.* 2, 7, 115 *frustra: nam comes atra premit sequiturque fugacem.* — **triremi**: here a private yacht. Cf. that of Verres, Cic. *Verr.* 5, 44, *navem vero cybaeam, maximam, triremis instar.*

41 ff. **quod si**: Horace sums up all that precedes, as frequently, with a personal application to himself, thus making the point he is urging more concrete and forceful. — **dolentem**: *a man distressed* (in mind or body). — **Phrygius lapis**: a costly marble with purple and violet workings, brought from Synnada, in Phrygia, and used for columns. — **purpurarum**, etc.: *nor the*

wearing of purple brighter than the stars. Cf. *Il.* 6, 295 (of the robe to be offered to Athena) *ἀστὴρ δ' ὥς ἀπέλαμπεν.* — **clarior**: a 'transferred' epithet. Intr. 99.

44. **Achaemenium**: *i.e. Persian*, used for Oriental in general. Cf. n. to 2, 12, 21.

45 f. **invidendis**: *that rouse envy.* Cf. 2, 10, 7 f. *caret invidenda | sobrius aula.* — **novo ritu**: *in the new style.* Cf. n. to 2, 15, 20. — **moliar**: *laboriously build*, expressive of the size of the undertaking. Cf. *molibus* v. 34. So a palace is called (2, 15, 2; 3, 29, 10) *moles*, 'a pile.' — **sublime . . . atrium**: *i.e. adorned with lofty columns.* Cf. 2, 18, 4 and n.

47 f. **cur**: the anaphora marks Horace's impatience at the folly of such a proposal. — **valle . . . Sabina**: Horace's dearest possession. Intr. 5.

2

After showing in the first ode the vanity of power and riches, Horace here takes up a positive theme.

‘Content with small estate the Roman youth should learn courage in the stern school of war, that he may fight for Rome and die for her if need be; death for one’s native land is sweet and glorious; and the coward may not escape the common fate (1–16). True manhood is secure and independent of popular favor; it alone gives immortality (17–24). Fidelity and silence too have their secure reward. The wicked punishment sooner or later overtakes (25–32).’ Metre, 68.

Angustam amice pauperiem pati
robustus acri militia puer
condiscat, et Parthos ferocis
vexet eques metuendus hasta,

5 vitamque sub divo et trepidis agat
in rebus; illum ex moenibus hosticis
matrona bellantis tyranni
prospiciens et adulta virgo

1. This verse forms the transition from the theme of the preceding ode.—*angustam*: narrow, straitened, as 2, 10, 21 f. *rebus angustis animosus atque | fortis appare*.—*amice . . . pati*: to bear gladly, to welcome, stronger than the common *lente, molliter ferre*.

2 ff. *robustus acri*, etc.: *hardened in war’s fierce school*; predicate following *pati*, and like *metuendus* below logically part of the prayer ‘may he be trained and learn, . . . be fearful and harass.’

5. *sub divo*: ‘bivouacking beneath the open sky.’ Cf. 1, 1, 25;

2, 3, 23, and *sub divum* 1, 18, 13.—*trepidis in rebus*: *amidst (war’s) alarms*.

6 ff. The description may have been suggested by Briseis’ lament *Il.* 19, 291 f. ἄνδρα μὲν, ᾧ ἔδοσαν με πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ, | εἶδον πρὸ πτόλιος δεδαϊγμένον ὄξυ χαλκῷ, or by book 22 where Hector is killed and dragged away before the eyes of his parents and wife. Cf. also *Il.* 3, 154 ff., and Verg. *A.* 11, 475 ff.—*illum*: emphatic—*such a Roman*.—*tyranni*: the lord of the besieged town.—*adulta*: *i.e. nubilis*, ‘of a marriageable age.’

10 suspiret, eheu, ne rudis agminum
sponsus lacesat regius asperum
tactu leonem, quem cruenta
per medias rapit ira caedes.

15 Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori:
mors et fugacem persequitur virum
nec parcit imbellis iuventae
poplitibus timidoque tergo.

9 ff. *suspiret*, etc.: the verb belongs grammatically with both *matrona* and *virgo*, but its position makes it felt only with the latter. — *eheu*: the sigh which the maiden utters, skillfully placed between the verb and the following clause, *ne . . . lacesat*, which expresses the fear that calls forth the sigh. — *ne*, etc.: *for fear that*. — *agminum*: *armed lines*; obj. gen. with *rudis*, equivalent to *rudis belli*. — *sponsus . . . regius*: some allied prince to whom the maiden is betrothed, as Cassandra was to Coroebus (Verg. *A.* 2, 342 ff.). — *lacesat*: *vex, attack recklessly*. Cf. 1, 35, 7 *quicumque . . . lacescit Carpathium pelagus*. — *asperum tactu leonem*: the comparison of a warrior to a lion is Homeric. *Il.* 5, 136 ff.; 20, 164 ff. — *cruenta*: ‘transferred’ to *ira* from *leonem*. Intr. 99.

13. *dulce*, etc.: emphasizing the preceding wish. ‘Death may come, but how can the young Roman die better than for his country?’ The expression is almost a commonplace. Cf. Tyrtæus

Frg. 10 τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα | ἄνδρ’ ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἧ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον. *Il.* 15, 496 f. οὐ οἱ ἀεικὲς ἀμυνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης | τεθνάμεν. Eurip. *Troad.* 386 f. Τρῶες δὲ πρῶτον μὲν, τὸ κάλλιστον κλέος, | ὑπὲρ πάτρας ἔθνησκον, and Cic. *Phil.* 14, 31 *o fortunata mors, quae naturae debita pro patria est potissimum reddita*.

14 ff. ‘Better die gloriously, for death overtakes the coward as well as the brave man.’ — *mors*: emphatically continuing the idea of *mori*. Intr. 28 b. — *et*: *as well*. The verse is probably a reminiscence of Simonid. *Frg.* 65 ὁ δ’ αὖ θάνατος κίχε καὶ τὸν φυγόμαχον. Cf. also Curt. 4, 14 *effugit mortem quisquis contempserit, timidissimum quemque consequitur*. — *fugacem*: not simply one who runs away, but also one who avoids battle. ‘Death finds him as well.’ Cf. Callinus *Frg.* 1, 14 ff. πολλάκι δηιοτῆτα φυγῶν καὶ δοῦπον ἀκόντων | ἔρχεται, ἐν δ’ οἴκῳ μοῖρα κίχεν θανάτου. ‘Often a man escapes safe from the strife of battle and din of

Virtus repulsae nescia sordidae
 intaminatis fulget honoribus,
 nec sumit aut ponit securis
 arbitrio popularis aurae;
 virtus recludens immeritis mori
 caelum negata temptat iter via,
 coetusque vulgaris et udam
 spernit humum fugiente penna.

20

25

Est et fidei tuta silentio

(striking) spears — yet in his house death's doom finds him.' — *imbellis iuventae*: 'such as we see about us to-day' is implied. — *poplitibus*, etc.: the final disgrace of the coward — he is killed by a wound in the back.

17 ff. Horace here develops the Stoic paradox that the virtuous man, the man truly *sapiens*, is the only one who is really rich, free, and kingly. Cf. 2, 2, 9, and *Epist.* 1, 1, 106 f. *ad summam, sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives, | liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum.* — *virtus*: true manhood, ἡ ἀρετή. — *repulsae*: technical for defeat in an election; connect with *nescia*. — *intaminatis*: predicate — *still unsullied*.

19 f. *ponit*: *lays aside*. — *securis*: symbolical of power. — *aurae*: a common metaphor, marking here the fickleness of the people. Cf. 1, 5, 5; 2, 8, 24 and nn. Also Livy 22, 26 *aura favoris popularis*.

21 ff. 'True manhood secures

immortality.' Cf. the epigram on those who fell at Thermopylae *Anth. Pal.* 7, 251 οὐδὲ τεθνᾶσι θανόντες, ἐπεὶ σφ' ἀρετὴ καθύπερθε | κυδαίνουσ' ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ Αἴδου. 'Yet though they died they are not dead, for virtue by its power to glorify brings them up from the house of Hades.' Also Verg. *A.* 6, 130 *pauci, quos . . . ardens evexit ad aethera virtus.* — *negata*: *i.e.* to all but her. 'Virtue alone can force a path.' Cf. Ovid. *Met.* 14, 113 *invia virtuti nulla est via.* Lowell, *Commemoration Ode*, 'Virtue treads paths that end not in the grave.' — *vulgaris*: *of the common herd*, the *profanum volgus* of the preceding ode. — *udam*: *dank*, in contrast to the clear upper air (*liquidum aethera* 2, 20, 2) to which Virtue soars. — *spernit*: cf. 1, 30, 2.

25 ff. To the excellent quality of *virtus* is added *fidele silentium*, 'the ability to keep a secret.' — *est*, etc.: a translation of Simoni-

merces. Vetabo qui Cereris sacrum
volgarit arcanæ sub isdem
sit trabibus fragilemque mecum

30 solvat phaselon : saepe Diespiter
neglectus incesto addidit integrum ;
raro antecedentem scelestum
deseruit pede Poena claudo.

des, *Frg.* 6, 6 ἔστι καὶ σιγᾶς ἀκίνδυνον γέρας, which was a favorite quotation of Augustus. For the opposite, cf. 1, 18, 16 *arcani fides prodiga*. — et: *as well*. — vetabo, etc.: the common personal note, making the application vivid and concrete. — Cereris sacrum: the Eleusinian mysteries which could be disclosed only to the initiate; here used as a general illustration of what may not be told. Cf. 1, 18, 11 ff. — sub isdem . . . trabibus: cf. Callim. *Hymn. in Cerer.* 117 f. μὴ τήντος ἐμὴν φίλος, ὅς τοι ἀπεχθής, εἴη μηδ' ὁμότοιχος. 'May that man who has incurred thy displeasure, (goddess), be not my friend nor share the same house with me.' — sit: dependent on vetabo. Cf. the construction with cave. — fragilem: a conventional epithet (cf. 1, 3, 10), but here emphasizing the danger.

29 f. saepe, etc.: for the belief that the righteous run especial risks in embarking with the wicked,

cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 601 ff. ὥς γὰρ ξυνεισβὰς πλοῖον εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ | ναύταισι θερμοῖς ἐν πανουργίᾳ τινὶ | ὄλωλεν ἀνδρῶν ξὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει. 'For the pious man who has embarked with sailors hot in some rascality, has often perished with the god-detested lot.' Eurip. *Suppl.* 226 ff. κοινὰς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰς τύχας ἡγούμενος | τοῖς τοῦ νοσοῦντος πῆμασιν διώλεσε | τὸν οὐ νοσοῦντα κοῦδὲν ἡδίκηκότα. — neglectus: *disregarded*. — integrum: cf. 1, 22, 1 *integer vitae*.

31 f. raro: emphatically stating the opposite of saepe above, — 'seldom does the wicked man escape.' — deseruit: *given up the pursuit of*. — pede claudo: concessive. The thought is a commonplace in all literature. Cf. Eurip. *Frg.* 979 ἡ Δίκη . . . βραδεῖ ποδὶ στείχουσα μάρψει τοὺς κακοὺς. ὅταν τύχη. Tibul. 1, 9, 4 *sera tamen tacitis Poena venit pedibus*; and Herbert, 'God's mill grinds slow, but sure.'

3

The theme of the third ode is similar to that of the second: the praise of two great virtues, *iustitia* and *constantia*, justice and steadfastness of purpose. The ode opens with the famous picture of the upright and constant man who is unmoved by the fury of the populace or by the raging elements; the fall of heaven itself would not shake him (1-8). Such were the qualities which secured immortality for Pollux, Hercules, Augustus, and Quirinus (9-16). Then with the mention of Romulus Horace seems to turn from the theme with which he began, and reports to us the speech of Juno before the council of the gods, in which she gives up in part her hatred toward the Trojans and their descendants, and prophesies for Rome an empire coterminous with the world, so long as her people shall keep themselves from avarice and not try to rebuild Ilium (17-68). Then he suddenly checks himself with a mock reproach to his lyre and muse for venturing on such mighty themes (69-72).

The introduction of Juno's long speech was apparently due to a desire to avoid the monotony of a long moral discourse; it further allowed Horace to drive home the lesson he wished to teach by making it part of Juno's prophecy. The protest against any attempt to rebuild Ilium has puzzled commentators. Some take it to refer to a design to move the capital to Ilium which rumor had attributed to Julius Caesar. Cf. Suet. *Div. Iul.* 79 *quin etiam varia fama percrebuit, migraturum Alexandream vel Ilium, translatis simul opibus imperii*. Others regard it as an allegorical condemnation of Asiatic vice and luxury, which Rome must avoid if she is to maintain her empire. Both views are improbable. Horace wished to represent Juno's fateful wrath toward Ilium as but partially appeased: she will allow the descendants of the Trojans to rule, but only in exile.

The name Augustus (v. 11) shows that the date of composition is after 27 B.C. Metre, 68.

Iustum et tenacem propositi virum
non civium ardor prava iubentium,

1 ff. Cf. Herrick's imitation.
'No wrath of Men or rage of Seas
| Can shake a just man's purposes: |
No threats of Tyrants, or the Grim
| Visage of them can alter him; |

But what he doth at first intend, |
That he holds firmly to the end.'
Psalms 46, 2 'Therefore will we
not fear, though the earth do
change, and though the moun-

non voltus instantis tyranni
mente quatit solida, neque Auster,

5 dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae,
nec fulminantis magnâ manus Iovis :
si fractus inlabatur orbis,
impavidum ferient ruinae.

Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
10 enisus arcis attigit igneas,

tains be moved in the heart of the seas'; and Tennyson's *Will*. The first two strophes were repeated by the great Cornelius de Witte while on the rack.

—*civium ardor, instantis tyranni*: 'neither the fury of the populace nor the insistent tyrant's look can shake him.' So Socrates was quite unmoved by the demands of the people, when presiding at the trial of the generals who had commanded at Arginusae. Plat. *Apol.* 32 B. Xen. *Mem.* 4, 4, 2. Cf. also Juvenal's exhortation 8, 81 ff. *Phalaris licet imperet ut sis | falsus et admoto dictet periuria tauro, | summum crede nefas, animam praeferre pudori | et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*. — *mente*: locative abl. — *solida*: suggesting the simile which Seneca developed *de Consol. Sap.* 3 *quemadmodum proiecti in altum scopuli mare frangunt, . . . ita sapientis animus solidus est*.

5 ff. *dux* . . . *Hadriae*: cf. 1, 3, 15; 2, 17, 19. — *inquieti*: rest-

less. — *nec fulminantis*, etc.: cf. 1, 16, 11 f. — *orbis*: (*the vault of*) *the sky*. — *impavidum*: *still undismayed*.

9 ff. Pollux, Hercules, Bacchus, and Quirinus are types of mortals who by their virtues attained immortality. Cf. 4, 5, 35 f. *Graecia Castoris | et magni memor Herculis*. Tacitus says (*Ann.* 4, 38) that when Tiberius refused divine honors the people murmured: *optimos quippe mortalium altissima cupere; sic Herculem et Liberum apud Graecos, Quirinum apud nos deum numero additos; . . . melius Augustum qui speraverit*. — *hac arte*: i.e. by means of the *iustitia* and *constantia* which form the theme of the ode. — *vagus*: a favorite epithet of Hercules. Cf. Verg. *A.* 6, 801 ff. where Augustus' travels in the East are compared to the wanderings of Hercules and Bacchus, *nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit*, etc. — *enisus*: *striving upward*. — *arcis igneas*: cf. Ovid. *Am.* 3, 10, 21 *siderea arx*.

quos inter Augustus recumbens
purpureo bibet ore nectar ;

hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuae
vexere tigres indocili iugum

15 collo trahentes ; hac Quirinus
Martis equis Acheronta fugit,

gratum elocuta consiliantibus

Iunone divis : ' Ilion, Ilion

fatalis incestusque iudex

20 et mulier peregrina vertit

11 f. This prophecy marks the court poet. Cf. 1, 2, 41-52 ; Verg. *G.* 1, 24-42. — **recumbens** : at the banquet. — **purpureo** : *ruddy*, with the bloom of a divine youth. So Vergil says of Venus, *A.* 2, 593 *roseoque haec insuper addidit ore*.

13 ff. **hac** : sc. *arte* ; connect with **merentem**, *winning* (heaven). Cf. Ovid. *Trist.* 5, 3, 19 (also of Bacchus) *ipse quoque aetherias meritis invectus es arces*. — **vexere** : *i.e. ad caelum*. — **tigres** : the tamed tigers symbolize the god's civilizing power. — **Quirinus** : for the story of Romulus' apotheosis, cf. Livy 1, 16 ; Ovid. *Fast.* 2, 481 ff. Note the contrast between **enisus** (v. 10), indicating the efforts of Pollux and Hercules, and **vexere** (v. 14), **Martis equis fugit** (v. 16), applied to Bacchus and the Roman Quirinus.

17 ff. Horace now represents the gods as debating whether Romulus shall be admitted to

heaven and become one of them. Juno's speech affords him an opportunity to show the destiny of the Roman State if it be just, steadfast, and without greed.

— **gratum** : modifying **elocuta**. The gods were pleased that she abated her hatred toward Ilium.

— **elocuta Iunone** : abl. abs., fixing the time. — **Ilion, Ilion** : the repetition marks the speaker's emotion. Cf. Eurip. *Orest.* 1381 ff. *Ἰλιον, Ἰλιον, ὧμοί μοι . . . ὥς σ' ὀλόμενον στένω*. Intr. 28 a.

19 f. **fatalis** : *fateful*. Cf. the epithets *Δύσπαρις*, *Αἰνόπαρις*. — **incestus** : *base, foul*, because his decision in awarding the prize for beauty was determined by a bribe. Cf. 3, 2, 30 *incesto*. — **peregrina** : the Greek *βάρβαρος*, scornfully applied to Helen. Cf. Eurip. *Andr.* 649, where Helen is called *γυνὴ βάρβαρος*. Notice that Juno in her wrath will not name either Paris or Helen.

in pulverem, ex quo destituit deos
mercede pacta Laomedon mihi
castaeque damnatum Minervae
cum populo et duce fraudulento.

25 Iam nec Lacaenae splendet adulterae
famosus hospes nec Priami domus
periura pugnacis Achivos
Hectoreis opibus refringit,

nostrisque ductum seditionibus
30 bellum resedit: protinus et gravis
iras et invisum nepotem,
Troica quem peperit sacerdos,

21 ff. *ex quo*: fixing the time of *damnatum* v. 23. Troy was doomed from the day of Laomedon's default; *iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae* were then only one of the causes of Troy's fall. — *deos*: Apollo and Poseidon served Laomedon a year; according to the Homeric form of the story (*Il.* 21, 441 ff.), Poseidon built for him the walls of Troy while Apollo pastured his herds; but Laomedon refused to pay the price agreed on for the service. Other forms of the myth make Apollo Neptune's partner in building the walls. — *castae Minervae*: cf. 1, 7, 5 *intactae Palladis*. — *duce*: Laomedon.

25 ff. *iam nec*: *no longer now*. — *splendet*: reproducing the Homeric *κάλλει τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασι* *Il.* 3, 392. — *adulterae*: dat.

with *splendet*, *in the eyes of*, etc. — *famosus*: Paris was the notorious example of such infamous action toward his host. — *periura*: referring to Laomedon's broken promise. — *refringit*: *breaks and drives back*.

29 ff. *ductum*: *prolonged*. The length of the war was due to division among the gods. — *resedit*: *has subsided*, like the waves of a stormy sea. — *protinus*: *from this moment*. — *nepotem*: Romulus, her descendant, hitherto hateful (*invisum*) to her because the child of a Trojan mother. — *Troica sacerdos*: Rhea Silvia. Horace here, as in 1, 2, 17 ff., follows the older tradition which made her the daughter of Aeneas. Notice that here, as in v. 25 f., Juno will not call the objects of her resentment by name.

Marti redonabo ; illum ego lucidas
 inire sedes, discere nectaris
 35 sucos et adscribi quietis
 ordinibus patiar deorum.

Dum longus inter saeviat Ilion
 Romamque pontus, qualibet exsules
 in parte regnanto beati ;
 40 dum Priami Paridisque busto

insultet armentum et catulos ferae
 celent inultae, stet Capitolium

33 ff. *redonabo*: *resign as a free gift, condonabo*. Cf. 2, 7, 3, where the word is used in a different sense. — *illum*: emphatic and serving to connect the two sentences. Cf. 3, 2, 6. — *lucidas sedes*: cf. the Homeric αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου, *Il.* 1, 532. — *discere*: *to learn* (the taste of). — *adscribi . . . ordinibus*: *to be enrolled in the ranks*; a technical expression taken from the enrollment of citizens in their proper orders. — *quietis*: for the gods live undistressed by cares that harass men. Cf. Verg. *A.* 4, 379 f. *ea cura quietos | sollicitat*.

37 ff. *dum . . . dum*: *so long as*, expressing the condition on which she yields. — *longus, saeviat*: emphasizing the separation. — *qualibet, etc.*: 'they may reign in good fortune wherever they will, provided they continue exiles.' — *busto*: loc. abl. Horace could picture Priam's tomb in his imagina-

tion, for Vergil's *A.* 2, 557 had not been published.

41 ff. The place where Troy once stood shall be utterly desolate. Cf. *Isaiah* 13, 20 f. 'It shall shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall shepherds make their flocks to lie down there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and ostriches shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And wolves shall cry in their castles, and jackals in the pleasant palaces.'

— *insultet*: *gambol on*, from which comes the connotation of insult. Cf. *Il.* 4, 176 f. καί κέ τις ὧδ' ἐρέει Τρώων ὑπερηνορέοντων | τύμβῳ ἐπιθρόσκων Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο. — *stet*: *may stand* (undisturbed); permissive like *regnanto* above. — *Capitolium*: the

fulgens triumphatisque possit
Roma ferox dare iura Medis;

45 horrenda late nomen in ultimas
extendat oras, qua medius liquor
secernit Europen ab Afro,
qua tumidus rigat arva Nilus.

Aurum inrepertum et sic melius situm,
50 cum terra celat, spernere fortior
quam cogere humanos in usus
omne sacrum rapiente dextra,

quicumque mundo terminus obstitit,
hunc tanget armis, visere gestiens

symbol of Rome's power. Cf. 1, 37, 6 and n. — **fulgens**: predicate with *stet*; contrasted with the desolation of Troy. — **triumphatis**: logically part of the permission, 'may conquer and impose her laws on.' — **Roma ferox**: *stern, warlike*. Cf. 1, 35, 10 *Latium ferox*.

45 ff. **horrenda late**: *feared afar*. Cf. Ovid. *Fasti* 1, 717 *horreat Aeneadas et primus et ultimus orbis*. — **nomen**: used almost technically — *i.e.* the remotest peoples are to come under the *nomen* (*Romanum*). Cf. *Latinum nomen* 4, 15, 13. — **qua medius liquor**, etc.: the straits of Gibraltar on the west, Egypt on the east. — **tumidus . . . rigat**: with its annual inundation. Cf. Verg. *G.* 4, 291 f. *et diversa ruens septem discurrit in ora | et viridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat arena*.

49 ff. The second condition on which Rome's future depends is that she show herself superior to lust for gold: if the Roman can resist that, he shall subdue the whole world. — **inrepertum**: *undiscovered*, because not sought for. — **spernere fortior**, etc.: *braver in scorning the gold than in*, etc.; epexegetical infinitives with *fortior*. Intr. 108. The expression is somewhat forced and the first part of the strophe is made obscure by the parenthetical *et sic . . . celat*. — **cogere**: a strong word — *forcibly gathering it*. — **humanos in usus**: with *rapiente*. — **sacrum**: with special reference to the gold hidden in the earth: it is *sacrum* since the gods have there concealed it.

53 ff. The goddess now passes from mere permission (*regnanto, stet, extendat*) to prophecy (*tan-*

55 qua parte debacchentur ignes,
 qua nebulae pluviique rores.

 Sed bellicosus fata Quiritibus
 hac lege dico, ne nimium pii
 rebusque fidentes avitae
60 tecta velint reparare Troiae.

 Troiae renascens alite lugubri
 fortuna tristi clade iterabitur,
 ducente victricis catervas
 coniuge me Iovis et sorore.

65 Ter si resurgat murus aeneus
 auctore Phoebō, ter pereat meis

get). — quicumque mundo, etc.: *whatever bound has been set the world, that she shall touch*, etc. — qua parte, etc.: the torrid zone. — debacchentur: *keep wild revel*. — qua nebulae, etc.; the farthest north with which the Roman in Horace's day was actually acquainted was North Germany with its fogs and rains. Cf. 1, 22, 17-20.

57 ff. sed: Juno returns to the condition with which she began, v. 37 ff. — bellicosus: more than a mere ornamental epithet; it implies that the Romans will gain their empire by arms. — hac lege . . . ne: *on this condition, that they shall not*, etc. — pii: *i.e.* toward their mother city, avitae Troiae. — rebus fidentes: with reference to the content of vv. 45-56.

61 ff. Troiae: echoing the preceding Troiae. Intr. 28 b. — renascens: transferred from Troiae to fortuna, a difficult hypallage in English. Intr. 99. — alite: cf. 1, 15, 5. — ducente, etc.: cf. Verg. *A.* 2, 612 ff. *hic Iuno Scaëas saevissima portas | prima tenet, sociumque furens a navibus agmen | ferro accincta vocat*. — coniuge . . . et sorore: an Homeric phrase, *κασιγνήτη ἄλοχός τε*, adopted also by Verg. *A.* 1, 46 f. *ast ego, quae divom incedo regina, Iovisque | et soror et coniunx*.

65 ff. ter . . . ter . . . ter: Intr. 28 c. — aeneus: 'and be of bronze as well.' — auctore Phoebō: as they were before. Cf. v. 21 f. above and n. — meis Argivis: ablative of instrument rather than of agent.

excisus Argivis, ter uxor
capta virum puerosque ploret.'

70

Non hoc iocosae conveniet lyrae :
quo, musa, tendis? Desine pervicax
referre sermones deorum et
magna modis tenuare parvis.

69 ff. *non hoc*, etc.: Horace suddenly checks his muse with the warning that his lyre is *iocosa* and not suited to such serious themes. The strophe is a mere device to close the ode. Cf. 2, 1, 37 ff. — *conveniet*: the tense implies

that all has not yet been said. — *pervicax*: *persistent*. — *tenuare*: *to lessen, dwarf*. Cf. 1, 6, 12 *deterere*; 1, 6, 9 *nec . . . conamur, tenues grandia*. Also Prop. 4, 1, 5 *dicite, quo pariter carmen tenuastis in antro?*

4

Horace begins this ode with a second invocation to the Muses and a renewed pledge of his loyalty and devotion to them. It was they who gave him safe escape at Philippi, protected him from the falling tree, and rescued him from drowning. Under their guardianship he may wander all unharmed among savage tribes on the very outskirts of the world (1–36). It is also they who protect mighty Caesar and aid him with gentle counsel (37–42). At this point in the ode Horace turns with apparent abruptness to the story of the giants' defeat in their battle with the gods, and closes with a warning against dependence on brute force and violence (42–80). No Roman, however, would fail to see that Horace wished to present Augustus here as the vice-regent of Jove, and that the powers of violence are those of rebellion against the emperor's moderate and beneficent rule. In the next ode the comparison is more outspoken.

The date of composition is approximately 26 B.C.; cf. n. to v. 33. Metre, 68.

Descende caelo et dic age tibia
regina longum Calliope melos,

1 ff. *descende caelo*: for the Muses dwell on Olympus, *Il.* 2, 484 *Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι*. The ancient commentators,

however, understood it to mean: 'Come back to earth from the council of the gods (in the preceding ode).' This is possible.

seu voce nunc mavis acuta,
seu fidibus citharave Phoebi.

5 Auditis, an me ludit amabilis
 insania? Audire et videor pios
 errare per lucos, amoenae
 quos et aquae subeunt et aerae.

Me fabulosae Vulture in Apulo

but fanciful. — *dic age*: *come play upon thy pipe*, etc. Cf. 1, 32, 3; 2, 11, 22. — *regina*: thus addressed, since she rules the poet's song; cf. 1, 6, 10; 2, 12, 13 f. So Venus is called *regina* (3, 26, 11) 'queen of love.' — *Calliope*: with no reference to Calliope's special province as the muse of epic poetry. Cf. 1, 1, 32 and n. The invocation may have been suggested by Alc. *Frg.* 45 Μῶσ' ἄγε, Καλλιόπα, θύγατερ Διός, ἄρχ' ἐρατῶν ἐπέων, or by Stesich. *Frg.* 45 δεῦρ' ἄγε, Καλλιόπεια λίσσια — *seu voce*, etc.: the expression is somewhat confused: Horace prays the Muse to sing either to the accompaniment of the pipe (*tibia*), or of the lyre (*fidibus citharave*) or with her clear, treble (*acuta*, equivalent to λίσσια above) voice alone. — *fidibus citharave*: the distinction between *cithara* and *lyra* was early confused (cf. the Hom. *Hymn. ad Merc.* 423 λύρη δ' ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων), and Horace is obviously here thinking of a single instrument.

5 ff. *auditis*: in his imagination the poet hears already the

voice of the Muse. — *insania*: the poetic ecstasy called by Plato (*Phaedr.* 245 A.) ἀπὸ Μουσῶν κατοκωχή (possession) τε καὶ μανία. — *videor*: sc. *mihi*. Cf. Verg. *E.* 10, 58 f. *iam mihi per rupes videor lucosque sonantis | ire*. — *pios lucos*: the haunts of the Muses, consecrated by their presence.

8. *quos . . . subeunt*: *beneath which glide*. *subeunt* is connected by a slight zeugma with *aerae*. Sappho, *Frg.* 4, describes in similar fashion the garden of the nymphs ἀμφὶ δ' ὕδωρ | (ἵψοθεν) ψυχρον κέλαδει δι' ὕσδων | μαλίνων, αἰθυσσομίνων δὲ φύλλων | κῶμα καταρρεῖ. 'All around through branches of apple-orchards | Cool streams call while down from the leaves a-tremble | Slumber distilleth' (Symonds).

9 ff. 'I have been favored by the Muses from my infant years'; explaining why he may be able to hear the Muses' song while duller ears cannot. Similar stories are told of Pindar, Stesichorus, Aeschylus, and others. Cf. Tennyson. *Eleanore* 2, 'Or the yellow-banded bees, | Thro' half open lattices |

10 nutricis extra limina Pulliae
 ludo fatigatumque somno
 fronde nova puerum palumbes
 texere, mirum quod foret omnibus,
 quicumque celsae nidum Acherontiae
 15 saltusque Bantinos et arvum
 pingue tenent humilis Forenti,
 ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis
 dormirem et ursis, ut premerer sacra

Coming in the scented breeze, | Fed thee, a child, lying alone, | With whitest honey in fairy gardens cull'd — | A glorious child, dreaming alone, | In silk-soft folds, upon yielding down, | With the hum of swarming bees | Into dreamful slumber lull'd.'

— *fabulosae* . . . *palumbes*: *the doves of story*. Some, however, connect *fabulosae* with *nutricis*. — *Vulture*: Mt. Voltur, near the borders of Apulia and Lucania. — *extra limina*: the child had wandered away into the wood, where he at last fell asleep. — *Pulliae*: this is the reading of some of the best MSS., and the name is found in inscriptions. The other reading, *limen Apuliae*, is impossible. — *ludo*, etc.: possibly modelled after the Homeric (*Il.* 10, 98; *Od.* 12, 281) *καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες ἤδ' ἐκαὶ ὕπνῳ*. For the position of *-que*, see Intr. 31. — *fronde nova*: *fresh* and *fragrant*.

13 ff. *mirum quod foret*: (a sight) *to be a marvel*; expanded v. 17 ff. *ut . . . dormirem*, etc. — *nidum Ache-*

rontiae: to-day, Acerenza, perched like a nest on the top of a hill. Many Italian towns were so placed for defense, and still retain the appearance graphically described by the word *nidus*. Cf. Cic. *de Or.* 1, 196 *Ithacam illam in asperrimis saxulis tamquam nidulum adfixam*. Macaulay, *Horatius*, 'From many a lonely hamlet, | Which, hid by beech and pine, | Like an eagle's nest, hangs on the crest | Of purple Apennine.' — *saltus Bantinos*: the modern Abbadia de' Banzi, on the side of the hill to the north of Acerenza. — *humilis Forenti*: the ancient town was in the lowlands; the modern Forenza, situated on a hill, preserves the name.

17 ff. *ut . . . dormirem, ut . . . premerer*: interrogative, the object of their wonder. Notice the effect of the interlocked order of the first line. — *atris*: the 'deadly' color. Cf. 1, 37, 27 and n. — *sacra*: the laurel was sacred to Apollo, the god of song, and the myrtle to Venus; therefore their use fore-

20 lauroque conlataque myrto,
 non sine dis animosus infans.

Vester, Camenae, vester in arduos
tollor Sabinos, seu mihi frigidum
Praeneste seu Tibur supinum
seu liquidae placuere Baiae.

25 Vestris amicum fontibus et choris
 non me Philippis versa acies retro,
 devota non exstinxit arbor,
 nec Sicola Palinurus unda.

30. Vtcumque mecum vos eritis, libens
 insanientem navita Bosporum
 temptabo et urentis harenas
 litoris Assyrii viator ;

told that the child was to be a poet of love.—non sine dis: the Homeric οὐ τοι ἄνευ θεοῦ (*Od.* 2, 372), οὐκ ἄθεεῖ (*Od.* 18, 353). The child's spirit was divinely given.

21 ff. vester...vester: the repetition emphasizes the poet's devotion to his task as *Musarum sacerdos*.—tollor: middle, *climb*.—Praeneste, Tibur, Baiae: three favorite resorts of the Romans.—frigidum: cf. Iuven. 3, 190 *gelida Praeneste*.—supinum: *sloping*; cf. Iuven. 3, 192 *proni Tiburus arce*.—liquidae: *clear*, of the air; cf. 2, 20, 2. But some commentators refer it to the water at Baiae.

25 ff. vestris: echoing vester of the preceding strophe.—amicum: giving the reason for his protection—'because I am dear,' etc.—fon-

tibus: cf. 1, 26, 6.—Philippis: cf. 2, 7, 9 ff.

28. We have no other reference to Horace's escape from shipwreck, and it is not impossible that he added this simply to round out his list of dangers and to show that the Muses protect him on land and sea.—Palinurus: a promontory of Lucania named from Aeneas' pilot; Verg. *A.* 6, 381 *aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit*.

29 ff. utcumque: *whenever*.—insanientem . . . Bosphorum: noted for its stormy character. Cf. 2, 13, 14, and with the adjective Verg. *E.* 9, 43 *insani feriant sine litore fluctus*.—urentis harenas, etc.: notice the contrast between Bosphorum, harenas, and navita, viator.—Assyrii: *i.e.* 'Syrian,' 'Eastern.' Cf. 2, 11, 16.

visam Britannos hospitibus feros
 et laetum equino sanguine Concanum,
 35 visam pharetratos Gelonos
 et Scythicum inviolatus amnem.

Vos Caesarem altum, militia simul
 fessas cohortis abdidit oppidis,
 finire quaerentem labores.
 40 Pierio recreatis antro.

Vos lene consilium et datis et dato
 gaudetis, almae. Scimus ut impios

33 ff. **Britannos**: Augustus' projected expedition against the Britons may have occasioned their mention here (cf. introductory n. to 1, 35); or they may have been chosen as a type of the peoples living on the borders of the world. Cf. 1, 35, 30 *ultimos orbis Britannos*. — **hospitibus feros**: Tacitus, *Ann.* 14, 30, pictures them as savages. — **Concanum**: a Cantabrian tribe; cf. 2, 6, 2. Verg. *G.* 3, 463, says that the Geloni drink horses' blood mixed with milk. Statius, *Achil.* 1, 307, attributes a similar custom to the Massagetae. — **Gelonos**: cf. 2, 9, 23; 20, 19. — **Scythicum amnem**: the Tanais, Don. Cf. 3, 10, 1. — **inviolatus**: predicate, — *and still remain unharmed*.

37 ff. **vos**: connecting this strophe with the preceding, and bringing us back to the main theme of this part of the ode, — the Muses and their influence. — **altum**: *exalted*. — **militia simul**, etc.: after

the battle of Actium Augustus settled 120,000 veterans on lands, spending enormous sums for this purpose. In spite of the vexation that the confiscations of land caused, this disposition of the troops was doubtless a great relief to many who feared that the victor might use his forces to secure tyrannical power. — **abdidit**: aptly expressing the disappearance of the troops. — **finire**, etc.: Augustus' great desire seems to have been for peace; the Roman world saw a warrant of this in the disbanding of his veterans just referred to. — **Pierio recreatis antro**: *i.e.* by literary pursuits in some quiet spot, as in a cave sacred to the Muses. Cf. 1, 12, 6. When Octavian was returning from the East in 29 B.C., he rested some time at Atella in Campania, where on four successive days the *Georgics*, which Vergil had just finished, were read to him by Vergil and Maecenas.

Titanas immanemque turbam
fulmine sustulerit caduco

45 qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
ventosum et urbis regnaque tristia
divosque mortalisque turmas
imperio regit unus aequo.

50 Magnum illa terrorem intulerat Iovi
fidens iuventus horrida bracchiis,

41 ff. vos: cf. n. on 37 above. — *lene consilium*, etc.: with reference to Augustus' mild and beneficent policy after he had established his position (cf. C. S. 51 *iacentem lenis in hostem*). This policy of conciliation was in sharp contrast with the proscriptions of Marius, Sulla, and also of the second Triumvirate, consisting of Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian, to whose hatred many fell victims in 43 B.C., among them the orator Marcus Cicero. — *consilium*: trisyllabic. Intr. 39. — *dato*: sc. *consilio*; i.e. the Muses take delight in furthering the counsel that they have given. — *scimus*, etc.: emphatic, *we all know*. Horace thus suddenly turns to his contemporaries and reminds them that the lesson is intended for them; they must recognize that foolish rebellion against Caesar's kindly rule is as vain as the attack of the Titans on Jove's power. — *fulmine . . . caduco*: *the quick-falling bolt*. So in Aesch. *P. V.* 358 ff. it is said that the monster Typhon was consumed by the κατ-

αιβάτης κεραυνός ἐκπνέων φλόγα. — *sustulerit*: *destroyed*. The subject is the antecedent of *qui* in the following verse.

45 ff. *terram*, *mare*, *urbis*, etc.: indicating the universality of Jove's rule. Observe also that the natural contrast of the nouns is heightened by the adjectives employed, — *inertem*, *brute*; *ventosum*, *gusty* (cf. 1, 34, 9 *bruta tellus et vaga flumina*); *tristia*, *gloomy*, contrasted with the cities of men. — *temperat*: *governs* (in harmony). Cf. 1, 12, 16. Its objects are *terram* and *mare*; the other nouns denoting animate creatures belong with *regit*. — *unus*: *alone*, emphasizing the unity of the world's order.

49 ff. The possibility that Jove should fear the giants is, strictly taken, inconsistent with his universal rule described in the preceding strophe; but Horace wished to exalt (57 f.) the position of Pallas, the embodiment of wisdom, in relation to the power of Jove.

50. *fidens*: absolutely, *presumptuous*. — *iuventus horrida bracchiis*:

fratresque tendentes opaco
Pelion imposuisse Olympo.

Sed quid Typhoeus et validus Mimas,
aut quid minaci Porphyryon statu,
55 quid Rhoetus evolsisque truncis
Enceladus iaculator audax

contra sonantem Palladis aegida
possent ruentes? Hinc avidus stetit

the Hecatoncheires, who in the common form of the myth guard for Jove the Titans whom he has hurled into Tartarus. But here Horace includes them among the monstrous, and therefore evil, powers that assail the majesty of right and wisdom. The violence done the old mythology would offend no one of Horace's audience, and the allegory would be evident to all. *horrida bracchiis*: *with their bristling arms*.

51 f. *fratres*: the Aloidae, Otus and Ephialtes. — *tendentes*, etc.: cf. *Od.* 11, 315 f. Ὀσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὀσση | Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον. *Verg. G.* 1, 280 ff. *et coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres. | ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam | scilicet, atque Ossae frondosum involvere Olympum*; *Prop.* 2, 1, 19 f. *non ego Titanas canerem, non Ossan Olympo | impositam, ut caeli Pelion esset iter*. — *imposuisse*: for the force of the tense, cf. 1, 1, 4.

53 ff. *Typhoeus*: according to Hesiod, *Theog.* 821, the youngest

child of Earth, sent to punish Zeus for his destruction of the Giants; Pindar, *P.* 8, 21, makes him one of the Giants. — *Mimas*: also a Giant, Eurip. *Ion* 215. — *Porphyryon*: king of the Giants, Pind. *P.* 8, 15. — *minaci statu*: of threatening mien. — *Rhoetus*: cf. 2, 19, 23. — *truncis*: instrumental abl. with *iaculator*. *Intr.* 97. — *Enceladus*: buried under Aetna. *Verg. A.* 3, 578 ff. *fama est Enceladi semiustum fulmine corpus | urgueri mole hac, ingentemque insuper Aetnam | impositam ruptis flammam exspirare caminis*. Also Longfellow's *Enceladus*.

57 ff. *Palladis*: the embodiment of wisdom, and Jove's chief support. — *aegida*: represented in works of art as a breast-plate (cf. n. to 1, 15, 11), but apparently conceived of here as a shield, possibly after *Il.* 17, 593 ff. καὶ τότε ἄρα Κρονίδης ἔλετ' αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσαν (adorned with tassels) | μαρμαρέην (flashing), . . . τὴν δ' ἐτίναξε. — *ruentes*: *wildly rushing*; cf. n. to *ruit*, v. 65 below. — *hinc*: *i.e.* beside

60 Volcanus, hinc matrona Iuno et
 numquam umeris positurus arcum,
 qui rore puro Castaliae lavit
 crinis solutos, qui Lyciae tenet
 dumeta natalemque silvam,
 Delius et Patareus Apollo.

65 Vis consili expers mole ruit sua :
 vim temperatam di quoque provehunt
 in maius ; idem odere viris

Jove.—*avidus*: cf. the Homeric
λilαιόμενοι πολέμοιο Il. 3, 133.
Verg. A. 9, 661 avidus pugnae.—
numquam umeris, etc.: cf. 1, 21,
 11 f. (*tollite laudibus*) *insignemque*
pharetra | fraternaue umerum
lyra. In Eurip. *Alc. 40* Apollo
 says, in answer to the question
 why he has his bow and arrows
 with him, *σύνηθες αἰεὶ ταῦτα βασ-*
τάζειν ἐμοί.

61 ff. Cf. Pind. *P. 1, 39* Λύκιε
 καὶ Δάλοϊ' ἀνάσσων Φοῖβε, Παρνασ-
 σοῦ τε κράναν Κασταλίαν φιλέων.
 Also Stat. *Theb. 1, 696ff. Phoebe pa-*
rens, seu te Lyciae Patarea nivosis
| exercent dumeta iugis, seu rore
pudico | Castaliae flavos amor est
tibi mergere crines.—*Castaliae*: a
 spring on Mt. Parnassus ; for a va-
 riation of the place, cf. 4, 6, 26 *qui*
Xantho lavit amne crinis.—*solu-*
tos: *flowing*; cf. 1, 21, 2, and n.—
Lyciae, etc.: according to the De-
 lian legend of Apollo, the god spent
 the six summer months on the
 island, but withdrew for the other
 six to Patara, in Lycia.—*natalem*

silvam: in Delos, where he was
 born.

65 ff. *vis consili expers*, etc.: these
 words sum up what has preceded,
 —‘mere force, blind rebellion, un-
 directed by wisdom, is sure to fail ;
 but when properly guided it enjoys
 the favor of the very gods, who yet
 abhor and punish reckless strength
 that urges men to wickedness. We
 have as a proof of this the cases of
 Gyas, Orion, and the rest, whose
 lawlessness brought on them the
 divine wrath.’

— *mole ruit sua*: *rushes to ruin*
of its own weight. For this mean-
 ing of *ruo*, cf. n. to 1, 2, 25. With
 this sententia, cf. Eurip. *Frg. 732*
ῥώμη δέ τ' ἀμαθῆς πολλάκις τίκτει
βλάβην, and Pind. *P. 8, 15 βία δέ*
καὶ μεγάλαυχον (the boastful) *ἔσ-*
φαλεν ἐν χρόνῳ.

66 ff. *vim temperatam*: con-
 trasted both by position and mean-
 ing with the preceding. Intr. 28c.
 — *idem*: *and yet they.* Cf. 2, 10,
 16.—*viris*: here not distinguished
 in meaning from the singular.

omne nefas animo moventis.

70 Testis mearum centimanus Gyas
sententiarum, notus et integrae
temptator Orion Dianae,
virginea domitus sagitta.

75 Iniecta monstribus Terra dolet suis,
maeretque partus fulmine luridum
missos ad Orcum; nec peredit
impositam celer ignis Aetnen,

Note the cumulative effect of *vis*, *vim*, *viris*.

69 ff. Examples of the punishment which overtakes those indicated in v. 68. — *testis*, etc.: with the expression and asyndeton, cf. Pind. *Frg.* 169 Schr. Νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς | . . . ἄγει . . . τὸ βιαίότατον | ὑπερτάτα χειρί. τεκμαίρομαι | ἔργοισιν Ἡρακλέος. 'Custom, lord of all, leads most forcibly with mightiest hand. My proof is from the deeds of Heracles.' — *Gyas*: cf. 2, 17, 14.

70 ff. *notus*: *i.e.* an example familiar to all; cf. *scimus*, v. 42. — *temptator*: *assailant*; only here in this sense. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 11, 12 f. *quantus Apollineae temerator matris Averno | tenditur*. — *virginea*: *i.e.* shot by the chaste Diana.

73 ff. *iniecta*, etc.: one cause of Earth's sorrow is that she is forced to be the burial place of her own offspring (hence *monstribus suis*). — *monstribus*: dative with both *iniecta* and *dolet*. Intr. 100. — *dolet mae-*

retque: notice the tense, — *ever suffers and mourns for*. — *partus*: particularly the Titans. — *fulmine*: with *missos*. — *luridum*: *ghastly*; appropriate to the lower world. — *nec peredit*: the volcanic outbursts represent the struggles of the monster to escape, but his efforts are all in vain, for his punishment is eternal. With the gnomic perfect, cf. v. 78, *reliquit*. Intr. 103.

76. *impositam . . . Aetnen*: according to Aeschylus and Pindar, Typhoeus was buried beneath Aetna. *P. V.* 363 ff. καὶ νῦν ἀχρεῖον καὶ παράορον δέμας | κείται στενωποῦ πλησίον θαλασσίου | ἱπούμενος ῥίζαισιν Αἰτναίαις ὑπο. 'And now he lies a useless outstretched form hard by the sea strait, weighed down beneath the roots of Aetna.' Pind. *P.* 1, 32 ff. νῦν γε μὰν | ταίθ' ὑπὲρ Κύμας ἀλιερκές ὄχθαι | Σικελία τ' αὐτοῦ πιέζει στέρνα λαχνάεντα · κίων δ' οὐρανία συνέχει, | νιφόεσσ' Αἴτνα. 'But now the sea-girt shores past Cumae and Sicily

incontinentis nec Tityi iecur
reliquit ales, nequitiae additus
custos; amatorem trecentae
Pirithoum cohibent catenae.

80

likewise press down his shaggy breast; and snowy Aetna, a pillar of the sky, holds him in ward.' Other forms of the myth place Enceladus there (cf. n. to v. 56 above).—*celer*: *swift darting*, of the volcanic fires.

77 f. *incontinentis*: the position emphasizes Tityos' crime in offering violence to Latona.—*iecur*: the seat of passion, at which the punishment is appropriately directed.—*ales*: cf. Verg. *A.* 6, 597 ff. *rostroque inmanis voltur obunco | immortale iecur tondens fecunda- que poenis | viscera rimaturque*

epulis habitatque sub alto | pectore, nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis.—*additus custos*: *set as warder*; implying that the vulture would never leave him. Cf. Verg. *A.* 6, 90 *nec Teucris addita Iuno usquam aberit.*

79 f. Pirithous, king of the Lapithae, and Theseus were chained to a rock in Hades for their impious attempt to carry off Proserpina. Theseus was rescued by Hercules, but Pirithous obtained no escape. Cf. 4, 7, 27 f.—*trecentae*: an indefinite number, 'countless.'

5

'While Jove is sovereign of the sky and Augustus rules on earth, can it be that Crassus' disgraceful defeat is yet unavenged! Has a Roman soldier so forgotten his birthright as to live under a Median King, married to a barbarian wife! It was this very thing that Regulus' wise mind foresaw when he opposed the ransoming of our soldiers captured by the Carthaginians, a precedent fraught with ill for later times' (1-18). . . . "No," he said, "let those who yielded die; will they be braver when bought back? No, let them stay, for they have brought disgrace upon their native Italy (19-40)." So like one disgraced he put aside his wife and child, and stood with downcast eyes, until the Senate had agreed to his proposal; then he hurried back to torture and to death with heart as light as for a holiday (41-56).'

The ode thus treats of the degeneracy of the Roman arms and the loss of military prestige which Augustus was to remedy and revive. In the first strophe the allegory of the preceding ode gives way to plain speech. The date of composition is shown by v. 3 to be 27-26 B.C. Metre, 68.

Caelo tonantem credidimus Iovem
 regnare : praesens divus habebitur
 Augustus adiectis Britannis
 imperio gravibusque Persis.

5

Milesne Crassi coniuge barbara
 turpis maritus vixit et hostium
 (pro curia inversique mores !)
 consenuit socerorum in armis,

10

sub rege Medo Marsus et Apulus,
 anciliorum et nominis et togae

1 ff. *caelo* : with *regnare*, in contrast to *praesens divus*. — *tonantem* : giving the reason for the belief; also a proper epithet of Jove. — *credidimus* : gnomic perfect. Intr. 103. — *praesens divus* : *a god in very presence; i.e. on earth, visible to men*. Cf. Ovid. *Trist.* 4, 4, 20 *superorum duorum, | quorum hic (Augustus) aspicitur, creditur ille (Iuppiter) deus*. 2, 54 *per te praesentem conspicuumque deum*. Verg. *G.* 1, 41 *nec tam praesentis alibi cognoscere divos (licebat)*. — *adiectis*, etc. : *when they shall have been added*. — *gravibus* : *vexing*; cf. 1, 2, 22.

5 f. *milesne* : a sudden burst of indignation aroused by the mention of the Persians. Plutarch, *Crass.* 31, tells us that ten thousand Romans surrendered at Carrhae in 53 B.C. and settled among the Parthians; they were actually compelled by their victors to fight with them against the

Romans. — *coniuge barbara* : abl. with *turpis*; cf. 1, 37, 9. — *maritus* : emphasizing the disgrace, for properly there could be no *conubium* between a Roman and a foreigner. The emphasis is continued in *hostium . . . socerorum*. — *vixit* : *has actually lived*.

7 f. *pro* : an interjection. — *curia* : the senate house, or senate (cf. 2, 1, 14), typical of all that Rome held most ancient and sacred. — *consenuit* : almost a generation had passed since Carrhae. Aurel. Victor *Epit.* 32 says with exaggeration of the Prince Valerian in the third century A.D., *Valerianus . . . in Mesopotamia bellum gerens a Sapore Persarum rege superatus, mox etiam captus, apud Parthos ignobili servitute consenuit*.

9 f. *rege* : a hateful word to a Roman; cf. 1, 37, 7. — *Medo Marsus et Apulus* : effective juxtaposition. The Marsi were among

oblitus aeternaeque Vestae,
incolumi Iove et urbe Roma?

Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli
dissentientis condicionibus

15 foedis et exemplo trahenti
perniciem veniens in aevum,

si non periret immiserabilis
captiva pubes. 'Signa ego Punicis
adfixa delubris et arma

20 militibus sine caede' dixit

the bravest of the Italian peoples (cf. 2, 20, 18); here joined with the sturdy Apulians (cf. 1, 22, 14), Horace's fellow countrymen. — *anciliorum*: the *ancilia* were among the sacred *pignora imperii*, and were in charge of the *Salii*. See *Cl. Dict.* s.v. *Salii*. — *nominis*: sc. *Romani*. — *togae*: the distinctive dress of the Romans, the *gens togata*.

11 f. *aeternae Vestae*: the ever-burning fire on the hearth of Vesta was symbolical of the permanency of the state. — *incolumi Iove*: i.e. 'while Jove's temple stands.' With the three verses, cf. Florus 2, 21, 3 *patriae, nominis, togae, fascium oblitus* (*Antonius*).

13 ff. *hoc*: emphatic, *it was this very thing*. — *Reguli*: M. Atilius Regulus, consul 256 B.C., was captured by the Carthaginians in Africa in 255 B.C. According to the common tradition he was sent to Rome in 250 B.C. to treat for

peace or to obtain at least an exchange of prisoners, but persuaded the Senate to decline to consider either proposition. Polybius does not refer to this mission, so that the correctness of the tradition has been called into question, but in Cicero's time it had become a favorite commonplace. Cf. Cic. *de Off.* 1, 39; 3, 99; *de Orat.* 3, 109; Livy *per.* 18. — *condicionibus foedis*: i.e. those proposed by the Carthaginians. — *exemplo trahenti*: *a precedent destined to bring*.

17 f. *si non periret*: explaining *exemplo trahenti*. The subj. represents *peribit* of Regulus' speech. For the quantity *perirēt* see Intr. 35. — *signa*: this would recall to the Roman's mind Crassus' standards, still in the hands of the Parthians. — *ego*: 'with my own eyes.' — *militibus sine caede*, etc.; note the ironical contrast, 'soldiers who yielded up their arms — without a struggle.'

‘derepta vidi; vidi ego civium
retorta tergo bracchia libero
portasque non clausas et arva
Marte coli populata nostro.

25 Auro repensus scilicet acrior
miles redibit. Flagitio additis
damnum. Neque amissos colores
lana refert medicata fuco,
nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,
30 curat reponi deterioribus.
Si pugnat extricata densis
cerva plagis, erit ille fortis

21 ff. *vidi; vidi ego*: Intr. 28 b. — *civium*, etc.: *yes, citizens*; ‘free citizens of Rome have given themselves up to become slaves.’ — *libero*: *their free-born*. — *portas*, etc.; ‘the Carthaginians have come to despise us so that they do not take the precaution to close their city gates, and cultivate again the fields our army devastated.’

25 ff. *auro repensus*, etc.: said in deepest scorn — ‘a price forsooth (*scilicet*), will make them better soldiers.’ — *flagitio*, etc.: impatiently disposing of the proposal, — ‘besides suffering the present disgrace you will waste your money.’ Cf. Ps.-Eurip. *Rhes*. 102 αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς αἰσχύνῃ κακόν. — *neque . . . nec*: the simile is stated paratactically in place of the more common *ut . . . ita*. So in Greek, *e.g.* Aesch. *Sept*. 584 f. μητρός τε πληγὴν τίς

κατασβέσει δίκη; | πατρίς τε γαῖα σῆς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς δορὸς | ἀλούσα πῶς σοι ξύμμαχος γενήσεται; ‘What atonement can quench the sin of a mother’s murder? How can thy native land, captured by thy incitement, ever be thy ally again.’ That is — ‘even as . . . , so . . .’ — *colores*: the natural color of the wool (*simplex ille candor*, Quint. 1, 1, 5), lost when the wool is dyed. — *medicata*: a technical expression, containing the same figure as the Greek φαρμάσσειν. Four centuries later Paulin. Nol. C. 17, 23 repeated the phrase, *medicata vellera fuco*.

29 ff. *semel*: *once for all*. — *curat*: with infinitive, as 2, 13, 39 f. *nec curat . . . agitare*. — *deterioribus*: *i.e.* those made so by loss of *vera virtus*. The dative belongs with *reponi*. — *si pugnat*, etc.: an impossible supposition.

35 qui perfidis se credidit hostibus,
et Marte Poenos proteret altero
qui lora restrictis lacertis
sensit iners timuitque mortem.

40 Hic, unde vitam sumeret inscius,
pacem duello miscuit. O pudor!
O magna Carthago, probrosis
altior Italiae ruinis!'

Fertur pudicae coniugis osculum
parvosque natos ut capitis minor
ab se removisse et virilem
torvus humi posuisse voltum,

45 donec labantis consilio patres
firmaret auctor numquam alias dato,

33 ff. *perfidis*: contrasted with *credidit*, and emphasizing the cowardice of the soldier who actually trusted his life to an enemy whose faithlessness was well known. *Punica fides* was proverbial. Cf. also 4, 4, 49 *perfidus Hannibal* and n. — *altero*: a second. — *iners*: predicate, *tamely*.

37 f. *hic*: vividly continuing *ille* of v. 32. — *unde sumeret*: representing the anxious, *unde vitam sumam?* of the coward whose anxiety causes him to forget that he must fight, not bargain, for his life. — *duello*: this archaic form for *bello* is also found 3, 14, 18; 4, 15, 8. — *miscuit*: *has failed to distinguish between*.

40. *ruinis*: instrumental abl. with *altior* — *exalted over the*, etc.

41 ff. *fertur*: *and yet men say*, used to introduce a surprising statement. Cf. 1, 16, 13. This quiet account of Regulus' determination is in marked contrast with the vehement pathos of the preceding strophe. — *ut capitis minor*: *as one deprived of civil rights*, equivalent to the legal (prose) formula *capite deminutus*. The genitive is similar to the genitive in *integer vitae, militiae piger*. Regulus felt that as a captive of the Carthaginians he was no better than a slave, who of course possessed no civil rights, and was therefore unfit to enjoy the privileges of a Roman *pater familias*.

44. *torvus*: *grimly*.

45 ff. *donec . . . firmaret*, etc.: *while he established*; said with ref-

interque maerentis amicos
egregius properaret exsul.

Atqui sciebat quae sibi barbarus
50 tortor pararet : non aliter tamen
dimovit obstantis propinquos
et populum reditus morantem

quam si clientum longa negotia
diiudicata lite relinqueret,
55 tendens Venafranos in agros
aut Lacedaemonium Tarentum.

erence to *removisse*, *posuisse*. — *consilio* : connect with *firmaret*. — *interque* : *and then through the midst of*. — *egregius* : cf. n. to 1, 6, 11. With the oxymoron, cf. 3, 3, 38 f. Notice that two points are brought out in this strophe : Regulus' moral courage in inducing the senate to accept his proposal, and the self-sacrifice which this involved.

49 ff. *atqui* : *and yet*, καὶ τοι. Cf. 1, 23, 9. — *sciebat* : *he knew all the while*. — *non aliter* . . . *quam si* : *as undisturbed* . . . *as if*. — *tortor*, etc. : the tortures to which Regulus was subjected, like the whole story of the embassy, may be inventions of a later time. Cf. n. to v. 13 ff. — *obstantis* : *who tried to hinder him*. — *reditus* : plural for euphony.

53 ff. *longa* : *wearisome*. — *diiudicata lite* : the Roman patronus of the Republic was bound to aid and protect his *clientes* ; whether the suit here is conceived of as one which Regulus decided as arbitra-

tor or one in which he defended his client's interests in court is not clear. — *tendens* : *taking his way*, into the country for rest and refreshment. — *Venafranos agros . . . Tarentum* : cf. 2, 6, 12–16 and nn.

Note the contrast between the earlier part of the ode and this quiet close. The ode is one of Horace's noblest ; its national characteristics are well summed up by Andrew Lang in his *Letters to Dead Authors*, p. 191 f. 'None but a patriot could have sung that ode on Regulus, who died, as our hero died on an evil day, for the honor of Rome, as Gordon for the honor of England. . . . We talk of the Greeks as your teachers. Your teachers they were, but that poem could only have been written by a Roman. The strength, the tenderness, the noble and monumental resolution and resignation — these are the gifts of the lords of human things, the masters of the world.'

6

In the last ode of the series Horace considers the reasons for the degeneracy of the times. These he finds to be the neglect of religion and the growth of immorality that is destroying the family and making each succeeding generation worse than the one which preceded it.

‘The sins of thy fathers shall be visited on thee, Roman, until thou reparaest the ruined temples of the gods and restorest the forgotten faith of an earlier time. Thy power depends on thy humility toward Heaven; it was in punishment for thy indifference that the Parthian, the allied Dacian and Ethiopian almost destroyed our city (1-16). But more dangerous than foreign foes is the flood of immorality that has swept over our state: all modesty and respect for marriage ties are gone; adultery is unabashed (17-32). It was not the offspring of such stock as this that saved the state from foreign foes in earlier days. There is no hope: we are worse than our forbears and our children will be more degenerate than we (33-48).’

By its reference to the loss of military prowess this ode is naturally connected with the preceding. In that, devotion to duty is the ideal; here, purity and simplicity of life, as exhibited by the Sabine stock. The pessimistic close is surprising and shows that the six odes were hardly composed originally to form a series. This ode was probably written soon after 28 B.C., the year in which Octavian, by virtue of his censorial power, tried to enforce ordinances intended to check the evil tendencies of the times. See also n. to v. 2 below. Metre, 68.

Delicta maiorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris

1 ff. *delicta maiorum*: especially the civil wars, 88-31 B.C. — *immeritus*: concessive, ‘although innocent of their sins.’ With the idea, cf. Eurip. *Frg.* 980 τὰ τῶν τεκόντων σφάλματ’ εἰς τοὺς ἐκγόνους | οἱ θεοὶ τρέπουσιν. *Ezek.* 18, 2 ‘The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children’s teeth are set on edge.’ — *Romane*: with this use of the singular, cf. Vergil’s famous line (*A.* 6, 851) *tu*

regere imperio populos, Romane, memento. — *refeceris*: one of Octavian’s first acts after his return from the conquest of Egypt was to rebuild the temples that had fallen into decay. Cf. *Mon. Anc.* 4, 17 *duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sextum (28 B.C.) ex decreto senatus refeci, nullo praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat*; and Suet. *Aug.* 30 *aedes sacras vetustate conlapsas aut in-*

aedisque labentis deorum et
foeda nigro simulacra fumo.

5 Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas :
hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum.
Di multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperiae mala luctuosae.

Iam bis Monaeses et Pacori manus
10 non auspicatos contudit impetus
nostros et adiecisse praedam
torquibus exiguis renidet.

cendio absumptas refecit. — *aedis* : here synonymous with *templa*. — *labentis* : *moldering*. — *foeda* : *defiled*.

5 ff. *quod geris* : *in that thou bearest thyself*; *i.e.* 'thy rule depends on thy humility toward the gods.' Cf. 1, 12, 57 *te minor latum reget aequus orbem*. — *hinc, huc* : *i.e.* the gods. Cf. Verg. *E.* 3. 60 *ab Iove principium*. Also Liv. 45, 39, 10 *maiores vestri omnium magnarum rerum et principia exorsi ab dis sunt et finem eum statuerunt*. — *principium* : for the scansion, cf. Intr. 39. — *di neglecti* : the cause of Rome's defeats and dangers, of which the concrete examples follow. — *Hesperiae* : Italy, cf. 2, 1, 32. — *luctuosae* : *i.e.* for those who have fallen in both civil and foreign wars.

9. *iam bis*, etc. : the Romans had actually suffered three defeats in the east : that of Crassus at Carrhae 53 B.C. ; that of Decidius Saxa by Pacorus in Syria 40 B.C. ;

and that of Antony in Media 36 B.C. As the defeat of Saxa was avenged in 38 B.C. by Ventidius, Horace may refer to the first and third disasters only, but it is needless to demand historical accuracy of a poet in every case. The only Monaeses known to us was a Parthian noble who sought refuge from Phraates IV with Antonius in 37 B.C. ; he afterwards became reconciled to Phraates and deserted Antony.

10 ff. *non auspicatos* : and therefore *infaustos*. We read in Vell. Pater. 2, 46 of Crassus' expedition *proficiscentem in Syriam diris cum ominibus tribuni plebis frustra retinere conati*. — *torquibus* : the necklaces, *στρεπτοί*, which with armlets, *ψέλια*, presented by the king, were the insignia most highly prized by the Persians. Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* 8, 2, 8 ὥσπερ ἔνια (δῶρα) τῶν βασιλέως, ψέλια καὶ στρεπτοὶ καὶ ἵπποι χρυσοχάλινοι. — *exiguis* : in comparison with the rich booty

Paene occupatam seditionibus
delevit urbem Dacus et Aethiops,
15 hic classe formidatus, ille
missilibus melior sagittis.

Fecunda culpa saecula nuptias
primum inquinavere et genus et domos;
hoc fonte derivata clades
20 in patriam populumque fluxit.

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
matura virgo et fingitur artibus,

taken from the Romans. — *renidet* : *beams with delight* ; hence used like *gaudet* (v. 21) with an infinitive.

13 ff. *paene* : with *delevit*. — *seditionibus* ; it is important to remember that there was a strong party in Rome hostile to Octavian, so that the reference is not simply to the struggle between him and Antony, carried on outside of Italy. The point which Horace is emphasizing is that not only had the Romans failed in their attempts against foreign foes, but in the passion of civil strife had almost handed over the city to the mercies of the barbarian Dacian and Egyptian. — *Dacus et Aethiops* : Dacian bowmen served in Antony's land forces, while the Egyptian naval contingent was two hundred ships. That the Romans about this time had a lively fear of an invasion by the Dacians there can be no doubt. Cf. n to 1, 26, 3 f.

17 ff. Horace here turns to a new cause for the state's degeneracy —

the decay of domestic virtue, the growth of immorality. With the following strophes, cf. 3, 24, 19-24 ; 4, 5, 21-24. — *fecunda* : *big with*. — *inquinavere* : Cf. *Epod.* 16, 64.

21 ff. *motus Ionicos* : voluptuous dances introduced from Ionia. *motus* is the technical expression for a mimetic dance. The old-fashioned Romans did not look with favor on dancing, save in connection with worship : custom had, however, somewhat relaxed even in the time of the Gracchi. Macrobius 3, 14, 6 f. has preserved the complaint of Scipio Africanus, who bewailed the fact that boys and girls had come to associate with actors and learn songs and dances which a former generation would have considered disgraceful for a freeborn person to know.

22 ff. *matura* : *i.e. tempestiva viro* 1, 23, 12. 'Even if these dances and airs might be forgiven in a child, they cannot be overlooked in a full-grown maid.' —

iam nunc et incestos amores
 de tenero meditatur ungui;
 25 mox iuniores quaerit adulteros
 inter mariti vina, neque eligit
 cui donet impermissa raptim
 gaudia luminibus remotis,
 sed iussa coram non sine conscio
 30 surgit marito, seu vocat institor
 seu navis Hispanae magister,
 dedecorum pretiosus emptor.
 Non his iuventus orta parentibus
 infecit aequor sanguine Punico,

fingitur artibus: 'she learns artificial coquettish ways.' — iam nunc: *i.e.* while still unmarried; opposed to *mox* v. 25. — de tenero . . . ungui: in imitation of the Greek ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων, 'from the very quick.' Translate, — *to her very finger tips*. Cf. Anth. Pal. 5, 129, 1 ff. τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ὀρχηστρίδα, τὴν κακοτέχνους | σχήμασιν ἐξ ἀπαλῶν κινυμένην ὀνύχων, | αἰνέω . . . 'The dancing girl from Asia, vibrating to her very finger tips in her shameless dancing figures, her I praise.'

25 ff. *mox*: *i.e.* when married. — *iuniores*: *i.e.* than her husband. — *neque eligit*: presently she falls so low that she can no longer choose the recipients of her favors, but must obey the orders of the lowest peddler or ship captain. Note the carefully planned contrasts between *neque eligit* and

iussa, *vocat*; *donet* and *emptor*; *impermissa gaudia* and *dedecorum*; *raptim* and *coram*; *luminibus remotis* and *conscio marito*. — *impermissa*: coined by Horace.

29 ff. *conscio* . . . *marito*: the corruption of the household is so complete that the husband consents to his wife's adulteries. — *institor*: while the peddler belonged to a despised class his trade naturally brought him into contact with the women of the household. Cf. Seneca's warning, *Frg. 52 H. institores gemmarum sericarumque vestium si intromiseris, periculum pudicitiae est.* — *navis* . . . *magister*: also belonging to the lower classes, but like the peddler able to spend money freely (*pretiosus emptor*).

33 ff. *non his*: 'the Romans who made Rome great were sprung from different stock.' — *infecit aequor*,

35 Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit
 Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum,
 sed rusticorum mascula militum
 proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
 versare glaebas et severae
 40 matris ad arbitrium recisos
 portare fustis, sol ubi montium
 mutaret umbras et iuga demeret
 bobus fatigatis, amicum
 tempus agens abeunte curru.

45 Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?
 Aetas parentum, peior avis, tulit

etc.: in the first Punic war, 264–241 B.C., when Rome gained her naval supremacy. — **Pyrrhum**: Pyrrhus was defeated at Beneventum 275 B.C. — **ingentem** . . . **Antiochum**: Antiochus the Great, defeated at Magnesia, 190 B.C. — **dirum**: cf. 4, 4, 42 *dirus Afer*.

38 ff. **Sabellis**: the Sabines were proverbial for purity and uprightness. Cf. Liv. 1, 18, 4 *quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit*. — **versare glaebas et**, etc.: 'when the field work is done, the sturdy youth must still cut and bring in a supply of wood to satisfy (ad arbitrium) his stern mother.'

41 ff. Observe the idyllic note in this description of the evening. Cf. *Epod.* 2, 61 ff. — **sol ubi mutaret**, etc.: 'as the day closes the mountain shadows shift and lengthen.' Cf. Verg. *E.* 1, 83 *maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae*; 2,

66 f. *aspice, aratra iugo referunt suspensa iuvenci, | et sol crescentis decedens duplicat umbras*. — **iuga demeret**, etc.: so Hesiod, *Op.* 580 f. says of the morning, 'Ὡς . . . ἐπὶ ζυγὰ βοῶν τίθησιν. — **mutaret, demeret**: the subjunctives are probably due to the close connection between the relative clauses and the infinitive; they are possibly subjunctives of repeated action, but Horace has everywhere else the indicative with *ubi* in that sense. — **agens abeunte curru**: a slight oxymoron; with the phrase, cf. *Epist.* 1, 16, 6 *sol . . . discedens fugiente curru*.

45 ff. The thought of the contrast between the Romans of an earlier time and those of his own day leads Horace to his hopeless conclusion. — **damnosa**: *damaging*; emphatically expressing the poet's despair. Notice the skillful com-

nos nequiores, mox daturos
progeniem vitiosiore.

pression by which Horace has described the moral decay of four generations in three verses. Aratus, *Phaen.* 123 f. was less successful, οἴην χρυσεῖην πατέρες γενέην ἐλί-

ποντο | χειροτέραν, ὑμεῖς δὲ κακώτερα τεξείεσθε. — *peior avis*: worse than that of our grandparents. — *mox daturos*: destined soon to produce.

7

The unbroken serious strain of the national odes is relieved by these light verses addressed to Asterie, whose lover is kept from home by opposing winds. The names are Greek, but the setting is Roman.

‘Why dost thou weep, Asterie, for thy lover, detained by winter winds across the sea? Be assured that he is faithful, and ever turns a deaf ear to the messages of his love-lorn hostess, who would tempt him to her. Fear not for him, but see that thou remain thyself as true. Yield not to the charms of thy handsome neighbor: do not listen to his serenade.’

There is no indication of the date. Metre, 73.

Quid fles, Asterie, quem tibi candidi
primo restituent vere Favonii
Thyna merce beatum,
constantis iuvenem fide,

5 Gygen? Ille Notis actus ad Oricum
post insana Caprae sidera frigidas
 noctis non sine multis
 insomnis lacrimis agit.

1 ff. *Asterie*: cf. the Greek names Ἀστερίς and Ἀστήρ. Also n. to 3, 9, 21 *sidere pulchrior*. — *candidi*... *Favonii*: the breezes that bring in the bright spring weather. Cf. 1, 4, 1 and n. — *Thyna*: i.e. *Bithyna*; cf. 1, 35, 7. — *beatum*: *enriched*; cf. 1, 4, 14. — *fide*: genitive.

5 ff. *Gygen*: the name is found in Archil. *Frg.* 25 Γύγης ὁ πολύχρυσος. — *ad Oricum*: Gyges is detained at Oricum in Epirus, directly opposite Brundisium. — *Caprae*: this constellation sets about the middle of December, when the stormy winter season begins.

Atqui sollicitae nuntius hospitae,
 10 suspirare Chloen et miseram tuis
 dicens ignibus uri,
 temptat mille vafer modis.

Vt Proetum mulier perfida credulum
 falsis impulerit criminibus nimis
 15 casto Bellerophontae
 maturare necem refert;
 narrat paene datum Pelea Tartaro,
 Magnessam Hippolyten dum fugit abstinens,
 et peccare docentis
 20 fallax historias movet.

Frustra: nam scopulis surdior Icari
 voces audit adhuc integer. At tibi

9 ff. *atqui*: corrective, 'Yet he might console himself, for,' etc. — *sollicitae*: sc. *amore*, *love-lorn*. — *tuis*: *like thine*. Naturally these are not the words of Chloe's messenger to Gyges, but Horace's to Asterie. — *mille vafer modis*: *skilled in countless wiles*.

12 ff. The classical parallels to the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. — *mulier*: Anteia in Homer (*Il.* 6, 160), Stheneboea in tragedy, wife of Proteus, king of Tiryns. — *perfida credulum*: cf. n. to 1, 6, 9. — *maturare necem*: *to bring an untimely death*. — *refert*: *i.e.* the *nuntius* of v. 9.

17 ff. *narrat*: repeating *refert* in sense, and thus connecting the two strophes. Intr. 29. — *datum* . . . *Tartaro*: a variation of the for-

mula leto datus. — *Hippolyte*: wife of Acastus, king of Iolcus. — *abstinens*: *in his sobriety*. — *movet*: *sets a-going*.

21 ff. *frustra*: note the emphatic position, — *yet all in vain*, 'for the threats implied in the stories of Bellerophon and Peleus do not move thy Gyges.' — *scopulis surdior*: cf. Eurip. *Med.* 28 f. ὥς δὲ πέτρος ἢ θαλάσσιος κλύδων ἀκούει νουθετουμένη φίλων, 'But like a rock or billow of the sea she listens to her friends' advice.' Note the oxymoron in *surdior* . . . *audit*. — *Icari*: a rocky island near Samos. — *voces*, etc.: so Vergil says of Aeneas, *A.* 4, 438 f. *sed nullis ille movetur | fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit*. — *at tibi*: in sudden transition; cf. 2, 18, 9. —

ne vicinus Enipeus
plus iusto placeat cave,

25 quamvis non alius flectere equum sciens
aeque conspicitur gramine Martio,
nec quisquam citus aeque
Tusco denatat alveo.

30 Prima nocte domum claude, neque in vias
sub cantu querulae despice tibiae,
et te saepe vocanti
duram difficilis mane.

Enipeus: named after a river in Thessaly; cf. *Hebrus* 3, 12, 2.

25 ff. 'This dangerous rival excels in the athletic sports practiced by young nobles; Gyges is only a trader.' For riding and swimming, cf. 1, 8, 8; 3, 12, 3. — **flectere equum**: in elaborate evolutions. Cf. Ovid *A. A.* 3, 384 *in gyros ire coactus equus*. — **conspicitur**: *is the object of men's eyes*. — **gramine Martio**: *i.e.* on the Campus Martius.

29 ff. Cf. Ovid *Am.* 2, 19, 38 *incipi iam prima claudere nocte*

forem. Also Shylock's warning, *Merchant of Venice* 2, 5 'Hear you me, Jessica: | Lock up my doors; and when you hear the drum | And the vile squealing of the wry-neck'd fife, | Clamber not you up to the casements then | Nor thrust your head into the public street.' — **querulae**: *the plaintive*. — **despice**: literally, *look down*, from an upper story. — **vocanti**: *sc. Enipeo*; the participle is concessive. — **duram**: *cruel*, predicate adjective with *te*. — **difficilis**: *unyielding*.

8

To Maecenas. 'You are puzzled then, my learned friend, over my bachelor's sacrifice on the matrons' Calends. This is the day the tree so nearly killed me; as each year comes round, I'll celebrate the season with a fresh jar of long-stored wine. So drink deep, Maecenas, for thy friend's escape. Let go the cares of state; our border foes are all subdued or vexed by their own quarrels. Become to-day a private citizen; dismiss your serious thoughts, and take what joys the passing hour now offers.'

In this strain Horace invites his patron to celebrate with him the anniversary of his escape from the falling tree (2, 13). The date is shown to be March 1, 29 B.C., by the references in vv. 17-23. Cotiso and the threatening Dacians were subdued in the campaigns of 30-28 B.C.; the news of the struggle between Phraates and Tiridates for the Parthian throne (cf. n. to 1, 26, 5) probably reached Rome in January, 29 B.C. Furthermore, at the time of composition Maecenas was clearly at the head of the state and Octavian absent; but the latter returned to the city in the summer of 29 B.C. All these facts tend to show that the occasion of the ode was March 1 of that year, and since this is evidently the first anniversary, that the date of Horace's escape was March 1, 30 B.C. Metre, 69.

Martiis caelebs quid agam Kalendis,
quid velint flores et acerra turis
plena miraris, positusque carbo in
caespite vivo,

5 docte sermones utriusque linguae?
Voveram dulcis epulas et album
Libero caprum prope funeratus
arboris ictu.

1. **Martiis . . . Kalendis**: the day of the *Matronalia*, a festival shared in by married women only. On this day the matrons carried their offerings to the temple of Juno Lucina on the Esquiline, not far from Maecenas' residence. The festival is called *femineae Kalendae* by Juvenal, 9, 53. Naturally Maecenas would be much puzzled over the preparations of his bachelor (*caelebs*) friend.

2. **velint**: *mean*.

4 f. **caespite vivo**: the material of his improvised altar. Cf. 1, 19, 13.—**docte**: given a bantering emphasis by its position,—*for all thy*

learning.—**sermones**: *the lore, literature*. The accusative depends on **docte**; cf. 3, 9, 10 *dulcis docta modos*.—**utriusque linguae**: Greek and Latin, the two languages of the cultivated Roman. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 89 *in evolvendis utriusque linguae auctoribus*.

6 ff. **voveram**: *i.e.* long ago, before all these preparations. The time is more exactly fixed by the participle.—**epulas**: the regular accompaniment of sacrifice.—**album**: as the sacrifice is to one of the *dii superi*.—**Libero**: the protector of poets. In 2, 17, 28, however, it was Faunus who saved him.

10 Hic dies, anno redeunte festus,
corticem adstrictum pice demovebit
amphorae fumum bibere institutae
consule Tullo.

15 Sume, Maecenas, cyathos amici
sospitis centum, et vigiles lucernas
perfer in lucem ; procul omnis esto
clamor et ira.

20 Mitte civilis super urbe curas :
occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen,
Medus infestus sibi luctuosis
dissidet armis,

9 ff. **anno redeunte** : cf. the Homeric περιπλόμενος ἐνιαυτός, and *S.* 2, 2, 83 *sive diem festum rediens advexerit annus*. For **annus** in the sense of season, cf. *Epod.* 2, 29.—**corticem adstrictum**, etc. : cf. 1, 20, 3 and n.—**fumum bibere** : the *apotheca* was so placed in the upper part of the house that it could receive the smoke from the fire, which according to common belief aided the ripening of the wine. Cf. *Colum.* 1, 6, 20 *quoniam vina celerius vetustescunt, quae fumi quodam tenore praecocem maturitatem trahunt*. For the infinitive, see *Intr.* 107.

12. **consule Tullo** : Horace probably means the Tullus whose consulship fell in 33 B.C., hardly L. Volcacius Tullus, consul 66 B.C. Yet cf. 3, 21, 1, where the vintage is of 65 B.C.

13 ff. **cyathos . . . centum** : pro-

verbial, not literal.—**amici sospitis** : *over the safe escape of*. The genitive of the toast ; cf. 3, 19, 9 f. *da lunae . . . novae, da noctis mediae, da, puer, auguris Murenæ*. Also Antiphan. ap. Athen. 10, 21 ἐγγε-
άμην ἄκρατον | κνάθους θεῶν τε καὶ θεαινῶν μυρίους.—**perfer** : *endure*.—**in lucem** : *i.e.* of the dawn ; the adjective **vigiles**, ‘transferred’ from the subject of **perfer**, emphasizes the exhortation to continue until morning. Cf. the Emperor Gallienus’ words apud Trebell. Poll. 11 *sed vigiles nolite extinguere lychnos*.—**procul . . . esto**, etc. : *i.e.* the revel shall not degenerate into a brawl. Cf. 1, 27, 3 and n.

17 ff. During Octavian’s absence Maecenas was in charge of affairs at Rome.—**super** : colloquial for the more common *de*.—**occidit** : cf. 1, 28, 7 and n.—**Cotisonis, Medus** : cf. introductory n. and nn. to

servit Hispanae vetus hostis orae
Cantaber sera domitus catena,
iam Scythae laxo meditantur arcu
cedere campis.

25 Neglegens ne qua populus laboret,
parce privatus nimium cavere et
dona praesentis cape laetus horae;
linque severa.

1, 26, 5; 3, 6, 14. — **sibi**: with both *infestus* and *luctuosis*. Intr. 100. — **dissidet**: used absolutely; cf. Theog. 763 f. *πίνωμεν χαρίεντα μετ' ἀλλήλοισι λέγοντες, | μηδὲν τὸν Μήδων δειδιότες πόλεμον*.

21 ff. **servit**: *a slave too is*. Cf. *occidit* above. The verses do not tell the whole truth; cf. n. to 2, 6, 2. — **sera**: in the predicate, *though late*; for he has been a *vetus hostis*. — **domitus**: probably with reference to the successes of Statilius Taurus and Calvisius Sabinus; the latter enjoyed a triumph over the Spaniards in 28 B.C. — **Scythae**, etc.: also exaggeration; cf. 2, 9,

23 f. — **laxo** . . . **arcu**: recognizing the folly of further resistance.

25 f. **neglegens**: logically parallel to **parce**, **linque**, *be careless*, followed by **ne** . . . **laboret** because of the anxiety, fear, which it implies. — **parce**: somewhat stronger than the common *noli*. Cf. Verg. *A.* 3, 42 *parce pias scelerare manus*. — **privatus**: also part of the exhortation, — 'become for the nonce a private citizen once more.'

27 f. A favorite maxim repeated in many forms; cf. 1, 9, 13 ff.; 11, 8; 2, 16, 25 ff.; 3, 29, 41 ff.; 4, 12, 25 ff.

9

The Reconciliation. Lydia and her lover have fallen out, but are now ready to return to their former love. The ode dramatically tells the story. In the first strophe the lover's reproaches show his regret and hint that he is willing to be reconciled; Lydia answers in similar fashion, but without helping him on. Then each defiantly boasts of a new sweetheart; but in the last two strophes the lover yields, and proposes a reconciliation, to which Lydia joyfully agrees.

This exquisite ode is the only one of Horace's lyrics in dialogue. The amoebean form is perfectly preserved, not simply in the number of verses employed by each speaker, but in the exact parallelism of

expression as well: Lydia always caps her lover's lines with stronger statements. The verses have been translated and imitated by almost countless writers since Horace's day. The best general comment on the ode is furnished by Terence's line, *Andria*, 555, *amantium irae amoris integratio est*. The date is unknown. Metre, 71.

Donec gratus eram tibi
nec quisquam potior bracchia candidae
cervici iuvenis dabat,
Persarum vigui rege beatior.

5 Donec non alia magis
arsisti neque erat Lydia post Chloen,
multi Lydia nominis,
Romana vigui clarior Ilia.
Me nunc Thressa Chloe regit,
10 dulcis docta modos et citharae sciens,
pro qua non metuam mori,
si parcent animae fata superstiti.
Me torret face mutua
Thurini Calais filius Ornyti,

1 ff. **gratus**: *in favor with*. — **potior**: *preferred*; cf. Tibul. 1, 5, 69 *at tu, qui potior nunc es, mea fata timeto*. — **dabat**: in place of the prose compound *circumdabat*. — **Persarum . . . rege**: proverbial for the height of happiness. Cf. 2, 2, 17. — **vigui**: *flourished*.

5 ff. **alia**: causal abl. with **arsisti**. — **arsisti**: note that this is much stronger than **gratus** of v. 1. The perfect expresses the same time as the imperfect **eram** above. — **post**: *second to*. — **multi Lydia nominis**: *a Lydia of mighty fame*; imitating the Greek adjectives *πολύωνυμος*, *μεγαλώνυμος*. — **Romana**

. . . **Ilia**: mother of Romulus and Remus. Cf. n. to 1, 2, 17.

9 ff. **me**: emphasizing the lover's indifference. — **Thressa Chloe**: this name, like that in v. 14, is chosen for its pleasant sound. — **docta**: *versed in*; cf. *docte sermones*, v. 5 of the preceding ode. — **citharae**: objective gen. with **sciens**. Cf. 1, 15, 24f. *Sthenelus sciens | pugnae*. — **animae**: *my life, i.e. Chloe*. — **superstiti**: proleptic, *and grant that she may live*.

13 ff. **torret**: this word far outbids **regit** of v. 9. — **Thurini**: *of Thurii*, the rich and luxurious city of southern Italy. Lydia's new

15 pro quo bis patiar mori,
 si parcent puero fata superstiti.
 Quid si prisca redit Venus,
 diductosque iugo cogit aeneo,
 si flava excutitur Chloe,
 20 reiectaeque patet ianua Lydiae?
 Quamquam sidere pulchrior
 ille est, tu levior cortice et improbo
 iracundior Hadria,
 tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens.

lover is far superior in birth and fortune to Thracian Chloe.—bis patiar: again capping *non metuam* v. 11.

17 ff. redit: the present is colloquially used. — diductos: (*us*) *who are now separated*. — iugo . . . aeneo: cf. 1, 33, 11. — flava: *fair-haired*. — excutitur: *i.e.* from her rule over me. — Lydiae: dative.

21 ff. Lydia teases her lover with a comparison unfavorable to him before she yields, and so has the last word in reproaches.—sidere pulchrior: cf. 3, 19, 26 *puro similem Vespero*. The comparison is very old; so Astyanax is said to be, *Il.* 6, 401 ἀλίκιον ἀστέρι καλῶ.—levior: and so more fickle.—iracundior Hadria: cf. 1, 33, 15.—libens: *gladly*.

IO

A παρακλαυσίθυρον, a lover's pleadings before his mistress' house, which is closed against him. Cf. 1, 25, 7 ff. Metre, 72.

Extremum Tanain si biberes, Lyce,
 saevo nupta viro, me tamen asperas

1 ff. **extremum**: *remotest*; cf. 2, 18, 4 *ultima Africa*. — si biberes: *i.e.* 'were dwelling by the Don.' Cf. 2, 20, 20 *Rodani potor*; and 4, 15, 21 *qui profundum Danuvium bibunt*. — saevo: the adjective be-

longs to the supposition, and marks the contrast with the actual fact (v. 15). For the supposed virtues of the Sarmatian nomads, see 3, 24, 19 f. — asperas: *cruel*; cf. *Epod.* 11, 21 *non amicos postis*.

porrectum ante foris obicere incolis
plorares Aquilonibus.

5 Audis quo strepitu ianua, quo nemus
inter pulchra satum tecta remugiat
ventis, et positus ut glaciet nivis
puro numine Iuppiter?

10 Ingratam Veneri pone superbiam,
ne currente retro funis eat rota:
non te Penelopen difficilem procis
Tyrrhenus genuit parens.

O quamvis neque te munera nec preces
nec tinctus viola pallor amantium

3 f. *porrectum*: *outstretched*. — *obicere*: object of *plorares*. — *incolis*: *native to that region*.

5 ff. The lover continues his appeal to Lyce's pity. — *nemus inter pulchra*, etc.: the second court, *peristylum*, in the houses of the rich was often large enough to contain trees. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 10, 22 *nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas*. — *ventis*: abl. of cause. — *ut*, etc.: the question belongs by zeugma to *audis*, the exact force of which has been lost by distance. — *puro numine*: *in cloudless majesty* (Smith). Cf. 1, 34, 7. — *Iuppiter*: as god of the sky. Cf. n. to 1, 1, 25.

11 ff. *ne currente*, etc.: *lest the rope slip from thee as the wheel runs back*; i.e. thy present haughty virtue is sure to break. The figure

is that of a wheel, possibly a windlass, which suddenly flies backward, carrying the rope with it. — *retro*: with both *currente* and *eat*. Intr. 100. — *non te*, etc.: with the order and expression, cf. Verg. *A.* 4, 227 f. *non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem | promisit*. — *difficilem*: *unyielding*; cf. 3, 7, 32. — *Tyrrhenus*: far from being a stern Sarmatian, Lyce is of Etruscan birth; and the effeminacy and vices of the Etruscans were notorious.

13 ff. *quamvis*, etc.: the indic. is not common until later. — *tinctus viola pallor*: the lover's proper color according to Ovid *A. A.* 1, 729 *palleat omnis amans; hic est color aptus amanti*. The yellow, not the purple, violet is meant. — *paelice*: abl. of cause. — *saucius*: this bears the emphasis, 'thy hus-

15 nec vir Pieria paelice saucius
 curvat, supplicibus tuis
 parcas, nec rigida mollior aesculo
 nec Mauris animum mitior anguibus :
 non hoc semper erit liminis aut aquae
 20 caelestis patiens latus.

band's infatuation for.' With this use of the adjective, cf. 1, 14, 5. —*curvat*: equivalent to *incurvat*, *flectit*, ἐπιγνάμπτει. — *supplicibus tuis parcas*: in irony, as if Lyce were some goddess at whose shrine her lovers pray.

18 ff. *Mauris* . . . *anguibus*: proverbially savage. — *non hoc*, etc.: the threat with which Horace

closes is comic, like that in *Epod.* 11, 15–18, where he vows that if Inachia persists in smiling on his rich rival, he will give her up to him.

19 ff. *hoc*: i.e. *meum*; cf. Greek ὅδε, οὗτος. — *aquae caelestis*: from which he has suffered on other occasions (cf. v. 8). — *latus*: equivalent to *corpus*; cf. 2, 7. 18.

I I

'Mercury and my lyre, on you I call to raise a strain of music which shall make stubborn Lyde listen—for Lyde is as shy as an unbroken filly, and has no thought of love and wedlock (1–12). But thou, my lyre, canst charm wild beasts, the woods and rivers; aye, Cerberus gave up his fierceness before thee; even Ixion and Tityos smiled, forgetful of their pain; and Danaus' cruel daughters had respite from their endless toil (13–24). Ah! that is the tale to which Lyde must listen, that she may learn how punishment, though sometimes late, overtakes wrongdoers even in Hades. And I will sing of that sister, alone worthy of the marriage torch, who won eternal fame by her noble falsehood to her father, for she saved her husband's life, and feared not to pay forfeit for it with her own' (25–52).

The ode is arranged with no slight skill: the invocation of the lyre, and the celebration of the power of music in the first six strophes are merely a setting for the real theme, which seems first suggested by the apparently chance mention of the Danaids in v. 22 ff. From this point Lyde is forgotten, and the application of the rest of the ode is left to the reader's imagination. The Romans were familiar with the story of the

daughters of Danaus, who, compelled to marry their cousins, Aegyptus' fifty sons, were forced by their father to promise to kill their husbands on their wedding night, — a crime for which they suffered eternal punishment. They had a constant reminder of the myth in the statues of Danaus and his daughters, which occupied the intercolumnary spaces of the portico to the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. Cf. introductory n. to 1, 31; Prop. 3, 29, 3; Ovid *Trist.* 3, 1, 61. The story is essentially narrative, and proper for epic treatment, but Horace wisely selected for his lyric form a single part of the myth — the story of Lycneus and Hypermestra, and from this chose the dramatic moment when Hypermestra rouses her husband and bids him flee for his life. The same good taste is shown in his treatment of the story of Europa 3, 27; but both odes are in marked contrast to 1, 15. Ovid followed Horace in handling of the theme in his *Heroides* 14. The treatment there should be carefully compared with this. Metre, 69.

Mercuri, nam te docilis magistro
movit Amphion lapides canendo,
tuque testudo, resonare septem
callida nervis,

5 nec loquax olim neque grata, nunc et
divitum mensis et amica templis,
dic modos Lyde quibus obstinatas
adplicet auris,

1 ff. **nam**: giving the reason for the invocation. — **docilis**: equivalent to *doctus*; cf. 1, 24, 9 *flebilis* equivalent to *fletus*. — **Amphion**: the mythical singer to whose music the walls of Thebes rose. Cf. *Epist.* 2, 3, 394 ff. *dictus et Amphion, Thebanæ conditor urbis, | saxa movere sono testudinis et prece blanda | ducere, quo vellet*. — **resonare**: dependent on **callida**. — **septem...nervis**: the lyre is called by Pindar *N.* 5, 24. φόρμιγξ ἐπτάγλωσσος.

5 ff. **loquax**: *vocal*. Sappho calls to her lyre *Frg.* 45 ἄγε δὴ χέλνυ δῖά μοι | φωνάεσσα γένοιο. — **et**: used only here and 4, 13, 6 at the end of the verse without elision of the last syllable of the preceding word. — **mensis amica**, etc.: cf. *Od.* 8, 99 φόρμιγγός θ', ἣ δαιτὶ συνήορός ἐστι θαλείη, and 17, 270 ἐν δέ τε φόρμιγξ ἠπύει, ἣν ἄρα δαιτὶ θεοὶ ποίησαν ἐταίρην. Also 1, 22, 13 f. — **dic modos**: cf. 1, 32, 3. — **obstinatas**: *stubborn*.

10 quae velut latis equa trima campis
ludit exsultim metuitque tangi,
nuptiarum expers et adhuc protervo
cruda marito.

15 Tu potes tigris comitesque silvas
ducere et rivos celeris morari;
cessit immanis tibi blandienti
ianitor aulae

20 Cerberus, quamvis furiale centum
muniant angues caput eius atque
spiritus taeter saniesque manet
ore trilingui;

9ff. For the comparison of a girl to a colt or heifer, cf. 1, 23, 1; 2, 5, 6. Also Anacr. *Frg.* 75 πῶλε Θρηκίη, τί δή με λοξὸν ὄμμασιν βλέπουσα | νηλεῶς φεύγεις, δοκέεις δέ μ' οὐδὲν εἶδέναι σοφόν; | . . . νῦν δὲ λειμῶνάς τε βόσκειαι κοῦφά τε σκιρτῶσα παίζεις, 'Thracian filly, why now dost thou look distrustfully at me and flee without pity? Deemest thou me a witless fellow? Now thou grazest on the meadows and sportest, lightly gamboling.'

—trima: as yet unbroken, for colts were broken in their fourth year. Verg. *G.* 3, 190.—tangi: cf. 2, 2, 7 and n.—cruda: not yet *matura*; cf. Stat. *Th.* 7, 298 f. *expertem thalami crudumque maritis* | *ignibus*.

13 ff. The power of the lyre. Cf. the similar passage 1, 12, 9ff. and n.

—comites: *in thy train*; predicate with both tigris and silvas. For the position of -que, see Intr. 31.—cessit: *gave way* before thy charms (blandienti). The reference is to the visit of Orpheus to Hades to bring back Eurydice. The story is told Verg. *G.* 4, 457 ff.; Ovid *Met.* 10, 8 ff.—immanis: with aulae.—blandienti: cf. 1, 12, 11; 24, 13.

17 ff. furiale: *fury-like*.—eius: some critics would reject this strophe as prosaic, and especially because eius here adds nothing to the sense. These are insufficient reasons for rejection, for Horace did not always maintain the highest level in his verse.—spiritus: belonging by a zeugma to manet.—manet: *drops from*.—ore trilingui: Cerberus is three-headed in 2, 19, 31 also, but hundred-headed 2, 13, 34.

quin et Ixion Tityosque voltu
 risit invito ; stetit urna paulum
 sicca, dum grato Danai puellas
 carmine mulces.

25 Audiatur Lyde scelus atque notas
 virginum poenas et inane lymphae
 dolium fundo pereuntis imo,
 seraque fata

 quae manent culpas etiam sub Orco.
 30 Impiae (nam quid potuere maius ?),
 impiae sponso potuere duro
 perdere ferro.

Una de multis face nuptiali
 digna periurum fuit in parentem

21 ff. **quin et** : cf. n. to 1, 10, 13.
 —**voltu . . . invito** : *i.e.* in spite
 of their pain. Ovid expands the
 scene *Met.* 10, 41 ff. *exsanguis*
flebant animae : nec Tantalus
undam | captavit refugam, stu-
puitque Ixionis orbis, | nec carp-
sere iecur volucres, urnisque va-
carunt | Belides, inque tuo sedisti,
Sisyphus, saxo. | Tunc primum
lacrimis victarum carmine fama
est | Eumenidum maduisse ge-
nas. — **stetit urna**, etc. : thus
 Horace apparently chances on
 his theme.

25 f. **audiat** : the asyndeton is
 effective, — *yes, Lyde shall hear*,
 etc. — **notas** : with **scelus** as well as
poenas. — **lymphae** : with **inane**.
 For the order of words, see Intr. 21.

28 f. **sera** : concessive, *though*
late. — **culpas** : Lyde's sin is her fail-
 ure to love.

30 f. **impiae . . . impiae** : Intr.
 28 c. — **potuere** : first of physical,
 secondly of moral courage — the
 Greek *ἐτλησαν*, *had the heart to*.
 — **duro . . . ferro** : the Homeric *νηλέι*
χαλκῷ.

Notice that Horace disposes of
 the general features of the story
 thus briefly, and quickly passes to
 his special theme.

33 f. **una de multis** : only Hy-
 permestra of all the fifty failed to
 execute her father's orders. — **per-**
iurum : because by betrothing his
 daughters to Aegyptus' sons he
 had pledged himself to do them
 no harm.

- 35 splendide mendax et in omne virgo
nobilis aevum ;
- ‘ Surge ’ quae dixit iuveni marito,
‘ surge, ne longus tibi somnus, unde
non times, detur ; socerum et scelestas
40 falle sorores,
- quae, velut nanctae vitulos leaenae,
singulos eheu lacerant. Ego illis
mollior nec te feriam neque intra
claustra tenebo :
- 45 me pater saevis oneret catenis,
quod viro clemens misero peperci ;

35. **splendide mendax**: a striking oxymoron ; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 4, 50 *egregio mendacio*. St. Ambrose uses the phrase *o beatum mendacium*. Cf. also Tennyson’s ‘ His honour rooted in dishonour stood, | And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true.’

37 ff. **surge**, etc.: cf. Ovid *Her.* 14, 73 f. *surge age, Belide, de tot modo fratribus unus | nox tibi, ni properas, ista perennis erit*. Ausonius too, *Ephem.* 1, 17 ff., imitated Horace, *surge nugator lacerande virgis ; | surge, ne longus tibi somnus, unde | non times, detur : rape membra molli, | Parmeno, lecto*. — **longus**: shown by the context here, as in 2, 14, 19 and 4, 9, 27, to be equivalent to *aeternus*. — **unde**: the antecedent is made clear by the following *socerum et*, etc.

40. **falle**: λάθε, *elude*. Cf. 1, 10, 16, and *Epist.* 1, 5, 31 *postico falle*

clientem. — **sorores**: *cousins*. Cf. Ovid *Her.* 14, 123 where Hypermetra says *si qua piaae, Lycneu, tibi cura sororis*.

41 ff. The comparison and the thing compared are here confused, as often by Horace: **singulos** designates the sons of Aegyptus, while **lacerant** belongs properly only to **leaenae**. ‘ Each destroys her husband, alas, as lionesses rend the bullocks they have made their prey.’ The figure is Homeric, cf. *Il.* 5, 161 f. ὡς δὲ λέων ἐν βουσι θορῶν ἐξ αὐχένα ἄξει | πόρτιος ἢ βόός. With the statement, cf. Hypermetra’s words, Ovid. *Her.* 14, 35 f. *circum me gemitus morientum audire videbar ; | et tamen audibam, quodque verebar, erat*.

44. **tenebo**: for the more common compound *retinebo*.

45 f. **me**: in contrast with *te* — ‘ thou shalt suffer no harm, and as

me vel extremos Numidarum in agros
classe releget.

50 I pedes quo te rapiunt et auræ,
dum favet nox et Venus, i secundo
omine et nostri memorem sepulcro
sculpe querellam.'

for me, let my father do his worst.' — *oneret catenis*: Ovid makes her write, *Her.* 14, 3 *clausa domo teneor gravibusque coercita vinclis*. — *clemens misero*: effective juxtaposition; cf. 1, 5, 9; 2, 4, 6.

47. *extremos*: cf. 3, 10, 1.

49 f. *i...i*: the anaphora marks her eagerness. — *pedes . . . auræ*: all inclusive, 'wherever on land and sea.' — *Venus*: it was she who prompted her to save her husband. In Aeschylus' lost *Danaids* (*Frg.* 44) it was Aphrodite who saved Hypermestra from condemnation.

51 ff. *nostri*: of me, dependent on

memorem. — *sepulcro*: for the case, see Intr. 95. — *sculpe querellam*: in Ovid *Her.* 14, 128 ff. Hypermestra suggests her own epitaph, *sculptaque sint titulo nostra sepulchra brevi*: | '*Exul Hypermestra, pretium pietatis iniquum, | quam mortem fratri depulit, ipsa tulit*.' In Trajan's reign a woman touring in Egypt scratched this reminiscence of Horace's words on the pyramid at Gizeh, CIL. 3, 21, *Vidi pyramidas sine te, dulcissime frater, | et tibi quod potui, lacrimas hic maesta profudi | et nostri memorem luctus hanc sculpo querellam*.

12

Neobule, love-sick for her Hebrus, complains that she cannot give free rein to her love or wash away its pain in deep draughts of wine. All interest in her spinning is taken from her by the thought of the beauty of her lover, who excels as swimmer, horseman, boxer, runner, and hunter.

There has been some discussion among critics as to the nature of this ode, but it is best regarded as a monologue. It is the only experiment in pure Ionic measure that Horace has left us, and is an imitation of verses by Alcaeus, of which the opening line is preserved (*Frg.* 59) *ἔμε δείλαν, ἔμε πασᾶν κακοτατῶν πεδέχουσιν*. The details, however, as usual, are Roman. Metre, 83.

Miserarum est neque amori dare ludum neque dolci
mala vino lavere, aut exanimari metuentis
patruae verbera linguae.

2 Tibi qualum Cythereae puer ales, tibi telas
operosaeque Minervae studium aufert, Neobule,
Liparaei nitor Hebri,

3 simul unctos Tiberinis umeros lavit in undis,
eques ipso melior Bellerophonte, neque pugno
neque segni pede victus;

1. **miserarum est**, etc. : contrasting the narrow lot of girls with the freedom of young men. — **dare ludum** : give free rein to. Cf. Cic. *pro Cael.* 28 *datur ludus aetati*. — **lavere** : wash away. — **aut** : or else. Cf. 3, 24, 24 *et peccare nefas aut* ('or if one sin') *pretium est mori*. — **metuentis** : the accusative is natural following **exanimari**, but indicates the same unhappy girls as **miserarum**. — **patruae**, etc. : the uncle was proverbially harsh ; cf. *S.* 2, 3, 88 *ne sis patruus mihi*. — **verbera** : the scourgings.

2. Cf. Sappho *Frg.* 90 γλύκεια μάτερ οὔτοι δύναμαι κρέκην τὸν ἴστον | πόθῳ δάμεισα παῖδος βραδίναν δι' Ἀφρόδιταν, 'Mother dear, I cannot mind my loom, for through soft Aphrodite's will, I am overcome with longing for that child,' and Landor's imitation, 'Mother, I cannot mind my wheel, | My fingers ache, my lips are dry.' Also Seneca *Phaed.* 103 f. *Palladis telae vacant et inter ipsas pensa labuntur manus*.

— **tibi** : in self-address, as Catul. 51, 13 *otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est*. — **qualum** : wool basket ; with this **aufert** has its literal sense. — **operosae Minervae** : Ἀθηνᾶ ἐργάνη, the goddess of household industries, especially of spinning and weaving. — **Neobule** : the name seems to have been taken from Archilochus ; *Frg.* 73 is supposed to have been written after the poet has lost his love, ἡμβλακον, καὶ πού τιν' ἄλλον ἢδ' ἄτη κιχήσατο. — **Liparaei** : of *Lipara* ; the epithet simply individualizes. Cf. *Opuntiae Megillae* 1, 27, 10 ; also n. to 1, 1, 13. — **nitor** : brilliant beauty, as 1, 19, 5.

3. **simul . . . lavit** : connected closely with **nitor**. For the custom of swimming in the Tiber, cf. 1, 8, 8 and n. ; 3, 7, 27 f. Also Ovid *Trist.* 3, 12, 21 *nunc ubi perfusa est oleo labente iuventus | defessos artus virgine tinguit aqua*. — **Bellerophontē** : abl. from nom. *Bellerophontes* ; cf. 3, 7, 15. — **segni** : with both **pugno** and **pede**.

- 4 catus idem per apertum fugientis agitato
 grege cervos iaculari et celer arto latitantem
 fruticeto excipere aprum.

4. **catus**: cf. 1, 10, 3 and n. —
apertum: substantive, *the open*.
 — **agitato grege**: with **fugientis**.
 — **arto latitantem fruticeto**, etc.:
 as in *Od.* 19, 439 ἔνθα δ' ἄρ' ἐν

λόχμῃ πυκινῇ κατέκειτο μέγας σῦς.
 Cf. *Il.* 11, 415 ὁ δέ τ' εἶσι (*i.e.* ὁ
 κάπριος) βαθείης ἐκ ξυλόχοιο. —
excipere: *to catch*.

13

To the spring Bandusia. These exquisite verses may have been occasioned by the festival of springs, the *Fontinalia*, which fell on October 13; but the situation of the spring thus immortalized — if indeed it ever existed outside Horace's fancy — is wholly unknown. A document of 1103 A.D. mentions a *fons Bandusinus* near Venusia, but it is very probable that this is an identification of the Middle Ages rather than an ancient name. Bandusia seems to be a corruption of Πανδοσία, and may have been given by Horace to the large spring on his Sabine farm, *fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus*, *Epist.* 1, 16, 12. We need be little concerned, however, with the situation, for the verses are sufficient in themselves. Metre, 73.

O fons Bandusiae, splendidior vitro,
 dulci digne mero non sine floribus,
 cras donaberis haedo,
 cui frons turgida cornibus

- 5 primis et venerem et proelia destinat;
 frustra: nam gelidos inficiet tibi

1 f. **vitro**: *crystal*. Cf. *Apul. Met.* 1, 19 *fluvius ibat argento vel vitro aemulus in colorem*. — **dulci digne**, etc.: note the effective alliteration and assonance here and elsewhere in the poem. The wine was poured and garlands thrown into the spring; cf. *Varro L. L.*

6, 22 (*Fontanalibus*) *et in fontes coronas iaciunt et puteos coronant*.

6 ff. **frustra**: the knell, *all in vain*. Cf. 3, 7, 21. — **gelidos**: *cool* (and clear), contrasted with **rubro**, *red* (and warm). — **inficiet**: *stain*. — **lascivi**: *sportive*.

rubro sanguine rivos,
lascivi suboles gregis.

10 Te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculae
nescit tangere, tu frigus amabile
fessis vomere tauris
15 praebes et pecori vago.

Fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,
me dicente cavis impositam ilicem
15 saxis unde loquaces
lympphae desiliunt tuae.

9 ff. te . . . tu: Intr. 28 c. —
hora: *season*; the 'dog days' of
September. Cf. 1, 17, 17. —
nescit: stronger than a colorless
nequit. — frigus, etc.: the bullocks
rest at midday, when cool draughts
are most welcome.

13 ff. *fies nobilium*, etc.: *i.e.*
the fountains celebrated in song,
Castalia, Dirce, Hippocrene, etc.
The prophecy has been fulfilled.

— me dicente: *from my song of*.
— impositam: *perched upon*. —
loquaces *lympphae desiliunt*: the
Anacreontic *λάλον ὕδωρ*. The
'prattle' of these words Words-
worth reproduced by inserting a
letter, 'Or when the prattle of
of Blandusia's spring | Haunted
his ear, he only listening.' Cf.
Epod. 16, 48 *levis crepante lymppha
desilit pede*.

14

The following ode was written in honor of Augustus' return to Rome in the spring of 24 B.C. after an absence in the West of nearly three years.

'Our Caesar, a second Hercules, comes home victorious from the Spanish shore. His faithful consort, his sister, all ye matrons with your children, should give thanks to the gods. For me this day puts all care to flight: so long as Caesar rules I have no fear of civil strife and violence. So, boy, bring unguent, flowers, and good old wine, that I may celebrate this festival. Fetch Neaera, too; yet if the surly porter hinders you — well, never mind; my hair is gray. When I was a hot-headed youth, I would not have stood it.'

While the first three strophes are somewhat stiff and formal, there can be no doubt that Horace's welcome was sincere and that the fourth strophe gives the basis of the poet's gratitude — the sense of security and peace under Augustus' rule. The light verses of the last three strophes simply expand *eximet curas* of v. 14 and show Horace's light-heartedness. Metre, 69.

Herculis ritu modo dictus, o plebs,
morte venalem petiisse laurum
Caesar Hispana repetit penatis
victor ab ora.

5

Vnico gaudens mulier marito
prodeat, iustis operata divis,
et soror clari ducis et decorae
supplice vitta

1. **Herculis**: Augustus was frequently compared with Hercules; cf. 3, 3, 9; 4, 5, 36; Verg. *A.* 6, 802. The points of resemblance here are the danger of the undertaking and the victorious return — note the emphatic position of **victor** (v. 4). — **ritu**: *like, after the fashion of*. Cf. 3, 29, 34 *fluminis ritu*, 'like a river'; and 3, 1, 45 f. — **modo dictus**: in the winter of 25–24 B.C. Augustus had been sick at Tarraco (Dio Cass. 53, 25), so that fears for his recovery may well have been entertained in Rome. — **plebs**: *ye people*; used here like *populus* in general addresses to the mass of the people, not restricted to the lowest class. Cf. 2, 2, 18.

2 ff. **morte venalem**, etc.: *which men buy with death*. Cf. Quint. 9, 3, 71 *emit morte immortalitatem*;

Aeschin. *in Ctes.* 160 αἵματός ἐστιν ἡ ἀπερὴ ὀνία. — **petiisse**: *sought to win*. Note the play with **repetit**. — **Hispana . . . ora**: the north-western coast of Spain. Cf. 3, 8, 21 and n.

5 f. **unico**: *her one dear*; cf. 2, 18, 14 *unicis Sabinis*. The word implies that her husband is the one source of all her happiness. — **mulier**: *Livia*. — **prodeat**: *i.e.* before the people to join with them in thanksgiving to the gods. — **operata**: in technical sense like *facere*, *πέζειν*, to sacrifice; cf. Verg. *G.* 1, 339 *sacra refer Cereri laetis operatus in herbis*. — **divis**: called *iustis* because, as Porphyrio says, they have granted Augustus victory and a safe return as he deserved.

7 ff. **soror**: Octavia. — **supplice vitta**: in place of the simple one

10 virginum matres iuvenumque nuper
sospitum ; vos, o pueri et puellae
non virum expertae, male ominatis
parcite verbis.

15 Hic dies vere mihi festus atras
eximet curas : ego nec tumultum
nec mori per vim metuam tenente
Caesare terras.

20 I, pete unguentum, puer, et coronas
et cadum Marsi memorem duelli,
Spartacum si qua potuit vagantem
fallere testa.

ordinarily worn. Augustus had declined the triumph which the senate proposed for his return, but there was probably a *supplicatio* in its stead. — *virginum* : the brides of the iuvenum. For this meaning of *virgo*, cf. 2, 8, 23. — *nuper sospitum* : *just now returned in safety*.

10 ff. *vos* : the last of the three classes here distinguished — the matrons, the young soldiers with their brides, and the unwedded boys and girls. — *non virum expertae* : *i.e. nondum nuptae*. — *male ominatis* : the hiatus is harsh, and can only be explained on the supposition that the two words were regarded as expressing a single idea. But the text of this entire line is very much in dispute. — *parcite verbis* : cf. *Epod.* 17, 6. The meaning is the same as 3. 1. 2 *favete linguis*.

13 ff. *vere* : modifying *festus*. — *curas* : *i.e.* for the welfare of Caesar and the state. — *tumultum* : *civil strife* ; cf. 4, 4, 47 and n. — *mori per vim* : *violent death*. — *tenente Caesare* : temporal, *so long as*, etc. With this expression of confidence, cf. 4, 15, 17–20.

17 f. The requirements for his revel. Cf. 2, 3, 13–16; 11, 17; and *Anacreont.* 50, 10 f. *βάλ' ὕδωρ, δὸς οἶνον, ὦ παῖ, | τὴν ψυχὴν μου κάρωσον*, 'Throw in water, give me wine, boy; dull my senses.' — *Marsi memorem duelli* : *i.e.* the Social War, 90–88 B.C. Cf. *Iuv.* 5, 31 *calcatamque tenet bellis socialibus uvam*.

19. The roving bands of gladiators under the lead of Spartacus harassed Italy 73–71 B.C. — *si quā* : *if by any chance*.

Dic et argutae properet Neaerae
 murreum nodo cohibere crinem;
 si per invisum mora ianitorem
 fiet, abito.

25 Lenit albescens animos capillus
 litium et rixae cupidos protervae;
 non ego hoc ferrem calidus iuventa
 consule Planco.

21. With this summons of the music girl, cf. 2, 11, 21 ff. — dic . . . properet: *tell Neaera to hurry*. For the construction, cf. 2, 11, 22 f. — argutae: *λεγέα*, *clear-voiced*; cf. 4, 6, 25 *argutae Thaliae*. — murreum: *chestnut*. — nodo: *i.e.* in simple coiffure. — ianitorem: at the door of the apartment-building (*insula*) in which Neaera lives; he is called *invisum*, *churlish*, for refusing admittance to such messengers as Horace sends.

25 ff. lenit albescens, etc.: Horace is now forty-one, but gray

before his time; so he describes himself, *Epist.* 1, 20, 24 f. *corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum, | irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem*. With the sentiment, cf. *Epist.* 2, 2, 211 *lenior et melior fis accedente senecta*. — iuventa: ablative. — consule Planco: 42 B.C., the year of Philippi. Eighteen years had cooled his ardor for amours as well as for political lost causes. The reminiscences here and in vv. 18 and 19 are intentional, calling up the contrast between those troubled times and the present peace.

15

This ode is similar in subject to 1, 25; *Epod.* 5 and 8. Chloris, the shameless wife of Ibycus, wishes in spite of her years to rival her own daughter. Metre, 71.

Vxor pauperis Ibyci,
 tandem nequitiae fige modum tuae

1 ff. uxor pauperis: her husband's poverty she makes an excuse for her infidelity. — tandem: impatiently — 'your day is long

since past.' — fige: stronger than the common *pone*; cf. 1, 16, 3. — famosus laboribus: 'wool-working (v.13) would be more fitting for you.'

famosisque laboribus ;
 maturo propior desine funeri
 5 inter ludere virgines
 et stellis nebulam spargere candidis.
 Non, si quid Pholoen satis,
 et te, Chlorig, decet : filia rectius
 expugnat iuvenum domos,
 10 pulso Thyias uti concita tympano.
 Illam cogit amor Nothi
 lascivae similem ludere capreae :
 te lanae prope nobilem
 tonsae Luceriam, non citharae decent
 15 nec flos purpureus rosae
 nec poti vetulam faece tenus cadi.

4 ff. **maturo** : *i.e.* for which you are old enough ; your death would not be premature. — **propior** : ‘now you are so near.’ — **ludere** : παίξεν, *to wanton*. — **nebulam spargere** : *i.e.* ‘to obscure.’

7 ff. **satis** : sc. *deceat*. ‘Phloe is young, but you — !’ — **expugnat** : may possibly be taken literally. Cf. Seneca. *Praef. ad N. Q.* 4, 6 *Crispus Passienus, saepe dicebat adulationibus nos non claudere ostium, sed aperire, et quidem sic, ut amicae opponi solet, quae si impulit, grata est, gratior, si effregit.* — **Thyias** : cf. n. to 2, 19, 9. — **tympano** : used in the orgiastic worship of Bacchus ; cf. 1, 18, 14.

11. **illam** : *i.e.* the daughter, Phloe. — **Nothi** : the name is known from inscriptions. Possibly chosen here as befitting the subject of the verses.

13 ff. **lanae** : nominative. Spinning was particularly the work of old women. Cf. Tibul. 1, 6, 77 f. *victa senecta | ducit inops tremula stamina torta manu.* — **nobilem** . . . **Luceriam** : Apulian wool was famous for its excellence. — **non citharae**, etc. : ‘It is not for you to play the music girl at revels.’ — **poti** : passive. — **vetulam** : effectively reserved to this point. — **faece tenus** : cf. 1, 35, 27 *cadis cum faece siccatis*.

16

'Danae's lot, the ruin of Amphiraus' house, the overthrow of cities and defeat of rival princes by the Macedonian's bribes, all show the power of gold to harm (1-16). And gains when made but feed the greed for more. I have done well, Maecenas, to follow thy example, and to shun a high estate. The more each man denies himself, the more the gods bestow. My small farm with its clear stream, its little wood, and faithful crop, makes me more fortunate than the lord of fertile Africa, though he know it not (17-32). I have no luxuries, that is quite true; yet I escape the pangs of poverty. And thou wouldst give me more if I should wish. No, no; increase of income I shall best attain by lessening my desires. Happy is that man on whom God has bestowed little and enough (33-44).'

This ode thus treats Horace's favorite theme: the powerlessness of wealth to secure happiness, the value of a spirit content with little. It should be compared with 2, 2, and 16, and for Horace's personal desires with 1, 31; 2, 18. There is no indication of the date of composition. Metre, 72.

Inclusam Danaen turris aenea
robustaeque fores et vigilum canum
tristes excubiae munierant satis
nocturnis ab adulteris,

5 si non Acrisium, virginis abditae
 custodem pavidum, Iuppiter et Venus

1. This cynical interpretation of the myth by which the golden shower in which Jupiter descended is made a bribe, is also found in Ovid *Am.* 3, 8, 29 ff. *Iuppiter, admonitus nihil est potentius auro, | corruptae pretium virginis ipse fuit*, etc. It occurs frequently in later writers, e.g. Petron. 137 B., *Anth. Pal.* 5, 216. — *inclusam*: the position emphasizes the fact of her

imprisonment and its futility. — *turris aenea*: cf. 3, 3, 65.

2 ff. *robustae*: *oaken*; cf. 1, 3, 9. — *tristes excubiae*, *grim guard*. — *munierant*: cf. n. to 2, 17, 28. — *adulteris*: cf. 1, 33, 9.

6 ff. *pavidum*: for Acrisius had heard from an oracle that he was destined to die by the hand of his daughter's child. — *Venus*: naturally Jove's accomplice in this mat-

risissent : fore enim tutum iter et patens
converso in pretium deo.

Aurum per medios ire satellites
et perrumpere amat saxa potentius
ictu fulmineo ; concidit auguris
Argivi domus, ob lucrum

demersa exitio ; diffidit urbium
portas vir Macedo et subruit aemulos

ter. — risissent : *laughed in scorn*.
— fore, etc. : in ind. disc. representing the thought of Jove and Venus. — converso . . . deo : dative.

9. aurum : emphatically continuing pretium of the preceding verse. With the sentiment of the following, cf. the words Cicero attributes to Verres, *Verr.* 1, 2, 4 *nihil esse tam sanctum, quod non violari, nihil tam munitum, quod non expugnari pecunia possit*. Also Apul. *Met.* 9, 18 *cum . . . auro soleant adamantinae etiam perfringi fores* ; and Menand. *Monost.* 538 χρυσὸς δ' ἀνοίγει πάντα καὶ Ἄιδου πύλας. — per medios : i.e. openly, in broad daylight. — satellites : *guards* ; cf. 2, 18, 34.

10. perrumpere : notice that this word, like concidit, diffidit, below, expresses the method by which gold attains its ends — it does not work subtly and in secret, but bluntly and directly, forcing its way against all opposition. — amat : *is wont*. — saxa : i.e. 'walls of,' etc.

11 ff. concidit . . . diffidit : note

the effect of position, — *fallen is*, etc. — auguris Argivi : Amphiarus. When he was unwilling to join the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, for he foresaw it would end in disaster and cost him his own life, Polynices bribed Amphiarus' wife, Eriphyle, with the necklace of Harmonia to induce her husband to go. Their son Alcmaeon slew his mother in anger at his father's death, and afterwards, like Orestes, was haunted by the Furies.

14 f. vir Macedo : Philip, father of Alexander the Great. It was said (Plut. *Aemil. Paul.* 12) that his conquests were made by means of bribes ὅτι τὰς πόλεις αἰρεῖ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐ Φίλιππος, ἀλλὰ τὸ Φιλίππου χρυσίον. The Delphic oracle has advised him to 'fight with silver spears.' Cicero, *ad Att.* 1, 16, 12, quotes a saying of his, *Philippus omnia castella expugnari posse dicebat in quae modo asellus onustus auro posset ascendere*. — aemulos reges : the rival claimants of the throne.

15 reges muneribus; munera navium
saevos inlaqueant duces.

Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam
maiorumque fames; iure perhorru
late conspicuum tollere verticem,
20 Maecenas, equitum decus.

Quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit,
ab diis plura feret. Nil cupientium
nudus castra peto et transfuga divitum
partis linquere gestio,

15 f. **muneribus; munera**: *with bribes; yes, bribes, I say*. Intr. 28 b. — **navium duces**: some see here a reference to Menas (or Menedorus), the freedman of Cn. Pompey and admiral of Sextus Pompey, who in 38 B.C. deserted to Octavianus; afterwards he returned to his earlier allegiance, only to desert again. — **saevos**: *stern though they be*. — **inlaqueant**: *ensnare*.

17 f. **crescentem**, etc.: a common sentiment. Cf. Theoc. 16, 64 f. ἀνήριθμος δέ οἱ εἶη ἄργυρος, αἰεὶ δὲ πλεόνων ἔχοι ἱμερος αὐτόν, 'His be unnumbered wealth, but may a longing for more ever possess him.' Iuv. 14, 139 *crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crevit*. — **fames**: cf. *Epist.* 1, 18, 23 *argenti sitis importuna famesque*; Verg. *A.* 3, 57 *auri sacra fames*.

19 f. **late conspicuum**: proleptic, *so that it could be seen afar*. — **equitum decus**: Maecenas was

a good example of the moderation Horace is urging: although possessed of great wealth and influence, he modestly declined political preferment. Cf. n. to 1, 1, 1; 20, 5.

21 f. **plura, . . . plura**: the context in this paradox shows the meaning. By the first **plura** Horace means money and the unessential things which it procures, 'this world's goods'; by the second, the real goods which cannot be bought, but are gifts from heaven, — a contented mind and ability to find happiness in simple things. — **nil cupientium**: and so content. Cf. Maximian. 1, 54 *et rerum dominus nil cupiendo fui*.

23 f. **nudus**: *i.e.* leaving all encumbrances of wealth and luxury. — **transfuga**: continuing the figure of the soldier eager to leave the party (**partis**) to which he now belongs, and flee to the opposite camp. — **divitum**: and therefore discontent, contrasted with **nil cupientium**.

25 contemptae dominus splendidior rei,
quam si quicquid arat impiger Apulus
occultare meis dicerer horreis,
magnas inter opes inops.

30 Purae rivus aquae silvaeque iugerum
paucorum et segetis certa fides meae
fulgentem imperio fertilis Africae
fallit sorte beatior.

Quamquam nec Calabriae mella ferunt apes,
nec Laestrygonia Bacchus in amphora

25 f. **contemptae**: *i.e.* by those who do not know the source of true happiness. — **splendidior**: in the sight of the wise. — **arāt**: put for the product of the field. Cf. the use *trahunt*, 2, 18, 8. For the quantity, see Intr. 35. — **impiger Apulus**: cf. *Epod.* 2, 42. Apulia was very productive according to Strabo 6, 284.

27 f. **occultare**: a poetic variant for *condere* 1, 1, 9. — **magnas**: used like *saevos*, v. 16 above. — **inter opes inops**: an oxymoron expressing the difference between the common view and the correct one. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 2, 56 *semper avarus eget*. Horace's phrase clung in men's minds: Paulinus of Nola at the end of the fourth century reproduced it exactly, 28, 292 *inter opes inopes*; Seneca with a slight variation, *Epist.* 74, 4 *in divitiis inopes*; a phrase St. Ambrose repeated three centuries later.

29 f. Horace describes his farm

Epist. 1, 16. — **rivus**: cf. *Epist.* 1, 16, 12, quoted in introductory n. to 3, 13. — **segetis**: possessive gen. — **certa fides**: cf. 3, 1, 30 *fundus mendax* and n.

31 f. **fulgentem imperio**, etc.: the proconsul of Africa is probably meant, although it is possible that we should think rather of a great landed proprietor. The provinces of Asia and Africa were assigned each year to the two oldest men of consular rank eligible. — **fallit sorte beatior**: *happier in lot escapes the notice of, i.e. is a happier lot, although he does not know it, than that of*, etc. The Latin language having no present participle of *esse*, is unequal to the task of imitating the Greek idiom *λανθάνει ὀλβιώτερον ὄν*.

33 ff. Examples of the luxuries possessed by the rich. Cf. 1, 31, 5 ff.; 2, 16, 33 ff. — **Calabrae** . . . **apes**: cf. 2, 6, 14 f. — **Lystrygonia**: Formian. See introductory

35 languescit mihi, nec pinguia Gallicis
 crescunt vellera pascuis,

 importuna tamen pauperies abest,
 nec, si plura velim, tu dare deneges.
 Contracto melius parva cupidine
 40 vectigalia porrigam

 quam si Mygdoniis regnum Alyattei
 campis continuem. Multa petentibus
 desunt multa; bene est cui deus obtulit
 parca quod satis est manu.

n. to 3, 17 for the name; for the wine, cf. n. to 1, 20, 10. — *languescit*: grows mellow; cf. 3, 21, 8 *languidiora vina*. — *Gallicis* . . . *pascuis*: Cisalpine Gaul produced a fine white wool according to Pliny *N. H.* 8, 190.

37. *importuna*: the worry of. Horace would have called himself *pauper*, a man of small estate; the point he is making here is that he is not so poor that he suffers from the worries of extreme poverty.

38. Cf. 2, 18, 12 f.; *Epod.* 1, 31 f.

39 f. *contracto* . . . *cupidine*, etc.: cf. 2, 2, 9 ff. — *vectigalia*: income. 'The less a man desires, the farther he can make his in-

come go.' Cf. Cic. *Par.* 6, 49 *O di immortales! Non intelligunt homines quam magnum vectigal sit parsimonia.*

41 f. *Mygdoniis*: Phrygian; cf. n. to 2, 12, 22. — *Alyattei*: Alyattes was the father of Croesus and founder of the Lydian kingdom. — *campis*: dative with *continuem*: join to (so that I should be monarch of both realms).

43 f. *bene est*: colloquial; cf. Catul. 38, 1 *male est*. — *quod satis est*: what is just enough. With the sentiment, cf. Sen. *Epist.* 108, 11 *is minimo eget mortalis, qui minimum cupit, quod vult, habet, qui velle quod satis est potest.*

17

'Come, Aelius, child of the long Lamian line which sprang from ancient Lamus, that lord of Formiae and of Marica's strand, a storm is threatening. Before it breaks, lay in a stock of dry firewood; to-morrow shalt thou make merry with thy household.'

These verses are addressed to L. Aelius Lamia, apparently the friend named 1, 26, 8 (cf. 36, 8). The Lamian family was not prominent before Cicero's time and the name does not appear in the consular fasti until 2 A.D.; during the first century of our era, however, the house was one of the most distinguished. The Lamus to whom Horace playfully refers his friend's ancestry is none other than Homer's cannibal king of the Laestrygonians, *Od.* 10, 81. The scene is Lamia's country place; the occasion unknown. Metre, 68.

Aeli vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,
quando et priores hinc Lamias ferunt
denominatos et nepotum
per memores genus omne fastos,

5 auctore ab illo ducis originem
qui Formiarum moenia dicitur
princeps et innantem Maricae
litoribus tenuisse Lirim

1. This verse of address is left hanging without a verb, but is resumed by v. 5 ff. — **nobilis**: almost 'ennobled by the descent from'; translate, *noble child of*.

2 ff. **quando**: with **ferunt**. These verses are inserted to support Aelius' relation to old Lamus — 'Since all Lamiae before thee trace their line back to Lamus, thou too must be one of his descendants.' — **hinc**: *i.e. ab Lamo*; cf. Verg. *A.* 1, 21 f. *hinc populum late regem belloque superbum | venturum*, and Hor. *C.* 1, 12, 17 *unde* equivalent *ab Iove*. — **nepotum**: *descendants*.

4. **memores . . . fastos**: family, not public, records are meant; see introductory n. The phrase is repeated 4, 14, 4 *per titulos memoresque fastos*.

5 ff. **auctore ab illo**: resuming v. 1. — **Formiarum moenia**: Formiae is identified with the capital of the Laestrygonians first perhaps by Cicero, *ad Att.* 2, 30; the Augustan poets adopted the identification, while the Greeks placed the city near Leontini in Sicily. — **Maricae**: *Marica's*. An Italian nymph; according to Verg. *A.* 7, 47 the mother of Latinus by Faunus. She was worshiped in the marshes near Minturnae, where the Liris loses itself in lagoons; hence *innantem*, *that overflows*. Cf. Mart. 13, 83, 1 f. *caeruleus nos Liris amat, quem silva Maricae | protegit*.

9 f. **late tyrannus**: the Homeric *εὐπὲν κρείων*, cleverly applied to the Homeric (cannibal) chief. Cf. Verg. *A.* 1, 21 *late regem of*

late tyrannus, cras foliis nemus
 10 multis et alga litus inutili
 demissa tempestas ab Euro
 sternet, aquae nisi fallit augur
 annosa cornix; dum potes, aridum
 compone lignum; cras genium mero
 15 curabis et porco bimenstri
 cum famulis operum solutis.

the Roman people. — *alga* . . .
inutili: proverbial; cf. *S.* 2, 5,
 8 *vilior alga*.

12 f. *aquae* . . . *augur*: the
 Greek *ὑετόμαντις*. Cf. 3, 27, 10
imbrium divina avis imminen-
tum. Also Arat. 1022 f. *χειμῶνος*
μέγα σῆμα καὶ ἐννεάνειρα κορώνη |
νύκτερον αἰείδουσα. — *annosa cor-*
nix: the crow lives nine times as
 long as man according to Hesiod
Frg. 193 *ἐννέα τοι ζῶει γενεὰς*
λακέρυζα κορώνη | ἄνδρων ἡβών-
των, and cf. the quotation from
 Aratus above.

13 ff. *Lamia's* holiday is to be
 celebrated in simplicity, like one
 of Horace's own. — *cras*, etc.:
 notice that this verse has the same
 lilt as v. 9 above. — *genium*: the at-
 tendant self, a kind of guar-
 dian angel; the Greek *δαίμων*.
 The phrases *genio indulgere*, *ge-*
nium placare, etc., are common.
 Wine was the regular offering to
 the Genius as a pig was to the
 Lares. — *bimenstri*: the earliest
 age at which the animal might be
 sacrificed. — *operum*: for the con-
 struction, cf. 2, 9, 17 and n.

18

A hymn to Faunus as protector of the flocks and herds. The occasion, as the tenth verse shows, was not the great city festival of the Lupercalia on February 15, but the country celebration which fell on the 5th of December. The first two strophes contain the prayer for the god's favor; the remaining two describe the holiday. Metre, 69.

Faune, nympharum fugientum amator,
 per meos finis et aprica rura

1. The character of the Greek
 Pan is given to his Italian coun-
 terpart, Faunus. Cf. 1, 17, 2 and

n. — *fugientum amator*: juxta-
 posed in playful irony — 'they flee
 for all thy love.'

lenis incedas, abeasque parvis
aequus alumnis,

5 si tener pleno cadit haedus anno,
larga nec desunt Veneris sodali
vina craterae, vetus ara multo
fumat odore.

Ludit herboso pecus omne campo,
10 cum tibi nonae redeunt Decembres;
festus in pratis vacat otioso
cum bove pagus;

inter audacis lupus errat agnos,
spargit agrestis tibi silva frondis,
15 gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor
ter pede terram.

3 f. Notice the chiastic order.
—*incedas abeasque*: not of a
single occasion, but 'in thy re-
visitings.' — *aequus*: *in kindli-
ness*. — *alumnis*: the young of herd
and flock; cf. 3, 23, 7 *dulces alumni
(non sentient) grave tempus*.

5 ff. *si tener*, etc.: the condi-
tions on which the poet hopes for
the god's favor. — *pleno anno*: ab-
lative of time, *at the year's comple-
tion*. — *cadit*: *i.e.* as victim; *sc. tibi*.
— *Veneris sodali* . . . *craterae*:
Love and Wine are boon compan-
ions. Cf. the proverb 'Αφροδίτη
καὶ Διόνυσος μετ' ἀλλήλων εἰσὶ. —
vina: for the plural, cf. 1, 2, 15 f.
— *vetus ara*, etc.: *asyndeton*.

9 ff. *herboso* . . . *campo*: in
the Italian climate the fields are
green in December. — *tibi*: dative
of reference, *thy*. — *festus*: cor-

responding in emphasis to *ludit*
above. — *otioso*: *free from work*
(for the day). — *pagus*: *the coun-
try side*. 'Man and beast alike
share in the holiday.'

13. *audacis*: *grown bold*, for
Faunus protects the sheep against
the wolves. Cf. Prud. *Cath.* 3,
158 f. *impavidas lupus inter oves
tristis obambulat*. — *spargit*, etc.:
in the poet's imagination the wood
joins in honoring the god; cf.
Verg. *E.* 5, 40 *spargite humum
foliis* (*i.e.* in honor of Daphnis).

15 f. *invisam* . . . *terram*:
hated as the source of all his toil.
— *pepulissee*, etc.: *i.e.* in the dance,
the *tripudium*. With the ex-
pression, cf. Ovid *Fast.* 6, 330 *et
viridem celeri ter pede pulsat hu-
mum*. — *fossor*: *i.e.* the common
peasant.

19

‘You prate of ancient genealogies and wars, but never a word do you say on the real questions of the moment—how much we shall pay for a jar of wine, how, where, and when we shall drink. Come, a toast to the Moon, to the Night, to our friend Murena, the augur. The wine shall be mixed as your tastes demand; give music, scatter flowers, and let old Lycus hear our din and envy our light loves.’

Horace thus dramatically portrays a company which has fallen into serious conversation on mythological subjects, and forgotten the purpose of the gathering. In the first two strophes he recalls his companions from their soberer talk; then suddenly assuming the character of *magister bibendi*, he names the toasts, the strength of the wine that shall be used, and calls for flowers and music. The occasion for the ode may have been a symposium in Murena’s honor (v. 10 f.), but it is more likely that the poet’s imagination gave the impulse for the lines. They should be compared with C. 1, 27. The date of composition cannot be determined. Metre, 71.

Quantum distet ab Inacho

Codrus, pro patria non timidus mori,
narras et genus Aeaci

1 ff. Such remote mythological questions were no doubt frequently discussed by *littérateurs* in Horace’s day, as they were later. Iuv. 7, 233 ff. gives the kind of question the poor schoolmaster must be prepared to answer off-hand—*dicat | nutricem Anchisae, nomen patriamque novercae | Anchemoli, dicat quot Acestes vixerit annis*, etc. Cf. Mayor’s note. Tiberius was fond of proposing similar questions: Suet. Tib. 70 *maxime tamen curavit notitiam historiae fabularis, usque ad ineptias atque derisum. Nam et grammaticos . . . eius modi fere quaestionibus experiebatur*: ‘*quae*

mater Hecubae’? ‘*quod Achilli nomen inter virgines fuisset*’? ‘*quid Sirenes cantare sint solitae*’?—*distet*: in point of time.—*Inacho*: the first mythological king of Argos. Cf. 2, 3, 21.—*Codrus*: the last king of Athens; he provoked his own death because of an oracle that the enemy would defeat the Athenians if they spared the life of the Athenian king.—*mori*: for this construction, see Intr. 108.

3 f. *narras*: *you babble*, colloquial.—*genus Aeaci*: Telamon and Peleus, with their descendants, Ajax, Teucer, Achilles, and Neoptolemus, all of whom engaged in

et pugnata sacro bella sub Ilio :
 5 quo Chium pretio cadum
 mercemur, quis aquam temperet ignibus,
 quo praebente domum et quota
 Paelignis caream frigoribus, taces.
 Da lunae propere novae,
 10 da noctis mediae, da, puer, auguris
 Murenæ. Tribus aut novem
 miscentur cyathis pocula commodis.
 Qui Musas amat imparis,
 ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet

the war against Troy.—**pugnata** . . .
bella: cf. 4, 9, 19 *pugnavit proelia*;
Epist. 1, 16, 25 *bella tibi terra pug-*
nata marique.—**sacro** . . . **sub Ilio**:
 the Homeric Ἴλιος ἱπή. Neuter
 here as 1, 10, 14.

5 ff. The really important ques-
 tions of the moment. The carouse
 is a *συμβολή*, one to which each
 participant makes a contribution.
 —**Chium**: the Chian was a choice
 wine.—**quis aquam**, etc.: to mix
 with the wine, for the evening is
 chill.—**quo praebente**, etc.: cf. *S.*
 1, 5, 38 *Murena praebente domum,*
Capitone culinam. — **quota**: *sc.*
hora.—**Paelignis** . . . **frigoribus**:
cold like that among, etc.—**taces**:
never a word do you say.

9 ff. Three toasts.—**da**: *sc. cy-*
athos.—**lunae** . . . **novae**: the Roman
 month was originally lunar, so that
 this is equivalent to a toast to the
 New Month, as we drink a health
 to the New Year. With the geni-
 tives *lunae*, *noctis*, *Murenæ* giving
 the subjects of the toasts, cf. 3, 8,

13. So in Greek, *e.g.* Marcus Ar-
 gent. *Anth. Pal.* 5, 109, 1 f. ἔγχει
 Λυσιδίκης κυάθους δέκα, τῆς δὲ πο-
 θεινῆς | Εὐφράντης ἓνα μοι, λάτρι,
 δίδου κύαθον. Theoc. 14, 18 f. ἔδοξ'
 ἐπιχεῖσθαι ἄκρατον | ὧ τινος ἤθελ'
 ἕκαστος, 'We decided that each
 should toast whom he wished in
 unmixed wine.'

—**noctis mediae**: the carouse
 shall last until morning.

11 f. **Murenæ**: apparently the
 Licinius Murena of 2, 10; but we
 do not know from any other source
 that he was ever augur.—**tribus**
aut novem, etc.: the *sextarius* was
 divided into twelve *cyathi*. Here
 the wine is to be mixed either three
 parts wine to nine parts water for
 the weaker brethren, or nine parts
 wine to three parts water for the
 stronger heads. — **commodis**: *to*
suit the taste. Cf. 4, 8, 1 *commodus*
 and n.

13 ff. 'The devotee of the nine
 Muses will choose the stronger
 mixture; those who honor the

- 15 vates ; tris prohibet supra
 rixarum metuens tangere Gratia
 nudis iuncta sororibus.
 Insanire iuvat : cur Berecyntiae
 cessant flamina tibiae ?
 20 Cur pendet tacita fistula cum lyra ?
 Parcentis ego dexteras
 odi : sparge rosas ; audiat invidus
 dementem strepitum Lycus
 et vicina seni non habilis Lyco.
 25 Spissa te nitidum coma,
 puro te similem, Telephe, Vespero
 tempestiva petit Rhode ;
 me lentus Glycerae torret amor meae.

modest Graces, the weaker.'—**attonitus** : *inspired*, with a double meaning—by the Muses and the wine.—**tris...supra** : for the order, see Intr. 33.

16 f. **rixarum** : objective genitive with **metuens**, as 3, 24, 22 *metuens alterius viri*.—**Gratia . . . iuncta** : cf. 1, 4, 6 *iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes*.—**nudis** : so represented in Hellenistic and Roman art. Cf. n. to 1, 4, 7.

18 ff. **insanire** : *to revel, bacchari*. Cf. the Anacreontic θέλω, θέλω μανῆναι.—**Berecyntiae . . . tibiae** : Mt. Berecyntus in Phrygia was the center of the wild orgiastic worship of the Great Mother.—**pendet** : *i.e.* on the wall unused.

21 ff. **parcentis** : *niggard* ; bearing the emphasis.—**rosas** : here symbolical of luxury, for the season

is winter (cf. v. 8), and the roses are to be scattered (**sparge**) with a generous hand. Cf. 1, 36, 15.—**audiat invidus** : parallel—*hear and envy*.—**Lycus . . . Lyco** : scornful repetition, as 1, 13, 1 f.—**non habilis** : *not suited* (in years) as **tempestiva** (v. 27) shows.

25 f. **spissa** : *thick*, marking the contrast between young Telephus and old Lycus.—**te . . . te** : parallel to **Lycus . . . Lyco**.—**nitidum** : *sleek and spruce*.—**similem . . . Vespero** : the comparison is as old as Homer. Cf. *Il.* 22, 317 f. οἶος δ' ἀστήρ εἶσι μετ' ἀστράσι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ | ἔσπερος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῶ ἴσταται ἀστήρ. Also, *C.* 3, 9, 21.—**tempestiva** : cf. 1, 23, 12.—**lentus** : cf. 1, 13, 8.—**Glycerae** : the same love 1, 19, 5 ; 30, 3. Cf. 1, 33, 2.—**torret** : cf. 1, 33, 6.

20

A warning to Pyrrhus, who attempts to steal the boy Nearchus from a girl who also loves him. 'She will fight like a lioness whose cubs are stolen; but the boy looks on unconcerned, as beautiful as Nereus or Ganymedes.'

The verses are evidently a study from the Greek. Metre, 69.

Non vides quanto moveas periclo,
Pyrrhe, Gaetulae catulos leaenae?
Dura post paulo fugies inaudax
proelia raptor,

5 cum per obstantis iuvenum catervas
ibit insignem repetens Nearchum:
grande certamen, tibi praeda cedat,
maior an illa.

10 Interim, dum tu celeres sagittas
promis, haec dentis acuit timendos,

1 ff. *moveas*: *disturb*.—*Gaetulae*
... *leaenae*: a similar comparison
1, 23, 10.—*post paulo*: in prose,
ordinarily, *paulo post*.—*inaudax*:
a compound coined by Horace,
apparently to reproduce the Greek
ἀτολμος.

5 ff. *per obstantis*, etc.: the con-
ception is Homeric. Cf. *Il.* 18,
318 ff. The phrase represents the
θαλεροὶ αἰζηοί of Homer; here it
means the friends and supporters
of Pyrrhus. The girl, enraged by
the fear of losing Nearchus, will
rush like a lioness through all op-
position. The introduction of the
name Nearchus disturbs the meta-
phor with which the ode begins,

and after v. 10 the figure is entirely
dropped. For a similar confusion
in comparisons, cf. 1, 15, 29 ff.—
insignem: distinguished among all
the rest, *peerless* (Smith). Cf. 1,
33, 5.

7 ff. *grande certamen*: defined by
the alternatives which follow.—
cedat: *fall*.—*maior*: *superior*, *vic-*
torious.—*illa*: sc. *sit*.

10 ff. *dentis acuit*: Homeric; cf.
Il. 11, 416; 13, 474 of the wild
boar.—*arbiter pugnae*: the boy is
not only the prize of the contest,
but is also its judge, since he may
choose which he will follow.—
posuisse palmam: quite indifferent
as to the outcome, Nearchus places

arbiter pugnae posuisse nudo
sub pede palmam

15 fertur et leni recreare vento
sparsum odoratis umerum capillis,
qualis aut Nireus fuit aut aquosa
raptus ab Ida.

his foot on the emblem of victory.
— **nudo**: added simply to help out the picture.

13 ff. **fertur**: 'you will hardly believe it, but this is the story.' Cf. 3, 5, 41 for a similar use of the verb. — **sparsum odoratis**, etc.: cf. Ovid *Fasti*. 2, 309 *ibat odoratis umeros perfusa capillis | Maeonis*. — **Nireus**: the fairest of the Greeks

after Achilles, *Il.* 2, 673 f. Νιρεύς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἰλίῳ ἦλθε | τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα. Cf. *Ephod.* 15, 22, *formaque vincas Nirea (licebit)*. — **aquosa**: from its many springs; the Homeric Ἰδὴ πολυπῖδαξ. — **raptus**: Ganymedes; cf. Verg. *A.* 5, 254 f. *quem praepes ab Ida | sublimen pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis*.

21

An address to a jar of wine, which Horace will broach in honor of his friend Corvinus.

Marcus Valerius Messala Corvinus was a student in Athens with Horace, and like him served in Brutus' army in 42 B.C.; later he took part in the struggle against Antony. He was consul in 31 B.C., and in 27 B.C. enjoyed a triumph over the Aquitanians. After this he devoted himself to the practice of law and the pursuit and patronage of literature. His eloquence is praised by Cicero (*ad Brut.* 1, 15, 1); Quintilian (10. 1, 113) compared his oratory with that of Asinus Pollio. Messala's great wealth and high social position made it possible for him to gather about him a literary circle second only to that of Maecenas. Tibullus was the most distinguished of this company, and has left many references in his verses to his patron.

The ode is dramatically conceived: the poet stands before the jars stored in his apotheca and bids one contemporary with himself come down and yield up its store, whether it contain sport or contention. As the gossip of tradition credits Messala with being a connoisseur of wines, vv. 7-10 possibly refer to his ability. The date of composition

may safely be put after 27 B.C., so that Horace and his wine were close to forty years. Metre, 68.

O nata mecum consule Manlio,
 seu tu querellas sive geris iocos
 seu rixam et insanos amores
 seu facilem, pia testa, somnum,
 5 quocumque lectum nomine Massicum
 servas, moveri digna bono die,
 descende, Corvino iubente
 promere languidiora vina.
 Non ille, quamquam Socraticis madet
 10 sermonibus, te negleget horridus :
 narratur et prisci Catonis
 saepe mero caluisse virtus.

1 ff. L. Manlius Torquatus was consul in 65 B.C. Cf. *Epod.* 13, 6 *tu vina Torquato move consule pressa meo*. Evenus addressed a measure of wine in similar fashion, *Anth. Pal.* 11, 49 Βάκχου μέτρον ἄριστον, ὃ μὴ πολὺ μήτ' ἐλάχιστον · | ἔστι γὰρ ἡ λύπης αἴτιος ἡ μανίης | . . . εἰ δὲ πολὺς πνεύσειεν, ἀπέστραπται μὲν ἔρωτας, | βαπτίζει δ' ὕπνῳ γείτονι τῷ θανάτου.

3 f. seu rixam, etc.: cf. 1, 13, 11 f.; 17, 22 ff. — facilem somnum: cf. 2, 11, 8; 3, 1, 20 f.; *Epod.* 2, 28. — pia: the amphora (testa) has been faithful to its charge.

5 ff. quocumque . . . nomine: a bookkeeping expression, *on whatever account*. — lectum: *vintage*. — moveri: *i.e.* from its place in the *apotheca*; cf. *Epod.* 13, 6 quoted

above. For the infinitive, see *Intr.* 108. — bono die: 'a "red letter" day such as this in honor of Corvinus.' — descende: the *apotheca* was in the upper part of the house. See n. to 3, 8, 11. — promere: *to broach*. — languidiora: *mellower*; cf. 3, 16, 35 *languescit*.

9 f. non ille: emphatic as non ego 1, 18, 11. — Socraticis . . . sermonibus: *the arguments of the Socratic school*. — madet: *is steeped*; used as by us in a double sense. Cf. *Mart.* 6, 441 f. *credis te . . . solum multo permaduisse sale (wit)*. — horridus: *rude, boorish*.

11 f. prisci Catonis . . . virtus: *honest old Cato*. With the expression, cf. 1, 3, 36 *Herculeus labor*, and *Iuv.* 4, 81 *Crispi iucunda senectus*, 'cheery old Crispus.' — saepe mero, etc.: Cicero

Tu lene tormentum ingenio admoves
 plerumque duro ; tu sapientium
 15 curas et arcanum iocoso
 consilium retegis Lyaeo ;
 tu spem reducis mentibus anxiis
 virisque et addis cornua pauperi,
 post te neque iratos trementi
 20 regum apices neque militum arma.

in his essay *de Senectute* makes old Cato say that he is fond of *modica convivium* ; cf. also Sen. *de Tranq. Animi* 17, 4 *Cato vino laxabat animum curis publicis fatigatum*.

13 ff. For similar praise of wine, see 1, 18, 3 ff. ; 4, 12, 19 f. (*cadus*) *spes donare novas largus amaraque | curarum eluere efficax*. Also Bacchyl. *Frg.* 20 Bl. (ὅταν) γλυκεῖ ἀνάγκα | σενομενᾶν κυλίκων θάλπησι θυμόν, | Κύπριδος δ' ἐλπίς διαιθύσση φρένας, | ἄμμι-γνυμένα Διονυσίοισι δώροις. | ἀνδράσι δ' ὑψοτάτω πέμπει μερίμνας. | αὐτίκα μὲν πολίων κράδεμνα λύει, | πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις μοναρχήσιν δοκεῖ. | χρυσῷ δ' ἐλέφαντί τε μαρμαίρουσιν οἶκοι. | πυροφόροι δὲ κατ' αἰγλάεντα <πόντον> | νᾶες ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέγιστον | πλοῦτον. ὥς πίνοντος ὀρμαίνει κέαρ. 'When sweet constraint warms the soul as the cups hurry round, and Cypris' hope commingled with the gifts of Dionysus rushes through the heart, men's thoughts are raised most high. This straightway breaks down

the battlements of cities, and seems sole lord of all ; with gold and ivory gleam the houses ; the grain ships bring greatest riches from Egypt over the glimmering sea. So is the heart moved of the man who drinks.'

—tu . . . tu . . . tu : resuming the address to the jar and serving as connectives. —tormentum : *spur.* —plerumque : cf. 1, 34, 7 and n. —curas : *serious thoughts*. —et arcanum, etc. : cf. Vitalis *Anth. Lat.* 633, 6 R. *arcanum demens detegit ebrietas*. —Lyaeo : *the releaser* ; cf. 1, 7, 22 and n.

18 f. *virisque* : object of *addis*. For the position, see Intr. 31. Cf. Ovid *A. A.* 1, 239 *tunc (i.e. post vina) veniunt risus, tum pauper cornua sumit, | tum dolor et curae rugaque frontis abit*. On cornua as the symbols of power, cf. n. to 2, 19, 30 ; Ovid *Am.* 3, 11, 6 *venerunt capiti cornua sera meo*, and 1 *Sam.* 2, 1 'Mine horn is exalted in the Lord.'

19 f. *post te* : cf. 1, 18, 5. —*iratos apices* : for the transferred

Te Liber et, si laeta aderit, Venus
 segnesque nodum solvere Gratiae
 vivaque producent lucernae
 dum rediens fugat astra Phoebus.

adjective, see Intr. 99. — *apices*:
 see n. to 1, 34, 14. — *tremēti*:
 transitive here.

21 ff. Love and wine are com-
 panions, cf. 3, 18, 6 f. — *nodum*:
 of intertwined arms; cf. 3, 19, 16 f.
 — *solvere*: with *segnes*. — *Gra-*
tiae: to the pleasures of wine and

love the Graces add the charm of
 wit and courteous society. — *vivae*:
 cf. 3, 8, 14 *vigiles lucernae*. — *pro-*
ducent: *carry on, prolong*; cf. *S.*
1, 5, 70 prorsus iucunde cenam
producimus illam, *Mart. 2, 89*
nimio gaudes noctem producere
vino.

22

A hymn dedicating to Diana of the woods, a pine tree that rises above
 the poet's country house. Metre, 69.

Montium custos nemorumque virgo,
 quae laborantis utero puellas
 ter vocata audis adimisque leto,
 diva triformis,

5 imminens villae tua pinus esto,
 quam per exactos ego laetus annos

1 ff. This strophe is very similar
 to Catull. 34, 9 ff. *montium domina*
ut fores | silvarumque virentium |
saltuumque reconditorum | amni-
umque sonantum. | Tu Lucina do-
lentibus | Iuno dicta puerperis, |
tu potens Trivia et notho es dicta
lumine Luna. — *custos*: cf. *Verg.*
A. 9, 405 nemorum Latonia custos.
 On Diana Nemorensis, cf. 1, 21, 6
 and n.

2 ff. *quae*, etc.: as the goddess
 of child-birth, Ilithyia. Cf. *C. S.*

13 ff. — *puellas*: used of young mar-
 ried women. Cf. *Ovid Am. 2, 13,*
19 tuque laborantes utero miserata
puellas. — *ter*: the sacred number;
 cf. 1, 28, 36. — *triformis*: Luna, Di-
 ana, and Hecate. Cf. *Verg. A. 4,*
511 tergeminaeque Hecaten, tria
virginis ora Dianae.

5 ff. The Italian pine grows to a
 large size; its lower trunk is free
 from branches, but above it spreads
 into a broad 'umbrella' head. —
quam . . . donem: *that I may*, defin-

verris obliquum meditantis ictum
sanguine donem.

ing the purpose of the dedication. — **per exactos . . . annos**: *as the years close*. Cf. 3, 18, 5. — **laetus**: *rejoicing* (in the service), corresponding to the *libens merito* of inscriptions. — **verris obliquum**, etc.: the regular stroke of the boar, due to the

way his tusks grow. Cf. *Od.* 19, 451 *λικριφὶς αἶξας*, of the wild boar that wounded Odysseus. Also Ovid. *Her.* 4, 104 *obliquo dente timendus aper*. The description of the victim fixes his age, as also in 3, 13, 4 f.

23

‘Thy small but faithful offerings, Phidyle, will save thy crops and flocks; thou needest not be anxious that thou hast no great victim. Pure hands, a little salt and meal, is all thy guardian gods require.’

Thus Horace reassures a country housewife, and shows that, for all his lack of faith in the state religion, he was not without sympathy with the beliefs of the common folk. Read Lang, *Letters to Dead Authors*, p. 210; Sellar, p. 162 f. Metre, 68.

Caelo supinas si tuleris manus
nascente luna, rustica Phidyle,
si ture placaris et horna
fruge Laris avidaque porca,

5 nec pestilentem sentiet Africum
fecunda vitis nec sterilem seges

1 f. **caelo**: dative, Intr. 88. — **supinas**: with palms upturned (*ὑπέρτιος*), the regular attitude of prayer. Cf. Verg. *A.* 3, 176 f. *tendoque supinas | ad caelum cum voce manus*. — **nascente luna**: on the first day of the month, the Kalends. Cf. 3, 19, 9 and n. On this day sacrifice was regularly made to the household gods. — **Phidyle**: Φειδύλη, the

‘Sparer’ (*φείδομαι*), well chosen to suit the subject of the ode. — **horna**: *i.e.* with the first fruits of the harvest. — **porca**: cf. 3, 17, 15, and n.

5 ff. **pestilentem . . . Africum**: the Sirocco, whose parching heat burned up the grapes. — **fecunda**: *big-clustered*. — **sterilem**: active as *palma nobilis* 1, 1, 5. — **robiginem**:

robiginem aut dulces alumni
pomifero grave tempus anno.

10 Nam quae nivali pascitur Algidus
devota quercus inter et ilices
aut crescit Albanis in herbis
victima pontificum securis

cervice tinguet: te nihil attinet
temptare multa caede bidentium
15 parvos coronantem marino
rore deos fragilique myrto.

the rust which injured the grain in a wet spring. The festival to the divinity Robigo fell on April 25.—**alumni**: as 3, 18, 4.—**pomifero**... **anno**: a similar circumlocution *Epod.* 2, 29 *annus hibernus*.—**grave tempus**: cf. Livy 3, 6 *grave tempus et ... annus pestilens*. The careful arrangement of this second strophe should be noted: each of the three subjects, **vitis**, **seges**, **alumni**, has a position different from the other two with reference to its object.

9 ff. **nam quae**, etc.: Mt. Algidus, a ridge of the Alban hills, belonged to the pontifices, and was used by them as pasturage for their intended victims (*devotae victimae*). Cf. n. to 1, 21, 6.—**inter**: for the position, see Intr. 32.—**Albanis in herbis**: a part of the ancient Alban territory which tradition said (Dionys. Hal. 3, 29) King Numa assigned to the pontifices.

13 ff. **tinguet**: concessive, *may stain*; cf. 1, 7, 1 *laudabunt alii*,

etc.—**te nihil attinet**, etc.: 'the great and powerful may offer rich sacrifice, but for thee there is no need,' etc. With this emphatic contrast, cf. *e.g.* 1, 7, 10.—**temptare**: *to beset, importune*; its object is **deos**, which also serves as object of **coronantem**.—**bidentium**: *i.e.* of the age when they might be sacrificed. The meaning of the technical term *bidens* was uncertain in antiquity; in one place the epitome of Festus (p. 4) says that it means sheep with both rows of teeth, in another (p. 33) it offers the commoner explanation which refers it to the two prominent teeth in the sheep's lower jaw which replace the milk teeth. Translate, *full-grown*.—**parvos**: intentionally contrasted with **multa caede**, thus suggesting the folly of great sacrifice to the little images of the household gods kept by the hearth.—**coronantem**: on the Kalends, Nones, and Ides of each month and at

Immunis aram si tetigit manus,
non sumptuosa blandior hostia,
mollivit aversos Penatis
20 farre pio et saliente mica.

other special festivals honor was paid to the Lares. So Cato *de Agr.* 143 directs (*vilica*) *kalendis idibus nonis, festus dies cum erit, coronam in focum indat, per eosdemque dies Lari familiari pro copia supplicet.* — **marino rore**: the aromatic rosemary used by those who could not afford the costly imported incense. — **fragili**: *brittle*.

17 f. **immunis**: here *innocent, guiltless*; elsewhere in Horace it means 'without bringing a gift,' 4, 12, 23; *Epist.* 1, 14, 33. In this passage, however, the point which Horace wishes to emphasize is the acceptability of innocence over great offerings, so that *immunis* is used absolutely in the sense of *immunis sceleris*. The idea is commonplace. Cf. Eurip. *Frg.* 327 ἐγὼ δὲ πολλάκις σοφωτέρους | πένητας ἄνδρας εἰσορῶ τῶν πλουσίων, | καὶ (τοὺς) θεοῖσι μικρὰ θύοντας τέλη | τῶν βουθυτούντων ὄντας εὐσεβεστέρους. 'I oftentimes see poor men are wiser than the rich, and they who make small offerings to the gods more pious

than men who sacrifice great victims;,' also *Frg.* 946 εὖ ἴσθ', ὅταν τις εὐσεβῶν θύῃ θεοῖς, | καὶ μικρὰ θύῃ, τυγχάνει σωτηρίας. 'Be sure that when a pious man makes offering to the gods, even though his offering be small, he gains their saving aid.'

— **non sumptuosa**, etc.: the verse somewhat awkwardly adds a new idea to the preceding statement — (thy hand) *not made the more persuasive by any costly victim*.

19 f. **mollivit**: the gnomic perfect in conclusion — *it has* (and always will), etc. — **aversos**: not 'hostile,' but *disinclined, indifferent*; cf. *Epod.* 10, 18. — **Penatis**: not distinguished from the Lares. — **farre pio**, etc.: a circumlocution for the *mola salsa*, the sacrificial cake, made of spelt and salt. The phrase is used by Tibullus 3, 4, 10 *farre pio placant et saliente sale*; also by Ovid *Fast.* 4, 409 f. *farra deae micaeque licet salientis honorem detis.* — **saliente**: *i.e.* when the salt was thrown on the fire.

24

'Not all the wealth of the Orient nor villas by the sea shall set thee free from fear of death. The nomad Scythians live better far, for among them virtue and chastity have their true place; there the price

of sin is death (1-24). He who will be known as father of the state, must check the current license, trusting to posterity for his reward (25-32). Our sin must be cut out, laws without the support of character are vain. The source of our sin is greed for gain, so that neither torrid heat nor northern cold check the eager trader; for gold men do and suffer all. Poverty alone is great disgrace. Then let us dedicate to Jove or cast into the sea our gems and gold if we are really penitent (33-50). Present luxury is too great. Our boys must be trained in a sterner school. To-day no freeborn youth can ride his horse; yet he is well skilled in weaker sports and dice. Honor and fidelity are gone. Riches will still grow to harm, but never satisfy (51-64).'

This moralizing on riches as the source of evil is similar to much in the opening odes of this book, especially to 3, 1, 14-44. Cf. also 2, 15; 16; 18; *Epod.* 16. The savior invoked in vv. 25 ff. is clearly Augustus, who endeavored by legislation and example to check the growing license of his time. His success was only slight and temporary in spite of his words *Mon. Anc.* 2, 12-14 *legibus novis latis complura exempla maiorum exolentia iam ex nostro usu reduxi et ipse multarum rerum exempla imitanda posteris tradidi*. The date of composition cannot be determined, but probably the ode was written at about the same time as 3, 1-6. Metre, 71.

Intactis opulentior
thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiae
caementis licet occupes
Tyrrhenum omne tuis et mare Apulicum,
5 si figit adamantinos

1 f. *intactis*: *unrifled*, and therefore the greater. Probably the word contains a covert reproach also, for by Horace's time the Romans had looted Asia Minor and might be thought to be longing for the treasures of the East. Cf. Prop. 2, 10, 16 *et domus intactae te tremit Arabiae*. On the wealth of Arabia, cf. 1, 29, 1 and n. Trade with India by way of Asia Minor had existed from

an early date, and the nature of the merchandise — ivory, precious stones, and costly stuffs — had impressed the Romans with the wealth of the Indies.

3 f. *caementis*: *rubble*, for foundations; cf. 3, 1, 35 and n. — *Tyrrhenum . . . et mare Apulicum*: *i.e.* every part of the sea-coast from North to South.

5 f. *figit*: for the quantity, see Intr. 35. — *adamantinos*: cf. 1,

summis verticibus dira Necessitas
 clavos, non animum metu,
 non mortis laqueis expedies caput.
 Campestris melius Scythae,
 10 quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,
 vivunt et rigidi Getae,
 immetata quibus iugera liberas
 fruges et Cererem ferunt,
 nec cultura placet longior annua,
 15 defunctumque laboribus
 aequali recreat sorte vicarius.
 Illic matre carentibus

6, 13. — **summis verticibus** : *i.e.* in the roof tree of your palaces. 'Man may plan and build but the completion is in the hands of Fate.' In 1, 35, 18 *clavi trabales* are the instruments of Necessitas. With the general concept, cf. 2, 18, 29–32.

8. **mortis laqueis** : the figure is old ; cf. *Psalms* 18, 5 'The snares of death prevented me.'

9 f. **campestris** : *of the steppes* ; cf. 3, 8, 24. The position of the word emphasizes the patent contrast between these nomads and the Romans with their magnificent palaces. With this description of the Scythians, cf. Aesch. *P. V.* 709 f. Σκύθας δ' ἀφίξῃ νόμαδας, οἱ πλεκτὰς στέγας | πεδάρσιοι ναίουσ' ἐπ' εὐκύκλοις ὄχοις. 'And thou shalt reach the Scythian nomads, who dwell in wattled homes raised in the air on fair wheeled cars.' Sall. *Hist.* 3, 76 M. *Scythae no-*

mades tenent quibus plaustra sedes sunt. — **rite** : *as is their custom.*

11 f. **rigidi Getae** : *stern* ; cf. *Epist.* 1, 1, 17 *virtutis verae custos rigidusque satellites* ; and *Anth. Lat.* 899, 7 B. *qui potuit rigidas Gothorum subdere mentes.* — **immetata quibus**, etc. : the land is not held in severalty and the products are common (**liberas**) property.

14 ff. Caesar *B. G.* 4, 1 attributes the same customs to the Suevi. Cf. Tac. *Germ.* 26. — **annua** : ablative. — **defunctum laboribus** : cf. 2, 18, 38 *functum laboribus*, used in a different sense. — **aequali . . . sorte** : ablative of manner. — **vicarius** : *substitute*.

17 f. Examples of the virtues that flourish among these simple peoples, as pictured by Horace's imagination. In similar fashion Tacitus extols the excellences of the Germans. Notice that here

• privignis mulier temperat innocens,
 nec dotata regit virum
 20 coniunx, nec nitido fidit adultero;
 dos est magna parentium
 virtus et metuens alterius viri
 certo foedere castitas,
 et peccare nefas aut pretium est mori.
 25 O quisquis volet impias
 caedis et rabiem tollere civicam,
 si quaeret pater urbium
 subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat
 refrenare licentiam,

the comparison is to the disadvantage of the women alone; the appeal to the Roman men is made somewhat differently, v. 25 ff. — *matre carentibus*: *motherless*. With the periphrasis, cf. 1, 28, 1. — *temperat*: *treats kindly*. The cruelty of the stepmother was proverbial. Cf. *Epod.* 5, 9. — *innocens*: *and does them no harm*, logically parallel to *temperat*.

19 f. On the proverbial arrogance of richly dowered wives, cf. Plaut. *Men.* 766 *ita istaec solent quae viris subservire | sibi postulant dote frétae, feroces*. Also Martial's clever answer 8, 12 *uxorem quare locupletem ducere nolim | quaeritis? uxorinubere nolo meae*. — *nitido*: cf. 3, 19, 25 and n.

21 f. *dos est*, etc.: cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 839 f. *nón ego illam mihi dotem esse dúco, quae dos dicitur, | séd pudicitiam ét pudorem et sédatum cupidinem*. — *metuens*: *that*

shrinks from; cf. 3, 19, 16. Notice that the second half of this verse is contrasted by position as well as by thought with the corresponding part of v. 20.

23 f. *certo foedere*: descriptive ablative, loosely attached to *castitas*. — *peccare*: in the restricted sense of infidelity; cf. 3, 7, 19. — *nefas*: sc. *est*. — *aut*: cf. 3, 12, 1 and n.

25 ff. *quisquis volet*: equivalent to *si quis volet*. — *impias*: because the strife had been between kinsmen. Cf. n. to 2, 1, 30. — *pater urbium*: a title of honor similar to *pater patriae*. The colony of Jadera in Illyria called Augustus *parens coloniae* CIL. 3, 2907; he was also called CIL. 11, 3083 *pater patriae et municip(ii)*; and Statius *Silv.* 3, 4, 48 names Domitian *pater inclitus urbis*. — *refrenare*, etc.: cf. 4, 15, 10 *frena licentiae iniecit*.

30 clarus post genitis, — quatenus, heu nefas!
 virtutem incolumem odimus,
 sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi.
 Quid tristes querimoniae,
 si non supplicio culpa reciditur,
 35 quid leges sine moribus
 vanae proficiunt, si neque fervidis
 pars inclusa caloribus

30 ff. *post genitis*: found only here. — *quatenus*: *since*, introducing an explanation of the preceding words. The sentiment is a commonplace. Cf. Menander (?) *δεινοὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ πάντες ἐσμέν εὐκλεεῖ ζῶντι φθονῆσαι, κατθανόντα δ' αἰνέσαι*, 'For we all are quick to envy the man of good repute while he is alive, but when he is dead to praise him.' Horace himself has developed the thought *Epist.* 2, 1, 10 ff., 26 ff. Modern poets too have many echoes of the strain. Herrick declares with mock resignation, 'I make no haste to have my numbers read: | Seldome comes Glorie till a man be dead.' Pope's line also is familiar, 'These suns of glory please not till they set.'

— *incolumem*: *in the living*. — *quaerimus*: *ποθοῦμεν*, *long for*, *miss*. As soon as one generation is dead, its virtues are extolled by the surviving to disparage the generation that succeeds.

33 f. *quid*, etc.: *i.e.* 'to bring about a genuine reform we must cut at the root of the civic corrup-

tion; mere dismal (*tristes*) complainings are of no avail without bold action.' — *reciditur*: a metaphor taken from pruning; cf. *S.* 1, 3, 122 *et magnis parva minueris (delicta)* | *falce recisurum simili te*.

35 f. The inefficiency of laws unless supported by public sentiment and character (*mores*) is recognised by Aristotle *Pol.* 2, 5, 14 *ὁ . . . νόμος ἰσχὺν οὐδεμίαν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι παρὰ τὸ ἔθος*, and present day conditions supply many examples. Some years later Horace extolled Augustus' reign with the words *mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas* (4, 5, 22); Tacitus glorifies his Germans *plus ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges* (*Germ.* 19).

36 ff. *si neque*, etc.: the special cases to illustrate the general truth contained in the preceding question: 'if the greed for gain has grown so great that men dare everything save the crowning disgrace of poverty, what can mere statutes do?' Cf. Petron. 14 *quid faciant leges, ubi sola pecunia regnat?* — *pars*: cf. 3, 3, 55. —

mundi nec Boreae finitimum latus
durataeque solo nives
40 mercatorem abigunt, horrida callidi
vincunt aequora navitae,
magnum pauperies opprobrium iubet
quidvis et facere et pati,
virtutisque viam deserit arduae?
45 Vel nos in Capitolium,
quo clamor vocat et turba faventium,

inclusa: fenced in, intrenched (against man). The same idea 1, 22, 22 *terra domibus negata*. — *latus*: cf. 1, 22, 19. — *solo*: locative ablative. Intr. 95.

40. *mercatorum*: Horace's type of the man restless and reckless for gain. Cf. 1, 1, 16; 1, 3 entire; *Epist.* 1, 1, 45 f. *impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos, | per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes*. — *horrida callidi*: juxtaposed to strengthen the contrast between man's skill and nature's savagery.

42 f. *magnum . . . opprobrium*: cf. *S.* 2, 3, 91 f. *credidit ingens pauperiem vitium*. With the sentiment, cf. *Theogn.* 649 ff. ἄδειλὴ πενίη, τί ἐμοῖς ἐπικειμένη ὤμοις | σῶμα κατασχύνεις καὶ νόον ἡμέτερον; | αἰσχρὰ δὲ μ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα βίη καὶ πολλὰ διδάσχεις, 'Ah, wretched poverty, why dost thou weigh on my shoulders and degrade my body and my mind? And though I would not, thou dost teach me perforce much that is shameful.' *Lucian Apol.* 10

πενίαν πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν ἀναπείθουσιν, ὥς ἐκφύγοι τις αὐτήν, 'Poverty who persuades a man to do and suffer all things that he may escape her.'

44. 'The path of virtue steep' is proverbial; cf. *Hes. Op.* 289 ff. τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάρουθεν ἔθηκαν | ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτήν, and Hamlet's 'steep and thorny way to Heaven.' — *deserit*: the abstract *pauperies* suggests a concrete subject *pauper*.

45 ff. Horace here expresses himself with the fire of a religious reformer. Sacrifice of jewels and gold will prove the people's sincerity. *Epod.* 16 is written in the same strain. — *in Capitolium*: as an offering to Jove. There is no verb until we reach *mittamus* v. 50, but the Roman reader would hardly be conscious of the lack. — *clamor et turba*: the shouting crowd. — *faventium*: Horace pictures the common people applauding the rich as they march to the Capitol to dedicate their wealth.

vel nos in mare proximum
 gemmas et lapides aurum et inutile
 summi materiem mali,
 50 mittamus, scelerum si bene paenitet.
 Eradenda cupidinis
 pravi sunt elementa et tenerae nimis
 mentes asperioribus
 formandae studiis. Nescit equo rudis
 55 haerere ingenuus puer
 venarique timet, ludere doctior,
 seu Graeco iubeas trocho,
 seu malis vetita legibus alea,
 cum periura patris fides
 60 consortem socium fallat et hospites,

48 ff. **gemmas et lapides**: no distinct classes are meant any more than in our parallel expression 'gems and precious stones.' — **aurum et**: on the position, see Intr. 31. — **inutile**: *that is good for naught*. — **materiem**: *the source*; the 'stuff' of which anything is made. Cf. Sall. *Catil.* 10 *primo imperi, deinde pecuniae cupido crevit; ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere*. — **bene**: *truly, sincerely*.

51 f. **eradenda**, etc.: practical measures of reform — the Roman youth must be trained in a sturdier school, and taught to give up his present luxury. Similar expressions are found 3, 2, 1 ff.; 6, 37 ff. — **elementa**: *the seeds*. — **tenerae nimis**: *i.e.* beyond nature's limit.

54 ff. **rudis**: supporting *nescit*, *ignorant and untaught*, and contrasted with **doctior**. — **ingenuus**: emphasizing the disgrace, for riding and hunting were distinctly the exercises of a Roman gentleman. — **ludere**: Intr. 108.

57 f. **trocho**: trundling a hoop was a favorite amusement of Greek children, but to the conservative Roman mind it stood in marked contrast to the sturdier native sports. — **malis**: notice the quantity. — **vetita legibus alea**: gambling with dice was much practiced among the Romans; although forbidden by law, the vice was but slightly checked.

59 ff. **cum**, etc.: *while*, etc. The clause adds another characteristic of the time. — **periura** . . . **fides**: cf. 1, 5, 5 and n. — **consor-**

indignoque pecuniam
heredi properet. Scilicet improbae
crescunt divitiae: tamen
curtae nescio quid semper abest rei.

tem socium: *his partner*. Sors is the word for capital invested. — indigno . . . heredi: the dreaded heir, called ironically *dignior* 2, 14, 25. — properet: cf. *depropere* 2, 7, 24.

62 ff. scilicet: *yes, of course*. Summing up the whole sad matter, — ‘with all man’s getting, he will never get enough.’ — im-

probae: *shameless*, for they have no regard for right and honor. — curtae: proleptic, ‘the greedy man’s wealth cannot keep pace with his desires.’ Cf. *Epist.* 1, 2, 56 *semper avarus eget*; Apul. *de Mag.* 20 *nec montibus auri satiabitur (avarus), sed semper aliquid, ante parta ut augeat, mendicabit*.

25

In dithyrambic strains Horace celebrates ‘the eternal glory of Caesar.’ The poet imagines himself carried away by the power of Bacchus to the wild haunts of the Naiads and Nymphs, where he will sing his new and loftier theme. The ode has the form of an introduction to a larger work; the mention of the Emperor is apparently merely incidental, but forms the real subject of the verses. The occasion is unknown. Metre, 71.

Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui
plenum? Quae nemora aut quos agor in specus
velox mente nova? Quibus
antris egregii Caesaris audiar
5 aeternum meditans decus

1 ff. tui plenum: cf. 2, 19, 6. — quae nemora: in the same construction as quos . . . specus. — mente nova: *i.e.* being possessed by the god, the poet has become a new being.

4. antris: dative. Intr. 87. — egregii: see n. to 1, 6, 11. — meditans: *practicing, planning*, μελετῶν, used here of composing aloud, as by Verg. *E.* 6, 82 f. *omnia quae Phoebus quondam medi-*

stellis inserere et consilio Iovis?
 Dicam insigne, recens, adhuc
 indictum ore alio. Non secus in iugis
 exsomnia stupet Euhias,
 10 Hebrum prospiciens et nive candidam
 Thracen ac pede barbaro
 lustratam Rhodopen, ut mihi devio
 ripas et vacuum nemus
 mirari libet. O Naiadum potens
 15 Baccharumque valentium
 proceras manibus vertere fraxinos,

tante beatus | audiit Eurotas. — *et consilio Iovis*: the deification of Augustus was early accomplished by the poets of his court. Cf. Verg. *G.* 1, 24 f. *tuque adeo, quem mox quae sunt habitura deorum | concilia, incertum est.* Also introductory n. to 1, 2, p. 56 f.

7. *insigne*: cf. 1, 12, 39 and n. The context makes it unnecessary to supply the obvious *carmen*. Cf. n. to 1, 6, 5.

8 f. *non secus*, etc.: the poet is possessed by the divine influence as fully as ever Maenad, who in her ecstasy has wandered unawares far from her home to some height where, suddenly coming to herself, she sees before her the valley of the Hebrus and Rhodope beyond. — *exsomnia*: the revels of the bacchantes were carried on by night. Sleeplessness is a characteristic of the orgiastic state. — *stupet*: *is amazed*; cf. Ovid, *Trist.* 4, 1, 42 (Bacche) *dum stupet Idaeis exululata iugis.*

10 ff. *nive candidam*: a traditional epithet of Thrace. Cf. *Il.* 14, 227 Ἑρμῶν ὄρεα νιφόεντα. — *pede barbaro lustratam*: *traced by stranger feet*; i.e. she has passed out of her own country. — *ut*: with *non secus* in place of the more common *ac* to avoid collision with *ac* in the preceding verse.

13. *ripas*: used absolutely as 3, 1, 23. — *vacuum*: the sacred grove (cf. 1, 1, 30) is untenanted by mortals, so that the poet may wander there at will (*devio*).

14 ff. *Naiadum potens*: cf. 1, 3, 1 and n. Also 2, 19, 3; and Orph. *Hymn* 53, 6 Νάϊσι καὶ Βάκχαις ἡγούμενε. — *valentium*, etc.: the bacchantes were supposed to possess superhuman strength. The special allusion is to the murder of Pentheus at the hands of the Maenads, who pulled up by the roots the tree from which he had overlooked their orgies, and then in their frenzy tore him limb from limb. — *vertere*: equivalent

nil parvum aut humili modo,
 nil mortale loquar. Dulce periculum est,
 O Lenaeae, sequi deum
 20 cingentem viridi tempora pampino.

to *evertere*. For the mood, see
 Intr. 108.

18 ff. **dulce periculum**: an oxy-
 moron. The danger consists in
 the near presence of the god; cf.
 2, 19, 5 ff. — **Lenaeae**: 'god of the

wine press' (ληνός).!—**cingentem**:
 best taken with the subject of
sequi, — the poet crowns his brow
 with fresh grape leaves in honor
 of the god and follows in his
 train.

26

'Not without honor have I served in Cupid's cause; now I'll give up
 my arms and dedicate them in Venus' temple. Goddess Queen, I pray
 thee, punish with a single blow Chloe so disdainful.'

The last verse betrays the lover and the cause of his determination
 to be done with love. A similar turn will be found 4, 1, 33 ff. Metre,
 68.

Vixi puellis nuper idoneus
 et militavi non sine gloria:
 nunc arma defunctumque bello
 barbiton hic paries habebit,

5 laevum marinae qui Veneris latus
 custodit. Hic, hic ponite lucida

1 f. **vixi**: the definite perfect
 shows that all is over. — **idoneus**:
i.e. a fit companion, *aptus*. — **mili-**
tavi: for this common figure, cf.
 4, 1, 1 f. *intermissa, Venus, diu |*
rursus bella moves; Ovid, *Am.* 1,
 9, 1 *militat omnis amans et habet*
sua castra Cupido.

4. **hic paries**, etc.: the dedica-
 tion of weapons, implements, as a
 sign of completed service was cus-
 tomary. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 1, 4 *Veia-*

nus armis Herculis ad postem
fixis, as a sign that his service
 as gladiator was ended; Terent.
Maur. 2633 f. *opima adposui senex*
Amori arma Feretrio. So here
 Horace will hang the implements
 he has used while in Love's ser-
 vice on the right wall of Venus'
 shrine. — **marinae** . . . **Veneris**:
 protectress of sailors; cf. 1, 3, 1.

6 ff. **hic, hic**: marking his haste
 to be done with his service. Cf.

funalia et vectis et arcus
oppositis foribus minacis.

10 O quae beatam diva tenes Cyprum et
Memphin carentem Sithonia nive,
regina, sublimi flagello
tange Chloen semel arrogantem.

2, 17, 10; *Epod.* 4, 20. — *lucida*: expressing the general characteristics; the links are not lighted at the time of dedication. — *funalia*: to light the lover on his nocturnal raids. — *vectis*: to pry open doors where the lover is excluded. — *arcus*: if this be the correct reading, the instrument thus designated is unknown to us, unless we may conceive that the lover is armed with Cupid's bow and arrows.

9 f. O quae, etc.: cf. 1, 3, 1; 30, 1. — *Memphin*: here was a shrine

of Ἀφροδίτῃ ζείνῃ, according to Herod. 2, 112. — *carentem*, etc.: cf. Bacchyl. *Frg.* 39 τὰν ἀχείμαντόν τε Μέμφιν. With the periphrasis cf. 1, 28, 1; 31, 20, etc. — *Sithonia*: cf. 1, 18, 9.

11 f. *regina*: cf. 1, 30, 1 and n. — *sublimi flagello tange*: *raise thy whip and touch*. Cf. Mart. 6, 21, 9 *arcano percussit (Venus) pectora loro*. — *semel*: *once and once only*. — *arrogantem*: the last word betrays the cause of all the lover's distress.

27

'May the wicked be attended by all bad omens; but only good signs be thy companions, Galatea; live happily and ever remember me. Yet beware of storms. I know the tricks of the Adriatic and of the West Wind. May our foes, their wives and children, tremble before them, as Europa once trembled (1-28). That maid, who so lately gathered flowers in the meadow, broke into bitter self-reproaches when she reached Crete with its hundred cities (29-66). But Venus came, laughed her to scorn, and told her the honors that awaited her (67-76).'

The structure of this ode is similar to that of 3, 11 with which and with 1, 15 it should be carefully compared. The first six strophes are designed solely to introduce the real subject of the poem. This introduction, however, is less skillfully managed than the opening strophes of 3, 11. The story of Europa was as well known as that of Hypermestra; the familiar portions of it are passed quickly over in vv. 25-32; and touched on again at the end (66-76). The scene chosen for fuller

treatment is the moment when Europa, having reached Crete, realizes her position. Metre, 69.

Impios parrae recinentis omen
ducat et praegnans canis aut ab agro
rava decurrens lupa Lanuvino
fetaque volpes;

5 rumpat et serpens iter institutum,
si per obliquum similis sagittae
terrui mannos: ego cui timebo
providus auspex,

10 antequam stantis repetat paludes
imbrium divina avis imminetum,

1-12. 'May the wicked only be exposed to the evil powers; but for thee I will secure a good omen.' All the omens mentioned vv. 1-7 are ἐνόδιοι σύμβολοι, 'signs by the way,' Aesch. *P. V.* 487. — parrae: mentioned with other prophetic birds by Plautus, *Asin.* 260 *pīcus et cornix ab laeva, cōrvos parra a dēxtera* | *cōnsuadent*, and also by Festus s.v. *oscines* (cf. v. 11) — *cum cecinit corvus cornix noctua parra picus*. The bird, however, is not identified. Owl may be used in translation. — recinentis: *droning*.

2 ff. ducat: *escort* (on their way). — agro . . . Lanuvino: Lanuvium was situated on one of the southwestern spurs (hence *decurrens*) of the Alban Hills, on the right of the Appian Way as one traveled from Rome. It is evident from vv. 17 ff. that Horace

has in mind for his Galatea a long journey across the Adriatic to Greece. — rava: *tawny*; cf. *Epod.* 16, 33 *ravos leones*.

5 f. rumpat: *break off*. If such unfavorable omens as are mentioned here appeared, the traveler would feel obliged to turn back and begin his journey anew. — per obliquum: logically modifying *similis sagittae*; translate, *darting across*.

7 f. mannos: *ponies*, bred in Gaul. Cf. *Epod.* 4, 14. — ego: bearing the emphasis, but giving the logical contrast — 'but for my friends.' — cui, etc.: *i.e. ei cui timebo . . . suscitabo*.

9 ff. 'I will anticipate bad omens by securing good.' — stantis: *stagnant*. — divina: *prophetic of*; cf. *Epist.* 2, 3, 218 *divina futuri*. — avis: the crow: cf. 3, 17, 12. Also Verg. *G.* 1, 388 *tum cornix*

oscinem corvum prece suscitabo
solis ab ortu.

15 Sis licet felix, ubicumque mavis,
et memor nostri, Galatea, vivas,
teque nec laevus vetet ire picus
nec vaga cornix.

20 Sed vides quanto trepidet tumultu
pronus Orion? Ego quid sit ater
Hadriae novi sinus et quid albus
peccet Iapyx.

plena pluviam vocat improba voce.
—**oscinem**: a technical term in augury for birds that give omens by their cries; to this class belong all the birds named in this ode (cf. Festus quoted above); those whose flight was significant, such as the eagle and vulture, were called *alites*. — **solis ab ortu**: a favorable quarter.

13 f. **sis**: optative subjunctive. — **licet**: added paratactically in the sense of *per me licet*, to show that he will not hinder. Cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 139 *mea quidem hercle causa salvos sis licet*. — **memor nostri**: cf. 3, 11, 51. The phrase is a formula of farewell.

15 f. **laevus**: when observing the omens the Roman *auspex* sat facing the south so that the east — the quarter in which good omens appeared — was on his left, therefore *laevus* and *sinister* in the technical usage may mean favorable; the Augustan poets, how-

ever, influenced by the Greek usage, employ both words in the sense of 'unlucky,' so that confusion frequently follows. Here **laevus** is unfavorable. — **vaga**: *flitting*.

17 ff. **sed vides**, etc.: suddenly the poet remembers the dangers to which Galatea will be exposed, and exclaims thus in anxious warning. The abruptness of this strophe after the smoothness of the preceding corresponds to the change in mood. — **trepidet**: as if the constellation were trembling at the storm it caused. — **pronus**: *as he sets*; cf. 1, 28, 21 *devexus Orion*. — **ater**: *i.e.* with the storm, but the word has also by association the meaning 'gloomy,' 'fatal.' Cf. 1, 28, 13; 37, 27; 2, 14, 17. — **albus** . . . **Iapyx**: cf. 1, 7, 15 *albus Notus* and n. — **peccet**: *how treacherous he is*. — **Iapyx**: the last two verses show that Horace has in mind a voyage to Greece.

Hostium uxores puerique caecos
sentiant motus orientis Austri et
aequoris nigri fremitum et trementis
verbere ripas.\

25 Sic et Europe niveum doloso
credidit tauro latus et scatentem
beluis pontum mediasque fraudes
palluit audax.

30 Nuper in pratis studiosa florum et
debitae Nymphis opifex coronae,
nocte sublustri nihil astra praeter
vidit et undas.

21 ff. 'May the storms smite our enemies,' a common execration; cf. Verg. *G.* 3, 513 *di meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum*; Ovid *A. A.* 3, 247 *hostibus eveniat tam foedi causa pudoris*. — *caecos* . . . *motus*: such as squalls and sudden storms. — *sentiant*: cf. 2, 7, 9 *fugam sensi*. — *orientis*: ordinarily *surgens* is used of a wind.

23 f. Notice the recurrence of the r-sounds. — *nigri*: cf. n. to 1, 5, 7. — *verbere*: *the lash* (of the surf).

25 ff. *sic*: *i.e.* 'as confidently as thou dost prepare to face the dangers of the sea.' — *doloso credidit*: for the juxtaposition, cf. 1, 6, 9 and n.; also 3, 5, 33 *perfidis se credidit*. — *latus*: *self*; cf. 2, 7, 18. — *scatentem beluis*: cf. 1, 3, 18. — *medias*: *around her*. — *palluit audax*: *grew pale at* . . .

in her boldness; cf. the oxymoron with 3, 20, 3 f. *inaudax raptor*. With this transitive use of *pallere*, cf. Pers. 5, 184 *sabbata palles*.

29 ff. *nuper*: *but just now*; emphatically contrasting Europa's position as described in vv. 29–30 with that indicated in 30–31. — *debitae*: *i.e.* as vowed; cf. 1, 36, 2 *sanguine debito*. — *nocte sublustri*: *the glimmering night*. — *nihil astra praeter*, etc.: so Mosch. 2, 127 ff. ἡ δ' ὅτε δὴ γαίης ἀπὸ πατρίδος ἦεν ἄνευθεν, | φαίνεται δ' οὐτ' ἀκτὴ τις ἀλίρροθος οὐτ' ὄρος αἰπύ, | ἀλλ' ἀῆρ μὲν ὑπερθεν, ἐνερθε δὲ πόντος ἀπείρων. . . . 'But when she now was far off from her own country, and neither sea-beat headland nor steep hill could now be seen, but above, the air, and beneath, the limitless deep . . . (Lang). For the position of *praeter*, see Intr. 32.

Quae simul centum tetigit potentem
 oppidis Creten, 'Pater, — o relictum
 35 filiae nomen, pietasque' dixit
 'victa furore!

Vnde quo veni? Levis una mors est
 virginum culpa. Vigilansne ploro
 turpe commissum, an vitiis carentem
 40 ludit imago

vana, quae porta fugiens eburna
 somnium ducit? Meliusne fluctus
 ire per longos fuit, an recentis
 carpere flores?

33 ff. Horace adopted that form of the story according to which the bull vanished on reaching Crete, and Europa was left alone for a short time until Zeus reappeared in his proper form. While alone she comes to herself and breaks out in self-reproaches. — **centum . . . potentem oppidis**: the Homeric Κρήτη ἐκατόμπολις.

34 ff. **pater**: her first word reminds her that by her folly she has lost a daughter's right to appeal to her father for protection. — **filiae**: genitive defining **nomen**. — **furore**: *folly*.

37 ff. **unde quo**: the compressed double question marks her excitement. Cf. the Homeric τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν; also Verg. *A.* 10, 670 *quo feror, unde abii, quae me fuga quemve reducit?* — **levis una mors**: imitated by Seneca *H. O.* 866

levis una mors est: levis, at extendi potest. — **virginum**: the generalizing plural, *a maiden's*. — **culpa**: *dative*; for the meaning of the word, see 3, 6, 17. — **vigilans**, etc.: she can hardly believe that it is not all a delusion. — **ludit imago**: cf. Verg. *A.* 1, 407 f. *quid natum totiens crudelis tu quoque falsis | ludis imaginibus?*

41. **porta . . . eburna**: whence false dreams issued. Cf. Vergil's imitation, *A.* 6, 893 ff., of *Od.* 19, 562 ff. *sunt geminae somni portae, quarum altera fertur | cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris, | altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto, | sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia manes.*

42 f. **meliusne**, etc.: in ironical self-reproach. — **fluctus** . . . **longos**: of the distance she has come. Cf. 3, 3, 37 *longus pontus*.

45 Si quis infamem mihi nunc iuvenum
dedat iratae, lacerare ferro et
frangere enitar modo multum amati
cornua monstri.

50 Impudens liqui patrios penatis,
impudens Orcum moror. O deorum
si quis haec audis, utinam inter errem
nuda leones!

Antequam turpis macies decentis
occupet malas teneraeque sucus

45 ff. si quis . . . dedat: a virtual wish. — nunc: in contrast to the time when she yielded to his approaches. — lacerare: with cornua; cf. v. 71 f. below. — enitar: even in her rage she is conscious of her own weakness. — modo . . . amati, etc.: in the meadow she had wreathed his horns with flowers.

49 f. impudens: she now feels the shame of her position and fears possible starvation or slavery — for her, a princess. Therefore she prays for death. — liqui patrios penatis: so Europa exclaims in Moschus' poem 142 ff. οἶμοι, ἐγὼ μέγα δὴ τι δυσάμμορος, ἧ ῥα τε δῶμα | πατρὸς ἀποπρολιποῦσα καὶ ἐσπομένη βοὶ τῷδε | ξείνην ναυτιλίην ἐφάπω καὶ πλάζομαι οἷη, 'Alas for me, and alas again, for mine exceeding evil fortune, alas for me that have left my father's house, and following this bull, on a strange sea-faring I go, and wander lonely' (Lang). — Orcum

moror: *I keep death waiting*, (when I ought to seek him).

51 f. si quis: equivalent to *quisquis*. Cf. 3, 24, 25 and n. — inter: Intr. 32. — nuda: defenseless.

52 ff. With the ancient concept of life after death as a continuation of the present, it was natural to believe that in the other world the body appeared in the same form in which it left this. The cases of Dido and Deiphobus, *A.* 6, 450 and 494, are familiar illustrations. Also Stat. *Silv.* 2, 1, 154 ff. says of the death of a favorite boy *gratum est, fata, tamen, quod non mors lenta iacentis | exedit puerile decus manesque subivit | integer et nullo temeratus corpora damno*. It was natural then that Europa should pray for death before her beauty had faded.

53 ff. decentis: *comely*; cf. 1, 4, 6. — sucus: cf. Ter. *Eun.* 318 of a girl, *color verus, corpus soli-*

55 defluat praedae, speciosa quaero
 pascere tigris.

 Vilis Europe, pater urget absens.
 Quid mori cessas? Potes hac ab orno
60 pendulum zona bene te secuta
 laedere collum;

 sive te rupes et acuta leto
 saxa delectant, age te procellae
 crede veloci, nisi erile mavis
 carpere pensum

65 regius sanguis, dominaeque tradi
 barbarae paelex.' Aderat querenti

dum et suci plenum. — *praedae*: said in self-pity, which is heightened by the adjective *tenerae*. — *speciosa*: *while still fair*.

57 f. *vilis*: she recognizes that she has cheapened herself by her folly. — *pater urget*: the thought of her father spurs her on to suicide. — *potes hac ab orno*, etc.: so Helen cries, Eurip. *Hel.* 298 ff. *θανεῖν κράτιστον· πῶς θάνοιμ' ἂν οὖν καλῶς; | ἀσχήμονες μὲν ἀγχό- ναι μετάρσιοι | . . . σφαγαὶ δ' ἔχουσιν εὐγενές τι καὶ καλόν*, 'To die is best. How then can I die nobly? Unseemly is choking by the noose in mid-air, . . . but the sword's blows have something fair and noble in them.'

59 f. *zona bene te secuta*: *which fortunately you have with you*. Spoken in irony: her girdle, emblem of maidenhood, will be a

fit instrument of her death. — *laedere*: in place of the harsher *elidere*.

61 ff. *sive*: *or if*; cf. 1, 15, 25. — *leto*: dative. The rocks below the cliffs (*rupes*) are sharpened for her death. — *procellae*: which blow off the cliffs and will carry her out as she leaps to her doom. — *erile*: *set by a mistress*. — *carpere pensum*: the duty of enslaved women was to card and spin the wool assigned them by their mistress. Cf. Hector's fear for Andromache, *Il.* 6, 456 *καί κεν ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἐοῦσα πρὸς ἄλλης ἱστὸν ὑφαίνους*, and Prop. 4, 6, 15 f. *tristis erat domus, et tristes sua pensa ministrae | carpebant, medio nebat et ipsa loco*.

65 f. *regius sanguis*: spoken with proud indignation, which prompts the adjective *barbarae*

perfidum ridens Venus et remisso
filius arcu ;

70 mox, ubi lusit satis, ' Abstineto '
dixit ' irarum calidaeque rixae,
cum tibi invisus laceranda reddet
cornua taurus.

75 Vxor invicti Iovis esse nescis.
Mitte singultus, bene ferre magnam
disce fortunam : tua sectus orbis
nomina ducet.'

also. Cf. Creusa's speech Verg. *A.* 2, 785 ff. *non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas | aspiciam, aut Graiis servitum matribus ibo, | Dardanis, et divae Veneris nurus.* — *aderat querenti*: the goddess comes and interrupts the maiden's self-reproaches.

67 f. *perfidum*: cf. 1, 22, 23 *dulce ridentem.* — *remisso . . . arcu*: with bow unstrung, for his task is ended. So Tennyson says, *Eleanore*, 'His bowstring slackened, languid Love.'

69 ff. *lusit*: sc. *Venus.* — *irarum . . . rixae*: genitive of separation. Intr. 94. — *laceranda*, etc.: referring in mockery to Europa's wish v. 45 ff.

73 ff. *uxor esse*: a Greek construction for the more common *te uxorum esse.* — *invicti*: 'so it is useless for thee to struggle against thy fate.' — *mitte*: cf. 3, 8, 17. — *sectus orbis*: *half the world.* Cf. Varro *L. L.* 5, 31 *divisa est caeli regionibus terra in Asiam et Europam*; and Plin. *N. H.* 3, 5 *Europam plerique merito non tertiam portionem fecere, verum aequam, in duas partes ab amne Tanai ad Gadi-tanum fretum universo orbe diviso.* — *nomina*: cf. 1, 2, 15. — *ducet*: *shall take*; cf. *S.* 2, 1, 66 *Laelius aut qui | duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine nomen.*

28

'Come, Lyde, bring out some good old wine, relax your fortified sobriety. 'Tis now past noon; we must be quick to celebrate with cup and song Neptune's great holiday. We'll sing in amoebean strains until Night claims a parting song.'

The festival which occasioned this ode was the *Neptunalia*, which fell on July 23. The people celebrated it in open air festival, erecting booths of boughs, called *umbrae*, along the banks of the Tiber or on the seashore, for protection from the sun. Horace, however, represents himself as on his farm, where he bids his severe housekeeper join him in a carouse. Metre, 71.

Festo quid potius die
 Neptuni faciam? Prome reconditum,
 Lyde, strenua Caecubum,
 munitaeque adhibe vim sapientiae.
 5 Inclinare meridiem
 sentis et, veluti stet volucris dies,
 parcis deripere horreo
 cessantem Bibuli consulis amphoram.
 Nos cantabimus invicem

1 ff. It suddenly occurs to Horace that it is the day of Neptune's festival, which furnishes him an excuse for some relaxation. — **prome**: cf. 1, 36, 11. — **reconditum**: hoarded away in the back of the *apotheca*; cf. *Epod.* 9, 1 *repostum Caecubum*. — **strenua**: to be taken with **prome**, *hurry and broach*. — **munitae . . . sapientiae**: *your well fortified (and stern) philosophy*. Lyde is evidently not given to carouses, but Horace begs her for once to do violence to her strenuous principles. Some critics have wished to believe that Lyde — who probably lived only in Horace's imagination — was a flute girl, yet music girls possessed no *munitam sapientiam* to hinder a carouse, and the whole wit of Horace's verses lies in the absurdity

of this proposal to his severe and probably old housekeeper to join him in a drinking bout and song.

5 f. 'It is already late and we must hurry.' — **inclinare meridiem**: a common belief was that the sun and stars were fixed in the vaulted sky, which revolved, carrying them with it. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 3, 7 *inclinato iam in postmeridianum tempus die*. — **et**: *and yet*. — **stet**: *were standing still*.

7 f. **deripere**: *to hurry down*. Cf. 3, 21, 7, *descende* and n. With the infin., cf. *Epist.* 1, 3, 16 *ut tangere vitet*. — **horreo**: *i.e.* the *apotheca*. — **cessantem**: as if the jar were reluctant. — **Bibuli**: M. Calpurnius Bibulus, consul in 59 B.C.

9 f. **nos**: *I, as tu*, v. 11 shows; cf. 1, 6, 5 and n. — **invicem**: *in my turn*. — **viridis**: the tradi-

- 10 Neptunum et viridis Nereidum comas ;
 tu curva recines lyra
 Latonam et celeris spicula Cynthiae ;
 summo carmine quae Cnidon
 fulgentisque tenet Cycladas, et Paphum
 15 iunctis visit oloribus ;
 dicetur merita Nox quoque nenia.

tional color of the sea-nymphs. In general the colors and appearance of the sea are attributed to the divinities whose home is in it; hence Thetis is *mater caerulea*, *Epod.* 13, 16. Cf. also *Stat. Silv.* 1, 5, 16 f. *ite deae virides liquidosque advertite vultus | et vitreum teneris crinem redimite corymbis.*

11 f. *recines*: *sing in answering strains.* — *Latonam* . . . *spicula*: note the correspondence with v. 10. With the theme, cf. *Eurip. Hec.* 462 f. *σὺν Δηλιάσιν τε κούραις Ἀρτέμιδος τε θεᾶς χρυσέαν ἄμπυκα τόξα τ' εὐλογήσω.* 'And with the Delian maidens I will praise the golden head-band and the weapons of the goddess Artemis.'

13 f. *summo carmine*: *at the end of*; cf. *Epist.* 1, 1, 1 *summa*

dicende camena; and *Iuv.* 1, 5 *summi libri.* — *quae*: *i.e. eam quae*; cf. 3, 26, 9. The verb *cantabimus* still continues. With this paraphrase for Venus, cf. the address of Posidippus *Anth. Pal.* 12, 131, 1 f. *ᾧ Κύπρον ᾧ τε Κύθηρα καὶ ᾧ Μίλητον ἐποιχνεῖς | καὶ τὸ καλὸν Συρίης ἵπποκρότου δάπεδον.* — *fulgentis*: cf. 1, 14, 19 *nitentes Cycladas.* The worship of Aphrodite was widespread among the islands of the Aegean, and was especially cultivated at Naxos.

15 f. *iunctis* . . . *oloribus*: *drawn by*, etc. The swan was sacred to the goddess and in poetry frequently draws her car. For the construction, cf. 3, 3, 16. — *dicetur*: cf. 1, 6, 5 and n. — *Nox*: 'we will continue until nightfall.' — *nenia*: *a good-night song*; not here a 'dirge' as in 2, 1, 38.

29

'Maecenas, child of Tuscan kings, long have the wine and roses waited for thee on my Sabine farm. Do not delay; leave thy lofty city pile, and all that thou canst see from it of Tivoli and Tusculum, the smoke and din of Rome, and soothe thy cares with grateful, simple feasts (1-16). Now rages dog-day heat and drought: the shepherd

and his flock seek the shade and cool, and every breeze is stilled. Yet thou art anxious for our state and fear our furthest border foes (17-28). All that is wrong. God has hidden the future from man's sight and laughs at mortals' anxious care. Deal with the present and be satisfied; for all besides goes like a stream, now quiet, now wild (29-41). He shall be master of himself who lives the present hour; that single gift Heaven cannot take back (41-48). Dame Fortune plays with man, but I will not be her sport. If she be kind, 'tis well; but if she fly away, I am unchanged with honor still. No timid trader I to bargain with the gods to save my goods when the southwester blows. Nay, from the storm my little boat and the Twin Gods will keep me still unharmed (49-64).'

The last place before the epilogue in his collected lyrics Horace thus gives to the friend and patron to whom he had dedicated the three books. See Introductory n. to 1, 1. Maecenas' care for the well-being of the state and anxiety over possible foreign foes furnish Horace an opportunity to urge again the wisdom of thinking solely of the present hour; that only that which we already have is surely ours. He then goes to develop in his own manner a kindred theme— independence of the whims of fortune.

The allusions in vv. 26-28 seem to fix the date as 26-25 B.C., when Augustus was absent in the West. Metre, 68.

Tyrrhena regum progenies, tibi
non ante verso lene merum cado
cum flore, Maecenas, rosarum et
pressa tuis balanus capillis

5 iamdudum apud me est: eripe te morae,
ne semper udum Tibur et Aefulae

1 ff. *Tyrrhena*, etc.: see 1, 1, 1 and n. — *verso*: 'tipped' to pour the wine into the mixer; hence *broached*. — *lene*: *mellow*; cf. 3, 21, 8 *languidiora vina*. — *flore* . . . *rosarum*: cf. 2, 3, 14 *flores amoenae rosae*; 3, 15, 15. — *balanus*: properly the *myrobalanus*, 'ben nut,' grown in Egypt and Arabia;

here the oil pressed from the nut for unguent; translate, *nut oil*. — *iamdudum*, etc.: 'I have waited long; come.' Cf. *Epist.* 1, 5, 7 *iamdudum splendet focus et tibi munda supellex*.

5 ff. *morae*: *hesitancy*. — *ne*, etc.: a purpose clause following *eripe*. Translate, however, as a

declive contempleris arvum et
Telegoni iuga parricidae.

10 Fastidiosam desere copiam et
molem propinquam nubibus arduis ;
omitte mirari beatae
fumum et opes strepitumque Romae.

Plerumque gratae divitibus vices,
mundaeque parvo sub lare pauperum

negative exhortation, *do not always*, etc. — **udum Tibur** : *well watered Tivoli*. For the applicability of the adjective cf. 1, 7, 13 and n. — **Aefulae**, etc. : a town among the hills between Tibur and Praeneste.

8. **Telegoni**, etc. : Tusculum, founded by Telegonus, the son of Ulysses and Circe. When his mother sent him in quest of his father he came to Ithaca and there unwittingly slew Ulysses. With the preceding verses cf. Ovid. *Fast.* 4, 71 f. *et iam Telegoni, iam moenia Tiburis udi | stabant*.

9 f. **fastidiosam** : *cloying*. — **molem propinquam**, etc. : *thy pile, near neighbor*, etc. Cf. 2, 15, 2. The palace called *alta domus* *Epod.* 9, 3 which Maecenas built on the Esquiline. It had a lofty tower which commanded a view of the Campagna and surrounding hills. From this *turris Maecenatiana*, as it was later called, Nero is said (Suet. *Nero* 38) to have watched the burning of Rome.

11 f. **omitte** : cf. the simple *mitte* 1, 38, 3 ; 3, 27, 74. — **beatae** : cf. 1, 4, 14 ; 3, 26, 9. — **fumum et opes**, etc. : this graphic line is famous ; Tennyson's verse, *In Mem.* 89, is a reminiscence of it, 'The dust and din and steam of town.'

13. A general statement — 'the rich suffer from ennui and are eager for a change simply for a change's sake, and not because it brings them any real advantage.' Cf. Lucretius' description of the uneasy 3, 1057 ff. *haud ita* (i.e. if men could know the cause of their uneasiness) *vitam agerent ut nunc plerumque videmus | quid sibi quisque velit nescire et quaerere semper | commutare locum, quasi onus deponere possit ; | exit saepe foras magnis ex aedibus ille, | esse domi quem pertaesumst, subitoque revertit | quippe foris nilo melius qui sentiat esse. | currit agens mannos ad villam praecipitanter*.

— **plerumque** : cf. 1, 34, 7 and n. — **gratae** : sc. *sunt*. — **vices** : *a change*.

14 ff. **mundae** : *simple, striking*

15 cenae sine aulaeis et ostro
 sollicitam explicuere frontem.

Iam clarus occultum Andromedae pater
ostendit ignem, iam Procyon furit
et stella vesani Leonis,

20 sole dies referente siccos ;

iam pastor umbras cum grege languido
rivumque fessus quaerit et horridi
dumeta Silvani, caretque
ripa vagis taciturna ventis :

25 tu civitatem quis deceat status
 curas et urbi sollicitus times

the mean between pretentiousness and cheap squalor, as Horace himself defines the word, *S. 2, 2, 65 f. mundus erit, qui non offendet sordibus atque | in neutram partem cultus miser*. Cf. n. on *munditiis* 1, 5, 5. — *lare*: roof; cf. 1, 12, 44. — *pauperum*: cf. n. on *pauperiem* 1, 1, 18. — *aulaeis*: tapestries. — *ostro*: used in the *aulaea* and upholstery. — *explicuere*: gnomic perfect. Intr. 103.

17 ff. 'The dog days are come; it is the time for rest.' — *clarus occultum*: with this antithesis, cf. 1, 6, 9 and n. — *Andromedae pater*: Cepheus, once king of Egypt, husband of Cassiopea and united with her in the sky in the constellation that bears her name. It rose July 9. — *Procyon*: the lesser dog-star, rising July 15. — *Leonis*: now called Regulus, rising July 30.

21 ff. *iam pastor*, etc.: cf. the

anonymous Greek epigram *χὼ ποιμὰν ἐν ὄρεσσι μεσαμβρινὸν ἀγχόθι παγᾶς | συρίσδων, λασίας θάμνῳ ὑπὸ πλατάνου | καύματ' ὀπωρινοῖο φυγὼν Κυνός*. 'And the shepherd on the mountains at midday, piping by a spring and shunning the heat of the summer dog-star in a copse under a thick plane tree;' and Theognis' impatience, 1039 f., at those who do not fortify themselves in hot weather *ἄφρονες ἄνθρωποι καὶ νήπιοι, οἷτινες οἶνον | μὴ πίνουσ' ἄστρου καὶ κυνὸς ἀρχομένου*. 'Silly senseless men, who drink not wine while the Dog-star is supreme!'

— *rivum*: cf. 2, 5, 6 and 3, 13, 9–12. — *horridi*: rough, as becomes the dweller in the thickets; cf. n. to *Epod.* 2, 22.

25 ff. *tu*: 'The shepherd and his sheep rest, but you,' etc. Cf. 2, 9, 9. — *status*: policy. The

quid Seres et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent Tanaisque discors.

30 Prudens futuri temporis exitum
caliginosa nocte premit deus,
ridetque si mortalis ultra
fas trepidat. Quod adest memento

componere aequus: cetera fluminis
ritu feruntur, nunc medio alveo

reference is apparently to Maecenas' position as Augustus' chief adviser in the settlement of the empire, and as the Emperor's representative during his absence in 26-25 B.C. — *urbi*: with both *solicitus* and *times*. — *Seres*, etc.: Horace ironically chooses remote peoples to show how needless Maecenas' fears are. — *regnata Cyro*: cf. 2, 6, 11. — *Bactra*: the farthest part of the Parthian Empire. — *Tanais*: *i.e.* the Scythians. With this use of the river for the people who dwell by it, cf. 2, 9, 21; 20, 20. — *discors*: and so not to be feared by us.

29 ff. The uncertainty of tomorrow and the folly of being anxious for it. Cf. Theog. 1075 ff. *πρήγματος ἀπρήκτου χαλεπώτατόν ἐστι τελευτήν | γνῶναι, ὅπως μέλλει τοῦτο θεὸς τελέσαι. | ὀρφνὴ γὰρ τέταται.* 'Of that which is yet unaccomplished it is most difficult to recognize the end and know how God will complete it. A mist is stretched before us.'

— *prudens* . . . *deus*: cf. 1, 3,

21. — *caliginosa*: cf. *ὀρφνὴ* in the passage of Theognis just quoted, and Iuv. 6, 556 *et genus humanum damnat caligo futuri*.

31 f. *ridet*: *laughs in scorn*; cf. 3, 27, 67 *ridens Venus*. — *mortalis ultra*, etc.: 'mortal should have mortal's thoughts'; cf. 2, 16, 17. — *trepidat*: *frets himself*; cf. 2, 11, 4. — *quod adest*, etc.: one of Horace's favorite rules for a wise life. So Pind. *P.* 3, 21 ff. *ἔστι δὲ φύλον ἀνθρώποισι ματαιότατον, | ὅστις αἰσχύνων ἐπιχώρια παπταίνει τὰ πόρσω, | μεταμῶνια θηρεύων ἀκράντοις ἐλπίσιν.* 'There is a tribe most foolish among men, of such as scorn the things of home and gaze at that which is far off, chasing vain objects with hopes that shall never be fulfilled.'

33 ff. *aequus*: *i.e.* 'keep thyself unruffled whether the hour bring good or ill.' — *cetera*: *i.e.* all the future. — *ritu*: *like*; cf. 3, 14, 1 and n. — *feruntur*: *are swept along*; marking the impossibility of directing the future. Cf. Sen.

35

cum pace delabentis Etruscum
in mare, nunc lapides adesos

stirpisque raptas et pecus et domos
volventis una, non sine montium
clamore vicinaeque silvae,
40 cum fera diluvies quietos

inritat amnis. Ille potens sui
laetusque deget, cui licet in diem
dixisse 'Vixi; cras uel atra
nube polum pater occupato,

Epist. 23 ceteri, eorum more quae fluminibus innatant, non eunt sed feruntur. — **nunc medio alveo**, etc.: most of the rivers known to Horace were mountain streams, which in dry seasons are small and quiet, but after a rainfall become swollen torrents quickly. — **Etruscum**: the verse is hypermetric. *Intr. 68.* — **lapides adesos**, etc.: cf. *Il. 11, 492 ff.* ὡς δ' ὁπότε πλήθων ποταμὸς πεδίονδε κάτεισιν | χειμάρρους κατ' ὄρεσφιν, ὁπαζόμενος Διὸς ὄμβρω, | πολλὰς δὲ δρῦς ἀζαλέας, πολλὰς δέ τε πεύκας | ἐσφέρεται, and *Lucret 1, 281 ff.* *et cum mollis aquae fertur natura repente | flumine abundanti, quam largis imbris auget | montibus ex altis magnus decursus aquai, | fragmina coniciens silvarum arbustaque tota. | . . . ita magno turbidus imbri . . . amnis | dat sonitu magno stragem volvitque sub undis | grandia saxa.*

37 ff. **raptas**: with all three

nouns. — **clamore**: personifying the mountains and woods.

41. **potens sui**: *independent*: i.e. not enslaved by his thoughts of the morrow, by 'hope to rise or fear to fall.' The dependent man is described *Epist. 1, 16, 65 nam qui cupiet, metuet quoque; porro | qui metuens vivet, liber mihi non erit umquam.*

43 ff. 'To-day is mine; let to-morrow be what it will, it cannot take from me that which I have once enjoyed.' A common sentiment. Cf. *Sen. Epist. 12 in somnum ituri laeti hilaesque dicamus: 'vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna, peregi.'* *Mart. 1, 15, 11 f. non est, crede mihi, sapientis dicere: 'vivam.' | sera nimis vita est crastina. vive hodie; 5, 58, 7 f. cras vives? hodie iam vivere, Postume, serum est. | ille sapit quisquis, Postume, vixit heri.* — **dixisse**: with the tense, cf. 3, 4, 51, — **pater**: cf. 1, 2, 2.

45 vel sole puro : non tamen inritum
quodcumque retro est efficiet, neque
diffinget infectumque reddet
quod fugiens semel hora vexit.'

Fortuna, saevo laeta negotio et
50 ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
transmutat incertos honores,
nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.

Laudo manentem : si celeris quatit
pennas, resigno quae dedit et mea
55 virtute me involvo probamque
pauperiem sine dote quaero.

Non est meum, si mugiat Africis
malus procellis, ad miseras preces

45 ff. *inritum* : *void*. — *diffin-*
get : *change*. — *infectum reddet* :
destroy. — *fugiens* : *in its flight*.

49 ff. cf. Dryden's famous para-
phrase, 'Fortune that with mali-
cious joy | Does Man, her slave,
oppress, | Proud of her office to
destroy, | Is seldom pleased to
bless : | Still various, and incon-
stant still, | But with an inclination
to be ill, | Promoted, degrades, de-
lights in strife, | And makes a lot-
tery of life. | I can enjoy her
while she's kind ; | But when she
dances in the wind, | And shakes
her wings and will not stay, | I
puff the prostitute away : | The
little or the much she gave, is
quickly resigned, | Content with
poverty my soul I arm, | And vir-
tue, though in rags, will keep me
warm.'

49 ff. *laeta* : *rejoicing in*. —
ludum : cf. 2, 1, 3. — *ludere* : Intr.
108. — *transmutat honores* : cf. 1,
34, 14 ff.

52. *mihi* : Horace here lapses
into his common habit of using
himself as a concrete illustration
of the principle (here of indepen-
dence) he has been urging.

54 ff. *pennas* : Fortune is al-
ways winged ; cf. 1, 34, 15. — *re-*
signo : *I yield back* ; apparently a
book-keeping term 'to carry to
the other side of the account,' 'to
credit back.' — *me involvo* : his
honor is his only cloak. Cf.
Plato's proposal for his ideal state
Rep. 5, 457 A. ἀρετὴν ἀντὶ ἱματίων
ἀμφιέσονται (αἱ γυναῖκες). —
quaero : as a lover his bride.

57. *non est meum* : colloquial,
it's not my way. Cf. Plaut. *Asin.*

60 decurrere et votis pacisci,
 ne Cypriae Tyriaeque merces
 addant avaro divitias mari:
 tunc me biremis praesidio scaphae
 tutum per Aegaeos tumultus
 aura feret geminusque Pollux.

190 AR. *non meum est*. CL. *nec meum quidem edepol*. — *mugiat*: cf. 1, 14, 5.

59 f. *votis pacisci*: ironically said of the common 'bargain' prayer. — *Cypriae Tyriaeque*: concrete for 'Oriental.'

61 ff. *avaro* . . . *mari*: a common personification; cf. 1, 28, 18. — *biremis*: *two-oared skiff*. The

point is that a tiny boat will save a man from the storms of life if only he possess a soul content within itself. — *aura*: *the breeze*, contrasted with *Africis procellis*. — *geminus Pollux*: Castor and Pollux, who will secure him the favoring breeze and a safe voyage. For the Dioscuri as protectors of sailors, see 1, 3, 2 and n.

30

In the prologue to the three books of odes Horace expresses the modest hope that Maecenas will count him a lyric poet; in the epilogue he triumphantly declares that he has built a monument of verse that will outlast bronze and unnumbered time itself. He boasts that his fame shall grow when he is dead, and that so long as Rome shall last, men shall say that he was the first to transplant Aeolian verse to Italy. So let the Muse place the laurel crown upon his brow.

It is little wonder that when Horace surveyed the substantial body of lyric verse which he was about to intrust to the world, he felt a natural pride in his accomplishment. This feeling was undoubtedly increased by the thought of his humble origin and by the memory of his early struggles for recognition and of the envious scorn he had aroused among the noble poetasters of his day. Of this last, however, there is no hint in this ode. Horace now knew that his fame was secure. He was the first Roman to write a large amount of lyric poetry, and his odes had already received the favorable judgment of the best critics in Rome. If to our modern taste he seems too frank in expression, we must remember that antiquity apparently took no such offense, for he had many predecessors, and later poets did not hesitate to speak with equal boldness. Metre. only 1, 1 and here, 53.

Exegi monumentum aere perennius
regalique situ pyramidum altius,
quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
possit diruere aut innumerabilis
annorum series et fuga temporum.
Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei
vitabit Libitinam; usque ego postera
crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium

1 ff. *exegi*: emphasizing the completion of the work. Horace may have had in mind Pindar's boast, *P.* 6, 7 ff. ἐτοῖμος ὕμνων θησαυρὸς . . . τετείχισται . . . | τὸν οὔτε χειμέριος ὄμβρος ἐπακτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐριβρόμου νεφέλας, | στρατὸς ἀμείλιχος, οὔτ' ἄνεμος ἐς μυχοὺς ἁλὸς ἄξιοισι παμφύρῳ χεράδει | τυπτόμενον. 'A ready treasury of song has now been built. . . . neither winter storm, coming fiercely from the thunder cloud, a grim host, nor wind-blast shall carry it to the secret recesses of the sea, beaten by the sweeping rubble.' Cf. also Ovid's imitation of Horace in the epilogue to the *Metamorphoses*, *iamque opus exegi quod nec Iovis ira nec ignis | nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas*, etc.

2 ff. *situ*: *pile*. — *pyramidum*: the lofty pyramids have naturally been a measure of man's supremest accomplishment in both ancient and more modern times. — *quod*: *such that*, etc. — *edax*: frequently applied to time, *e.g.* *Anth. Lat.* 1167, 46 M. *quae non tempus edax, non rapit ira Iovis*. Claud. *Carm.*

min. 34, 5 *aetatis spatium non tenuavit edax*. — *impotens*: *powerless to harm*, not 'weak,' as in 1, 37, 10. — *fuga*: cf. 2, 14, 1 *fugaces anni*; 3, 29, 48.

6 f. *non omnis moriar*, etc.: cf. Ovid's imitations *Am.* 1, 15, 42 *parsque mei multa superstes erit*; *Met.* 15, 875 f. *parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis | astra ferar*. — *Libitina*: the goddess at whose temple all the requirements for funerals were rented out and where the registry of deaths was kept. Therefore by metonymy, 'the rites of death.'

7. *usque*: *still, on and on*. — *crescam*: *i.e.* 'my glory.' — *recens*: *ever new*. — *dum Capitolium*, etc.: in the last half of the first century before our era the vast extent of the Roman empire and the fixity of Roman institutions made a strong appeal to the imaginations of men; the permanence of Rome became the measure of all permanence; it is at this time that we find the phrase *urbs aeterna* first applied to the city. Horace and others chose

scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex,
 10 **D**icar, qua violens obstrepat Aufidus
 et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium
 regnavit populorum ex humili potens,
 princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
 deduxisse modos. Sume superbiam
 15 quaesitam meritis et mihi Delphica
 lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.

the Capitol as the most significant center of Roman institutions. Cf. Verg. *A.* 9, 446 ff. *fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt, | nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo, | dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum | accolet.* Ovid *Trist.* 3, 7, 50 ff. *me tamen extincto fama superstes erit, | dumque suis victrix omnem de montibus orbem | prospiciet domitum Martia Roma, legar.* Also Mart. 9, 1, 5 ff.

9. **scandet**, etc.: we do not know whether Horace refers to any regular procession; it is most probable that he mentions the Vestal Virgin and Pontifex simply as representatives of two ancient institutions.

10 ff. **dicar**: *men shall say*. — **qua**, etc.: *i.e.* 'I shall be honored in the district where I was born.' — **obstrepat**: the Aufidus is a mountain stream in its upper course. — **pauper aquae**: cf. *Epod.* 3, 16 *siticulosae Apuliae*: Ovid *Met.* 14, 510 *arida Dauni arva*. — **Daunus**: cf. n. to 1, 22, 14. — **populorum**: object of *regnavit*;

a Greek construction. — **ex humili potens**: with **Daunus**, *a ruler sprung from low estate*.

13 f. **princeps**: Horace ignores Catullus. — **Aeolium**: cf. 1, 1, 34 and n.; 2, 13, 24. — **Italos**: since the conquest of Italy, equivalent to *Latinos*. — **deduxisse**: *composed*; apparently a metaphor taken from spinning. Cf. *Epist.* 2, 1, 225 *tenui deducta poemata filo*, and our common 'spin,' 'to run on at length,' 'to relate.' — **modos**: *strains*. Horace's claim to eminence is that he has been the pioneer in writing lyric poetry after the manner of the best of the Greeks.

14 ff. **sume superbiam**: *i.e.* 'as is thy right, for thou, goddess, hast inspired all my song.' Cf. the acknowledgment 4, 3, 24 *quod spiro et placeo, si placeo tuum (Pieri) est*. — **Delphica**: cf. 4, 2, 9, *laurea Apollinari*. — **volens**: *graciously*; with *propitius* a common formula in prayers. So Livy 1, 16, 3 *precibus exposcunt uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem*. — **Melpomene**: cf. n. to 1, 1, 33.

LIBER QVARTVS

I

Ten years after the publication of what he had regarded as the definitive edition of his lyric poems, Horace gathered into a fourth book some occasional odes written at the request of Augustus, and certain other poems. See Intr. 9. At the head of the collection he placed some light verses reminiscent of his earlier service as a poet of love, and intended to remind the reader that this was still his proper field. In these verses he protests that at fifty his days of love are over, and that Venus should spare him. Young Paulus Maximus, the noble, comely, and eloquent, will do the goddess larger service and pay her greater honor. For himself, he no longer finds delight in maid or boy, in hope for love returned, in sport with wine and flowers. And yet, what means this tear!

The unexpected turn at v. 33 is similar to that in 3, 26, 11 f. Paulus Maximus is introduced by Horace, partly to compliment his young friend, and partly to secure a foil for himself and his ten lustra. The ode was probably written but a short time before the publication of the book, *i.e.* about 14-13 B.C. Metre, 71.

Intermissa, Venus, diu

rursus bella moves? Parce, precor, precor.

Non sum qualis eram bonae

sub regno Cinarae. Desine, dulcium

1 f. *intermissa*: naturally placed first, referring to the ten years in which his lyre had not sung of love. — *bella*: cf. v. 16 below, and 3, 26, 2 and n. — *parce*, etc.: frequently imitated by later poets; cf. *e.g.* Ovid *Trist.* 2, 179 *parce precor fulmenque tuum, fera tela,*

reconde; 5, 2, 53; Mart. 7, 68, 2 *parce precor socero*.

4 f. *sub regno*: *sway*; cf. 3, 9, 9 *me nunc Thessa Chloe regit*. — *Cinarae*: apparently the only one among all of Horace's loves who had a real existence. Between her and the poet there seems to

- 5 mater saeva Cupidinum,
 circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
 iam durum imperiis; abi
 quo blandae iuvenum te revocant preces.
 Tempestivius in domum
 10 Pauli purpureis ales oloribus
 comissabere Maximi,
 si torrere iecur quaeris idoneum.
 Namque et nobilis et decens
 et pro sollicitis non tacitus reis
 15 et centum puer artium
 late signa feret militiae tuae,
 et quandoque potentior

have been a genuine bond of affection; the reference to her in 4, 13, 22 ff. shows that at this time she was dead. — *dulcium* . . . *saeva*: the two sides to love. Cf. Catull. 68, 17 *dea* . . . *quae dulcem curis miscet amaritiem*. — *mater*: an echo of 1, 19, 1 *mater saeva Cupidinum*.

6 ff. *circa lustra decem*: sc. *me*. The lack of a present participle in Latin (Greek *ὄντα*) makes the expression awkward. Horace was 50 in 15 B.C. — *flectere*: conative. — *imperiis*: dative wth *durum*, as the interlocked order and the contrast between *mollibus* and *durum* show. — *revocant*: *call* (with greater right); cf. n. on *reponens* 1, 9, 6.

9. *tempestivius*: for he is young; cf. *tempestiva* 3, 19, 27. — *Pauli*: Paulus Maximus, cos. 11 B.C., was a member of one of

the noblest Roman families, the friend of Ovid, and a confidant of Augustus. He was about twenty-two years Horace's junior. — *purpureis*: the rosy hue of divinity; cf. 3, 3, 12 and n. — *ales*: *winged by*; cf. 3, 28, 15. — *comissabere*: *carry thy revelry*. — *torrere*: cf. 1, 33, 6 *Lycorida Cyri torret amor*. — *iecur*: 1, 13, 4.

13 f. *et . . . et . . . et*, etc.: the repetition has a cumulative force; cf. *nec . . . nec*, etc. v. 29 ff. — *pro sollicitis*, etc.: cf. similar compliment to Pollio 2, 1, 13; Ovid *ex Pont.* 1, 2, 118 addressing this same Maximus, (*vox tua*) *auxilio trepidis quae solet esse reis*.

16. *signa*, etc.: cf. *bella*, v. 2 above. On the order of words see Intr. 21.

17 ff. *quandoque*: *whenever*. — *potentior*: *i.e.* through the

largi muneribus riserit aemuli,
 Albanos prope te lacus
 20 ponet marmoream sub trabe citrea.
 Illic plurima naribus
 duces tura, lyraeque et Berecyntiae
 delectabere tibiae
 mixtis carminibus non sine fistula;
 25 illic bis pueri die
 numen cum teneris virginibus tuum
 laudantes pede candido
 in morem Salium ter quatient humum.
 Me nec femina nec puer
 30 iam nec spes animi credula mutui
 nec certare iuvat mero
 nec vincere novis tempora floribus.

favor of Venus. — **muneribus**: ab-
 lative with **potentior**, although it
 also expresses that at which he
 laughs in scorn. — **Albanos prope**
lacus: the *lacus Albanus* and *lacus*
Nemorensis in the Alban Hills.
 Near the latter was the famous
 shrine of Diana. Probably Horace
 had no definite spot in mind but
 simply means, 'Paulus will build
 a new shrine to thee near (or like)
 that of Diana Nemorensis.'

20. **marmoream**: *in marble*. —
trabe: collectively, *the rafters*. —
citrea: *of African cedar*; an ex-
 pensive wood. Cross sections of
 large trunks were used for the
 tops of tables, and were extremely
 costly.

21 f. **plurima**: *abundant*. —
Berecyntiae: cf. 1, 18, 13; 3, 19, 18.

24. **non sine**: cf. n. to 1, 23, 3.

25 ff. **bis**: *i.e.* morning and
 evening. — **pueri . . . cum teneris**
virginibus: a choral band similar
 to that for which 1, 21 was written,
 and which sang the *Carmen Sae-*
culare. See introductory notes to
 1, 21 and C. S.; also cf. 4, 6, 31 ff.

28. **Salium**: cf. 1, 36, 12 and
 n. — **ter quatient**: cf. 3, 18, 16.

29 ff. **me**: returning to the per-
 sonal experience. — **nec . . . nec**,
 etc.: cf. n. to v. 13. — **animi . . .**
mutui: *of a heart that returns*
my love. Cf. 3, 9, 13 *face mutua*.
 — **credula**: observe the effect of
 its position, although it is not
 grammatically connected with the
 inclosing words. Intr. 20. —
mero: *i.e.* in a drinking contest.
 — **vincire**: in preparation for a

Sed cur heu, Ligurine, cur
 manat rara meas lacrima per genas?
 35 Cur facunda parum decoro
 inter verba cadit lingua silentio?
 Nocturnis ego somniis
 iam captum teneo, iam volucrem sequor
 te per gramina Martii
 40 campi, te per aquas, dure, volubilis.

comissatio. — *novis*: of the spring, when the young man (but not the man of fifty years) lightly turns to thoughts of love.

33 ff. *sed*: the unexpected turn. — *cur* . . . *cur*: Intr. 28 c. — *Ligurine*: the same name occurs again 4, 10, 5. We need not suppose that he existed outside Horace's fancy. — *rara*: a single tear, which he unexpectedly finds on his cheek. Cf. 1, 13, 6 *umor et in genas furtim labitur*. — *facunda lingua*: *i.e.* ordinarily. — *parum*: cf. n. to *minus* 1, 2.

27.—*decore*: hypermetric. Intr. 71. With the signs of love, cf. Sappho, *Frg.* 2, 7 ff. ὥς γὰρ εὖιδον βροχίως σε, φώνας | οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἵκει· | ἀλλὰ καμ μὲν γλῶσσα ἔαγε. Imitated by Catullus 51, 6 ff. *nam simul te, Lesbia, adspexi, nihil est super mi . . . lingua sed torpet*. Also *Epod.* 11, 9.

38 ff. *iam* . . . *iam*: cf. *nunc* . . . *nunc* above. — *aquas*: of the Tiber. — *volubilis*: cf. *Epist.* 1, 2, 43 *at ille (amnis) labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum*.

2

'Whoever tries a flight in rivalry with Pindar, will surely fall like Icarus. That mighty poet pours forth his verse like mountain flood and is supreme in every field (1-24). He soars aloft, a swan of Dirce, while I am but a Matine bee that gathers sweets with toil (25-32). But thou, Antonius, art a poet, and canst sing in fuller strain the triumphs of our supreme Caesar and hymn his glad return. Then I too will add my voice to swell the greeting (33-52). Thou shalt make large thanksgiving sacrifice of ten bulls and heifers, while I offer a young calf, as fits my humble station (53-60).'

This ode is evidently composed in anticipation of the return of Augustus to Rome from the German frontier, to which he went in 16 B.C. after the defeat of M. Lollius. The Iullus Antonius addressed was the son of Mark Antony and Fulvia. He was educated in Augus-

tus' household by his stepmother, Octavia; every honor was shown him until the discovery of his liaison with the infamous Julia, when he was put to death (2 B.C.). It is said that he was the author of an epic, *Diomedea*, in twelve books, and of some prose works besides.

The occasion and date of the ode are both uncertain. It was probably written in the winter of 16–15 B.C. or early in the following spring, with the expectation that the Emperor would soon return; many, however, prefer to place its composition in 14–13 B.C. But why should Horace, if writing at that date, mention only Augustus' comparatively unimportant success over the Sygambri and their allies in 16 B.C., and have nothing to say of the brilliant Alpine campaigns of Tiberius and Drusus in 15 B.C.? The fact that these are celebrated in odes 4 and 14 will hardly account for silence here, if the later date of composition be accepted. The occasion which prompted the verses may have been a request from Antonius for a Pindaric ode, which Horace turns aside in a manner similar to that of 1, 6. Or we may suppose that Horace chose this way to express his own eager anticipation of Augustus' return and to pay Antonius a (possibly) extravagant compliment. Whatever its date, the position of the ode gives it the effect of a deprecatory preface to odes 4 and 14. Metre, 69.

Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari,
Iulle, ceratis ope Daedalea
nititur pennis, vitreo daturus
nomina ponto.

5 Monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
 quem super notas aluere ripas,

1 f. **Pindarum**: (522–448 B.C.) a native of Thebes, the greatest of the nine lyric poets of Greece. His odes for victory (Ἑπινίκια) became the model for such poems. Pindar had no slight influence on Horace. — **aemulari**: *to vie with*. — **Iulle**: dissyllabic here, but used by Vergil as a trisyllable and spelled with a single *l*. It was the name of a mythical ances-

tor of the Julian gens, but employed by the members as a *praenomen*. — **ceratis**: *wax-joined*. — **ope Daedalea**: *by the art of Daedalus*.

3 f. **nititur**: *soars*. — **vitreo**: *glassy, crystal*. Cf. n. to 3, 13, 1. — **daturus**: *destined to give*. Cf. 2, 3, 27.

5. **velut amnis, etc.**: a common comparison, *e.g.* Cic. *Acad.*

fervet immensusque ruit profundo
Pindarus ore,

10 laurea donandus Apollinari,
seu per audacis nova dithyrambos
verba devolvit numerisque fertur
lege solutis,

15 seu deos regesve canit, deorum
sanguinem, per quos cecidere iusta
morte Centauri, cecidit tremendae
flamma Chimaerae,

2, 119 *flumen orationis aureum*.
Cf. also our (uncomplimentary)
'flood of words.'

7 f. fervet, etc.: *seethes and rushes along in boundless flood*. The poet is confused with the river to which he is compared. Cf. 1, 15, 29 ff. and n. For the feminine caesura here and elsewhere in this book, see Intr. 51.—*profundo . . . ore*: *with deep and mighty speech*. — *ore*: with reference to Pindar alone. The description refers to Pindar's richness of language, his 'grand style.' So Horace says *S. 1, 4, 43 f.* that you can give the name poet only to a man, *cui mens diviniior atque os magna sonaturum*.

9 ff. laurea . . . Apollinari: cf. 3, 30, 16. — *donandus*: forming the conclusion to the following conditions, *i.e.* 'Pindar deserves to be crowned with the sacred laurel for each and every kind of poetry he essayed.' — *audacis*: *i.e.*

in compounds and metaphors. — *nova*: *fresh compounds*. — *dithyrambos*: choral songs in honor of Dionysus. — *devolvit, fertur*: keeping up the figure of the torrent. — *lege solutis*: *i.e.* not composed in strict symmetry, with strophe and antistrophe; or Horace may mean nothing more than 'free.' The phrase with the addition of a word was applied by St. Jerome to rhythmical prose, *Praef. in Iob, interdum quoque rhythmus ipse dulcis et tinnulus fertur numeris legetri solutis*. The common expression for prose is *soluta oratio*.

13 ff. seu deos, etc.: in his Hymns and Paeans. — *reges*: *heroes*, as *deorum sanguinem* shows. — *per quos*: *i.e.* Theseus and Pirithous, who overcame the Centaurs (cf. 1, 18, 8), and Bellerophon, slayer of the Chimaera. — *iusta*: *deserved*, as the Centaurs began the quarrel that ended in their death. — *flamma Chimaerae*: with

sive quos Elea domum reducit
palma caelestis pugilemve equumve
dicit et centum potiore signis
munere donat,

20

flebili sponsae iuvenemve raptum
plorat et viris animumque moresque
aureos educit in astra nigroque
invidet Orco.

25

Multa Dircaeum levat aura cycnum,
tendit, Antoni, quotiens in altos
nubium tractus: ego apis Matinae
more modoque

the form of expression, cf. 1, 3, 36; 3, 21, 11.

17 ff. His extant Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian odes. — **Elea**: the Olympic games; the most important of the four being taken as typical of all. — **caelestis**: cf. 1, 1, 5 and Sil. Ital. 15, 100 *me cinctus lauro producit ad astra triumphus*. — **pugilemve equumve**: in partitive apposition to **quos**. With this passage, cf. *Epist.* 2, 3, 83 *musa dedit fidibus divos puerosque deorum | et pugilem victorem et equum certamine primum | . . . referre*. — **dicit**: cf. n. to 1, 6, 5. — **signis**: *statues*.

21 ff. His lost Eulogies, Ὀρῆνοι. — **flebili**: active, *weeping*. Cf. 1, 24, 9. — **ve**: for the position, see Intr. 31. — **viris animumque**, etc.: telling over in detail the youth's virtues. This and the following verse are hypermetric. — **aureos**:

cf. n. on 1, 5, 9. — **invidet**: *be-grudges* (and saves from).

25 ff. After reviewing in the last three strophes the various forms of Pindar's poetry, Horace now returns to his preëminence. — **multa**: *a mighty*. — **Dircaeum**: the fountain of Dirce was near Thebes. — **cycnum**: a common comparison; cf. 2, 20 and introductory n. — **tractus**: *stretches*.

27. **apis**, etc.: also a stock figure; cf. Plat. *Ion* 534 A. λέγουσι γὰρ . . . πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ ποιηταί, ὅτι ἀπὸ κρηνῶν μελιρρύτων ἐκ Μουσῶν κήπων τινῶν καὶ ναπῶν δρεπόμενοι τὰ μέλη ἡμῖν φέρουσιν ὥσπερ αἱ μέλιτται. With the comparison which Horace makes between himself and Pindar, cf. Lucretius' words in regard to his relation to Epicurus 3, 6 ff. *quid enim contendat hirundo cycnis? . . . tuisque ex, inclute, chartis |*

30 grata carpentis thyma per laborem
 plurimum circa nemus uvidique
 Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
 carmina fingo.

35 Concines maiore poeta plectro
 Caesarem, quandoque trahet ferocis
 per sacrum clivum merita decorus
 fronde Sygambros;

40 quo nihil maius meliusve terris
 fata donavere bonique divi
 nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum
 tempora priscum.

floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant, | omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta.

— **Matinae**: with reference to the district in which he was born. Cf. 1, 28, 3.

30 f. **plurimum**: with **laborem**. — **circa nemus**, etc.: his favorite Tivoli; cf. 2, 6, 5 ff. — **Tiburis**: modifying both **nemus** and **ripas**. — **operosa parvus**: Intr. 26.

33 f. **concines**: with **Caesarem** in the following verse, bearing the emphasis. 'Caesar shall be sung, but in a different strain than that of which I am master.' — **maiore** . . . **plectro**: *i.e.* 'of a grander style'; cf. 2, 1, 40 *leviore plectro*. The ablative is descriptive, modifying **poeta**. Augustus' deeds were better themes for an epic poet like Antonius than for a lyricist. — **quandoque**: 'whenever the day of his triumph shall come.' —

ferocis: a decorative epithet (yet cf. 4, 14, 51 *caede gaudentes*) which secures a contrast with **trahet**.

35 f. **per sacrum clivum**: the Sacra Via from the arch of Titus down to the Forum. The expression is found elsewhere only twice, Mart. 1, 70, 5; 4, 78, 7. — **decorus**: *adorned with*. — **fronde**: the laurel wreath of the triumphing general. — **Sygambros**: they defeated Lollius' army (cf. introductory n.), but withdrew before the Emperor's approach and hastened to make peace with him.

37 ff. These verses show the court poet. A similar expression is found in *Epist.* 2, 1, 16 f. *iurandasque tuom per numen ponimus aras, | nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes*. — **quamvis**, etc.: 'though the Golden Age should return.' — **priscum**: cf. *Epod.* 2, 2.

Concines laetosque dies et urbis
publicum ludum super impetrato
fortis Augusti reditu forumque
litibus orbum.

45 Tum meae, si quid loquar audiendum,
vocis accedet bona pars, et 'O sol
pulcher, o laudande!' canam, recepto
Caesare felix.

50 Teque dum procedis, 'Io Triumphe!'
non semel dicemus 'Io Triumphe!'
civitas omnis, dabimusque divis
tura benignis.

Te decem tauri totidemque vaccae,
me tener solvet vitulus, relicta

41 f. **concines** : Intr. 28 c. — **laetos** : *i.e. festos*, when Augustus returns. — **ludum** : *joy* ; cf. *Epist.* 2, 3, 226 *ita vertere seria ludo*. — **super** : with the construction, cf. 3, 8, 17 *super urbe curas*. — **impetrato** : *granted* (to our prayers). There are extant coins of 16 B.C. with the inscription S. P. Q. R. V(ota) S(uscepta) PRO S(alute) ET RED(itu) AUG(usti).

44. **litibus orbum** : the courts would be closed when the Emperor returned in triumph. The technical term is *iustitium*. As a matter of fact, when Augustus did return in 13 B.C., he declined a triumph and entered the city by night to avoid any public demonstration.

45 ff. 'I too will swell the ac-

claim with the best of my weak powers.' — **loquar** : less common than *dico* for the poet's work ; repeated 4, 15, 1 *Phoebus volentem proelia me loqui . . . increpuit*. **audiendum** : *worth hearing*. — **sol pulcher** : the very day of Augustus' return will be glorified by his presence. — **laudande** : the future passive participle is very frequently used in the fourth book. In this ode it occurs vv. 9, 45, 47. Also 4, 68 ; 9, 4. 21 ; 11, 3. 14. 34 ; 14, 17.

49 ff. **teque** : personifying the Triumph itself ; object of **dicemus**. — **Io Triumphe** : the cry of greeting to the triumphal procession as it moved along. Cf. n. to *Epod.* 9, 21 f. — **non semel** : *not once alone*, but many times. — **civitas** :

55 matre qui largis iuvenescit herbis
 in mea vota,
 fronte curvatos imitatus ignis
 tertium lunae referentis ortum,
 qua notam duxit niveus videri,
 60 cetera fulvus.

in opposition to the subject of *dicemus*. Cf. 1, 35, 35 *nos, aetas*.

53 f. *te . . . me*: cf. 2, 17, 30 ff. This *te*, referring to Antonius, is awkward after *te* in v. 49. — *solvēt*: from the obligation of our vows.

55 ff. The detailed description of the young bullock furnishes the ode with a quiet idyllic ending similar to that in 3, 5, 53–56. At the same time it emphasizes the contrast between the wealthy Antonius, who must sacrifice twenty head of cattle off hand, and the simple Horace who loves to linger on the charms of his single victim.

— *relicta matre*: *weaned*. — *largis*: *luxuriant*. — *in*: *against, in anticipation of*.

57 ff. *curvatos*: *the crescent*. With the description, cf. Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 1, 129 *nec nova lunatae curvavit germina frontis*. Moschus 2, 88 describes the horns of Europa's bull as curved ἄτε κύκλα σελήνης. — *referentis*: cf. 3, 29, 20. — *qua*: referring to *fronte* and defining *niveus videri*. (Cf. λευκὸς ἰδέσθαι.) Intr. 109. — *duxit*: *has got, taken on*. Cf. Verg. *E.* 9, 49 (*astrum*) *quo duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem*.

3

The poet's grateful acknowledgment to his Muse.

'He on whom thou dost look with kindly eye in his natal hour, Melpomene, is set apart from the pursuit of common glories. He shall not win renown as athlete or as general. But the quiet groves and streams shall be his haunts and he shall gain his fame through poesy (1–12). So through thy gift am I counted to-day a lyric bard and Envy's tooth is dulled. All my fame, my inspiration, and my power to please are thine, sweet Muse (13–24).'

The publication of his three books of odes in 23 B.C. had established Horace's name as a lyric poet, and his appointment in 17 B.C. to write the *Carmen Saeculare* had officially fixed his position. The petty critics who had carped at him in earlier years and the noble poetasters who had shown a snobbish envy of his skill were now silenced; the

Romans gladly gave him the recognition he deserved. He had indeed obtained the object of his ambitions expressed in *C. I, 1*. In the present ode he shows his gratitude to the Muse for his success; and this feeling is expressed, not in boasting, but with a humility which shows that Horace felt his skill to be due to some power beyond himself. The ode has evident reminiscences of *I, 1* in the contrast between the aims of ordinary men and the quiet life of the poet. Metre, 71.

Quem tu, Melpomene, semel
 nascentem placido lumine videris,
 illum non labor Isthmius
 clarabit pugilem, non equus impiger
 5 curru ducet Achaico
 victorem, neque res bellica Deliis
 ornatum foliis ducem,
 quod regum tumidas contuderit minas,
 ostendet Capitolio;
 10 sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt

1 ff. The same idea is expressed in Greek poetry, e.g. by Hesiod *Theog.* 81 ff. ὄντινα τιμήσωσι Διὸς κοῦραι μέγαλοιο | γεινόμενόν τε ἴδωσι διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων, | τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσση γλυκερὴν χεῖουσιν ἑέρσην (*dew*), τοῦ δ' ἔπε' ἐκ στόματος ρεῖ μέλιχα.

— Melpomene: cf. 3, 30, 16. — semel: *but once*. — placido lumine: cf. Alciphr. 3, 44 εὐμενεστέροις ὄμμασιν ἐκείνον εἶδον οἱ Χάριτες.

3 ff. labor: the Greek πόνος. — Isthmius: cf. 4, 2, 17 and n. — pugilem, equus: the same types 4, 2, 18. — Achaico: i.e. *Greek*; contrasted with the Roman triumph which follows. — res bellica: *deeds in war*. Cf. *res ludicra*, 'comedy,' *Epist.* 2, 1, 180. — Deliis . . .

foliis: the laurel, a crown of which was worn by the triumphing general. Cf. 3, 30, 15 *Delphica lauro*, 4, 2, 9 *laurea Apollinari*.

8 f. tumidas: contrasted with contuderit, *crushed down*. The adjective was adopted by Seneca, *H. O.* 927 *depone tumidas pectoris laesi minas*. — minas: cf. 2, 12, 12 *regum minacium*. — Capitolio: the end of the triumphal procession.

10 f. Horace uses the streams and groves of his beloved Tivoli as typical of the haunts of the Muses and their devotees; he also secures through their associations with himself an easy transition to his own case. — quae Tibur aquae, etc.: cf. 1, 7, 12 ff. — prae-

et spissae nemorum comae
 fingent Aeolio carmine nobilem.
 Romae, principis urbium,
 dignatur suboles inter amabilis
 15 vatum ponere me choros,
 et iam dente minus mordeor invido.
 O testudinis aureae
 dulcem quae strepitum, Pieri, temperas,
 o mutis quoque piscibus
 20 donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum,
 totum muneris hoc tui est,
 quod monstror digito praetereuntium

fluunt: *flow past*, a variant of the more common *praeterfluunt*. — *spissae* . . . *comae*: cf. 1, 21, 5, and the verse from Milton there quoted.

12. *Aeolio carmine*: cf. 3, 30, 13 and n. The adjective also serves to aid the transition, as Horace's chief models were Alcaeus and Sappho.

13 ff. *Romae, principis, etc.*: Horace's pride in Rome, queen of cities (cf. *Epist.* 1, 7, 44 *regia Roma*), adds to his satisfaction in the recognition he receives from her children (*suboles*). — *vatum*: cf. n. to 1, 1, 35. — *ponere*: 1, 1, 35 *inserere*.

16. *dente* . . . *invido*: cf. *Epod.* 6, 15; Ovid *ex Pont.* 3, 4, 73 f. *laedere vivos livor et iniusto carpere dente | solet*.

17 f. *testudinis aureae*: Pindar's χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, *P.* 1, 1. Cf. *C.* 2, 13, 26 *aureo* . . . *plectro*. —

dulcem . . . *strepitum*: cf. Milton's 'melodious noise.' — *temperas*: *modulate*.

19 f. *mutis*: a stock epithet; the Hesiodic ἑλλοπας ἰχθῦς *Scut. Her.* 212. — *donatura*: *thou who couldst give*. — *cycni*: but *cycni* 4, 2, 25.

21. *muneris*: predicate. Cf. Ovid *Trist.* 1, 6, 6 (to his wife) *si si quid adhuc ego sum, muneris omne tui est*. — *quod monstror*: defining the preceding. This form of complimentary recognition is frequently mentioned. Cf. 4, 9; Lucian *Herod.* 2 εἰ πού γε φανείη μόνον, ἐδείκνυτο ἂν τῷ δακτύλῳ, οὗτος ἐκείνος Ἡρόδοτός ἐστιν . . . ὁ τὰς νίκας ἡμῶν ὑμνήσας. St. Jerome, *ad Eustoch.* 22, urged *ne ad te obviam praetereuntium turba consistat et digito monstreris*. Stevenson wrote after a visit to Sidney (Vailima Letters, XXVIII, April, 1893), 'I found my fame

Romanae fidicen lyrae;
quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est.

much grown on this return to civilization. *Digito monstrari* is a new experience; people all looked at me in the streets of Sydney; and it was very queer.'

23 f. *fidicen*: cf. Horace's claim, *Epist.* 1, 19, 32 *hunc (Alcaeus) ego Latinus volgavi fidicen*. — *quod spiro et placeo*: *my inspiration and my power to please*.

4

'Like a young eagle swooping on his prey or a lion just weaned tearing its first victim, so the Vindelici saw the young Drusus fight under the shadow of the Raetian Alps. Now through defeat they have come to feel what the noble young Neros, piously reared beneath Augustus' roof, can do (1-28). Brave and noble are those who spring from noble sires. Training is powerless when character fails (29-36). Thy debt, O Rome, to Nero's line is witnessed by the Metaurus, the defeat of Hasdrubal, and that glorious day when the fearful leader was forced by the renewed strength of Rome to say "We are but deer. This people, tossed to this land from Troy destroyed by fire, gains strength through loss, grows Hydra-like more strong. No more proud messages shall I send to Carthage. All hope was lost when Hasdrubal was killed (37-72)." Such noble deeds have the Claudii done; no bound is there to what they yet shall do, with the aid of Jove's favor and man's wise counsel (73-76).'

This and the fourteenth ode celebrate the victories in 15 B.C. of the young Neros, Drusus and Tiberius, stepsons of Augustus. In the spring of that year Drusus, then but twenty-three years old, led his troops up the river Atagis (Adige) and defeated the Vindelician forces not far from Tridentum (Trent). He then pushed northward across the Brenner pass and defeated the Breuni and Genauni in the valley of the river Inn. Tiberius approached from the west by the upper Rhine and Lake Constance, and the armies under the two brothers scoured the valleys in which the Rhine and Inn have their sources so successfully that in a single campaign the district of the Grisons and Tirol was completely subjugated and made into the province Raetia.

The occasion of this and the fourteenth ode, as Suetonius tells us (*vita Hor.*), was the 'command' of Augustus — *scripta quidem eius usque adeo probavit mansuraque perpetua opinatus est, ut non modo seculare carmen componendum iniuxerit sed et Vindelicam victoriam*

Tiberii Drusique, privignorum suorum. It was a task for which Horace had often declared himself unfit, but he could hardly disregard the Emperor's command, even had he been so inclined. In spite of his protestations in the second ode of this book, he adopted here the Pindaric form which allowed him to pass over the exploits of Drusus very briefly and to devote the greater part of the ode to the deeds of the house of Nero in the almost mythical past. Metre, 68.

Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem,
cui rex deorum regnum in avis vagas
permisit expertus fidelem
Iuppiter in Ganymede flavo,

5 olim iuventas et patrius vigor
nido laborum propulit inscium,
vernique iam nimbis remotis
insolitos docuere nisus

10 venti paventem, mox in ovilia
demisit hostem vividus impetus,

1-16. The young eagle illustrates the impetuosity with which Drusus attacked his foes, the young lion the terror his attack aroused.

1 ff. *ministrum*: in opposition with *alitem*, which is object of *permisit*. We may translate, however, *the winged messenger*. Cf. Verg. *A.* 5, 255 *Iovis armiger*. — *rex, regnum*: intentional antithesis. The concept of the eagle as king of birds, οἰωνῶν βασιλεύς, is Pindaric. — *in*: cf. 3, 1, 5. — *expertus fidelem*: *having proved him faithful in the case of*. — *Ganymede*: cf. 3, 20, 15 f. — *flavo*: *fair-haired*, ξανθός, a decorative epithet. Cf. 1, 5, 4.

5 ff. *olim*: *once*. The reference to the eagle which carried off Ganymedes is confined to the first strophe; that which follows is said of the bird in general. — *nido*: with *propulit*. — *laborum*: *of strife and toil*. — *propulit*: gnomic perfect. Intr. 103. The object of this, as of the following verbs, is easily brought over from v. 1. — *verni*: *i.e.* 'gentle.' The fact that young eagles do not fly until late summer need not disturb us. — *iam*: with *docuere*.

9 ff. *paventem*: *in his timidity*. — *mox*: *presently*; marking the second stage in the eaglet's development — first he timidly learns to fly, presently he swoops on his

nunc in reluctantis dracones
egit amor dapis atque pugnae ;

15 qualemve laetis caprea pascuis
intenta fulvae matris ab ubere
iam lacte depulsum leonem
dente novo peritura vidit :

20 videre Raetis bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici (quibus
mos unde deductus per omne
tempus Amazonia securi

prey, and at last engages in battle with snakes (*dracones*) that fight back. Horace may have had in mind the description of the struggle between the eagle and snake, *Il.* 12, 200 ff. imitated by Verg. *A.* 11, 751 ff.

13 ff. *laetis*: *luxuriant*. — *matris ab ubere*: editors are not agreed whether these words refer to *caprea* or *leonem*. It is probable that the second alternative is right, and that *lacte depulsum* is to be considered as expressing a single idea, *weaned*. Vergil has *G.* 3, 187 *depulsus ab ubere* and *E.* 7, 15 *depulsos a lacte . . . agnos*. Horace's expression is then tautological but not unnatural. We may render, *lately weaned from his tawny mother's dugs*.

16. *peritura vidit*: notice the force of the juxtaposition—the fawn sees the lion and recognizes its own fate at the same moment.

17 f. *videre*: the anadiplosis makes *talem* unnecessary. Intr. 28 b.—*Raetis*: equivalent to *Raeticis*. — *quibus*: the relative; translate, *their*. The indirect question is introduced by *unde*. The reference here to an archæological discussion is most inopportune, and some have wished to regard the verses as the invention of a later writer. It is more probable that Horace's usual good taste deserted him. The passage may be an attempt to imitate a Pindaric digression. In any case we must remember that the ode was made to order, and that such a task was not inspiring to Horace's muse.

19 f. *deductus*: the participle, as frequently, contains the main idea. — *per omne tempus*: *i.e.* from the mythological period to the present time. — *Amazonia securi*: see Baumeister 1, pp. 60, 63 for illustrations of this form

dextras obarmet, quaerere distuli,
nec scire fas est omnia), sed diu
lateque victrices catervae
consiliis iuvenis revictae

25 sensere quid mens rite, quid indoles
 nutrita faustis sub penetralibus
 posset, quid Augusti paternus
 in pueros animus Neronēs.

30 Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis;
 est in iuvenicis, est in equis patrum
 virtus, neque imbellem feroces
 progenerant aquilae columbam :

of axe. — obarmet : coined by Horace.

22 f. nec scire fas, etc. : said almost with impatience, — 'don't ask me how this custom has been handed down. Man should not try to know everything.' — diu lateque: modifying victrices. The reference is to the successes of the Vindelici before they were checked by Drusus.

24. consiliis: *wise strategy*. — revictae: *defeated in their turn*.

25 f. rite . . . nutrita: with both mens and indoles, *intelligence and character*. — faustis . . . penetralibus: the phrase is chosen, like rite above, to suggest the sacred character of the training the young princes received in the Emperor's house. So Velleius 2, 94, 1 says of the training of Tiberius under Augustus, *innutritus caelestium praeceptorum disciplinis*.

28. Neronēs : Tiberius and Drusus — the latter was born after his mother was divorced from Ti. Claudius Nero and married to Octavianus — were both treated by their stepfather as his own sons (cf. paternus animus).

29 ff. fortes, etc.: good birth is the first essential. The sentiment of the verse is a commonplace. Cf. *e.g.* Eurip. *Frg.* 75, 2 ἐσθλῶν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐσθλὰ γίγνεσθαι τέκνα, κακῶν δ' ὅμοια τῇ φύσει τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς. — fortibus et bonis: a frequent commendatory expression. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 9, 13 *scribe tui gregis hunc et fortem crede bonumque*. — est . . . est: emphatic, *no doubt there is*. At the same time the sentence is logically concessive with reference to the following strophe. — imbellem feroces: juxtaposed as 1, 6, 9 *tenuēs grandia*. Intr. 26.

doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,
rectique cultus pectora roborant ;

35

utcumque defecere mores,
indecorant bene nata culpae.

Quid debeas, o Roma, Neronibus,
testis Metaurum flumen et Hasdrubal

40

devictus et pulcher fugatis
ille dies Latio tenebris,
qui primus alma risit adorëa,
dirus per urbis Afer ut Italas

33 ff. 'Yet correct training is essential.' Notice the emphasis on *doctrina*, *recti cultus*, *indecorant*. — *sed* : *and yet*. — *cultus* : *nurture*. With the sentiment of the two verses cf. *Epist.* 2, 3, 408 ff.; Cic. *pro Arch.* 15 *idem ego contendo, cum ad naturam eximiam atque inlustrem accesserit ratio quaedam conformatioque doctrinae, tum illud nescio quid praeclarum ac singulare solere existere*. Quint. *Inst.* 12, 2, 1 *virtus etiamsi quosdam impetus ex natura sumit, tamen perficienda doctrina est*.

35 f. *utcumque* : *as soon as*. Cf. 1, 17, 10. — *defecere* : definite perfect. — *bene nata* : the generalizing plural ; translate, *that which is naturally good*.

37 ff. The chief theme of the ode — 'the glorious ancestry of Drusus.' In 207 B.C. Hannibal was waiting at Canusium in Apulia for the arrival of his brother Hasdrubal with a large army. Has-

drubal had already crossed the Alps when the consul M. Claudius Nero, who was watching Hannibal, took 7000 picked men and without the enemy's knowledge marched rapidly to the north to reënforce his colleague, M. Livius, from whom also Drusus was descended by his mother's side. The two consuls defeated the enemy at the river Metaurus, and Claudius Nero returned quickly south, bringing Hasdrubal's head as a grim messenger to Hannibal of his brother's defeat. The story is told by Livy 27, 43 ff. — *Hasdrubal devictus* : *the victory over*, etc. ; cf. *mos deductus* v. 19 above. — *pulcher* : cf. n. to *sol pulcher* 4, 2, 47. — *Latio* : abl. with *fugatis*.

41 ff. *adoreä* : *victory*, apparently an archaic word which Horace called back into use. — *dirus* . . . *Afer* : cf. 3, 6, 36 *Hannibalem dirum*. — *ut* : temporal, *since*. Cf. *Epod.* 7, 19. — *ceu* : only here

ceu flamma per taedas vel Eurus
per Siculas equitavit undas.

45 Post hoc secundis usque laboribus
Romana pubes crevit, et impio
vastata Poenorum tumultu
fana deos habuere rectos,
dixitque tandem perfidus Hannibal:
50 'Cervi, luporum praeda rapacium,
sectamur ultro quos opimus
fallere et effugere est triumphus.

Gens quae cremato fortis ab Ilio
iactata Tuscis aequoribus sacra

in Horace.—Eurus per Siculas, etc.: cf. Eurip. *Phoen.* 209 ff. περιρρύτων | ὑπὲρ ἀκαρπίστων πεδίων | Σικελίας Ζεφύρου πνοαῖς | ἱππεύσαντος ἐν οὐρανῷ. 'On the blasts of Zephyrus as he drives in the sky over the barren (sea-) plains that encompass Sicily.'

44. equitavit: this verb does double duty for Afer and for flamma, Eurus.

45 ff. post hoc: i.e. after Hasdrubal's defeat. — usque: ever, constantly; cf. 3, 30, 7. — crevit: grew strong; cf. Eurip. *Suppl.* 323 (σὴ πατρὶς) ἐν . . . τοῖς πόνοισιν αὖξεται. — tumultu: rout. The word properly denotes war within or on the Roman borders, and it is here disparagingly applied to Hannibal's campaign.

48. rectos: upright (again).

49. perfidus: a stock Roman epithet for the Carthaginians. Cf.

Livy 21, 4, 9 (describing Hannibal) *inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio.*

49 ff. Livy, 27, 51, 12 gives a similar account of Hannibal's dejection, *Hannibal . . . agnoscere se fortunam Carthaginiis fertur dixisse.* — cervi: mere hinds, emphatic. — praeda: the (natural) prey. — ultro: beyond what is usual, actually. — opimus . . . triumphus: calling to mind the *spolia opima*. — effugere est triumphus: note the slight oxymoron.

53 ff. gens quae, etc.: the *Aeneid* had been published two years when this was written. Cf. n. to C. S. 41 ff. — fortis: still brave, in contrast to cremato, which pictures the complete destruction of the city. — iactata:

55

natosque maturosque patres
pertulit Ausonias ad urbis,

duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
nigrae feraci frondis in Algido,
per damna, per caedis, ab ipso
60 ducit opes animumque ferro.

Non hydra secto corpore firmior
vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem,
monstrumve submittere Colchi
maius Echioniaeve Thebae.

65

Merses profundo, pulchrior evenit;

with *gens*; cf. Verg. *A.* 1, 3 (of Aeneas) *multum ille et terris iactatus et alto*. — Tuscis aequoribus, etc.: cf. Juno's speech, Verg. *A.* 1, 67 f. *gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor | Ilium in Italiam portans victosque Penatis*.

58. *nigrae*: cf. 1, 21, 7. — *Algido*: cf. n. to 1, 21, 6.

61 f. *non*: with *firmior*. — *hydra*: the simile is attributed by Plutarch to Cineas, Pyrrhus' adviser. But cf. Florus *Epit.* 1, 18, 19 *cum Pyrrhus 'video me' inquit 'plane procreatum Herculis semine, cui quasi ab angue Lernaeo tot caesa hostium capita quasi de sanguine suo renascuntur.'* — *vinci*: Intr. 108.

63. *monstrumve*: the negative *non* continues, modifying *maius*. The allusion in *monstrum*, *marvel*, is to the troops of armed men that sprang up from the dragon teeth sown by Jason in Colchis

and by Cadmus at Thebes. — *submittere*: cf. Lucret. 1, 7 *daedala tellus submittit flores*.

64. *Echioniae*: Echion was one of the five survivors of the struggle among the warriors sprung from the Theban dragon's teeth; by marriage with Agave, Cadmus' daughter, he became an ancestor of the Theban royal line.

65 ff. *merses, luctere*: *you may*, etc., sc. *eam (gentem)*. The subjunctive is jussive, but the two verbs are virtually protases to *evenit, proruet, geretque*. These verses were paraphrased four centuries and a quarter later by Rutilius Namatianus 1, 128 ff. *flevit successus Annibal ipse suos: | quae mergi nequeunt, nisu maiore resurgunt | exiliuntque imis altius icta vadis*.

— *evenit*: in its rare literal meaning. — *proruet, geret*: these futures differ from the present

luctere, multa proruet integrum
cum laude victorem geretque
proelia coniugibus loquenda.

70 Carthagini iam non ego nuntios
mittam superbos ; occidit, occidit
spes omnis et fortuna nostri
nominis Hasdrubale interempto.'

75 Nil Claudiae non perficient manus,
quas et benigno numine Iuppiter
defendit et curae sagaces
expediunt per acuta belli.

evenit only in showing what will happen in each case, while *evenit* expresses what always does happen. — *integrum* : (hitherto) *unharméd*. — *laude* : *glory*. — *coniugibus loquenda* : 'for old wives' tales.'

70. *occidit, occidit* : Intr. 28 a. Cf. Dryden's well-known lines from *Alexander's Feast*, 'He sang Darius great and good | By too severe a fate | Fallen, fallen, fallen, | Fallen from his high estate.'

73 ff. After the Pindaric fash-

ion the closing verses are given to reflections on the great merits of the Claudii and the expectations that may be cherished of them. Some modern commentators make these verses also a part of Hannibal's speech, but not so Porphyrio.

75 f. *curae sagaces* : probably on the part of Augustus, who cares on earth for them, as Jupiter protects them from the sky. — *expediunt* : *bring through* ; cf. Verg. *A.* 2, 632 f. *ducente deo flammam inter et hostis* | *expedior*.

5

The blessings of Augustus' rule. 'Guardian of the Roman race, thou art too long away. Grant us again the light of thy countenance that makes the very sun shine brighter. As a mother suffers for her son detained across the sea by winter winds, so longs thy land for thee (1-16). Safe are our cattle, bounteous our crops, no pirates vex the sea. Faith, chastity, and justice sure, no fear of foreign foe—these are the blessings which thy rule has brought (17-28). After a peaceful day of toil, the farmer at his evening meal makes libation and offers prayer to thee among his household gods, even as Greece remem-

bers her great benefactors. At morning and at eventide we pray that thou wilt give thy country peace (29-40).'

For the military events that called Augustus from Rome in 16 B.C., see the introductory n. to 4, 2. It was also said (Dio Cass. 55, 19), that the Emperor wished to withdraw from the city for a time, as Solon once had done from Athens, until the unpopularity of his reform measures should have somewhat abated. His return at an early date, however, was confidently expected; when it was put off from time to time — he did not come back until 13 B.C. — the feelings of the great body of citizens were expressed by Horace in this ode. Peace had been so long reëstablished that its blessings were evident on every hand; it was natural that those who remembered the horrors of the civil wars should have a lively feeling of gratitude to the Emperor who had brought order out of chaos and had revived the weakened and impoverished state. To this class Horace belonged; in these verses he shows a genuine warmth of feeling which is not found in his earlier odes to the Emperor, and which his official position as laureate did not call forth. The sense of security here expressed is in marked contrast to the hopeless tone of 3, 25.

The ode is carefully polished; the frequent cases of assonance and alliteration should be noted. Its date cannot be absolutely determined, but may be approximately fixed as 14 B.C. It forms a pendant to 4, as Ode 15 to 14. Metre, 72.

- Divis orte bonis, optume Romulae
custos gentis, abes iam nimium diu;
maturum reditum pollicitus patrum
sancto concilio, redi.

5 Lucem redde tuae, dux bone, patriae;

1 f. *divis . . . bonis* : ablative absolute, *when the gods were kind*. Augustus is said to be the gift to men of the *boni divi* 4, 2, 38. — *Romulae . . . gentis* : cf. Verg. *A.* 6, 876 *Romula . . . tellus*. — *custos* : cf. 4, 15, 17 *custode rerum Caesare*.

4. *sancto* : *august*; so Cic. *in Catil.* 1, 4, 9 *in hoc orbis terrae*

sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio.

5. *lucem* : *i.e. tuam*; cf. Amphitryon's exclamation, Eurip. *H. F.* 531 f. ὦ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, ὦ φάος μολὼν πατρὶ | ἦκεις. Horace's strophe was probably in the mind of the Christian Prudentius when he wrote *Cath.* 5, 1, 4 *inventor rutili, dux bone, luminis . . . lucem redde tuis, Christe, fidelibus*.

instar veris enim voltus ubi tuus
adfulsit populo, gratior it dies
et soles melius nitent.

10 Vt mater iuvenem, quem Notus invido
flatu Carpathii trans maris aequora
cunctantem spatio longius annuo
dulci distinet a domo,

votis ominibusque et precibus vocat,
curvo nec faciem litore demovet,
15 sic desideriiis icta fidelibus
quaerit patria Caesarem.

Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,
nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas,

6 ff. *instar*: here of quality; usually of quantity, size, as Verg. *A.* 2, 15 *instar montis equum*. — *veris*: cf. Theoc. 12, 3 ff. ὅσσον ἔαρ χειμῶνος . . . ἥδιον . . . τόσσον ἔμ' εὐφρηνας σὺ φανείς. 'As spring is sweeter than winter, even so hast thou cheered me by thy appearing.'

— it dies: cf. 2, 14, 5 *quotquot eunt dies*. — soles, etc.: see n. on *pulcher* 4, 2, 47.

9 ff. *mater iuvenem*: note the juxtaposition which gives at once the members of the comparison. — *Notus, Carpathii*: cf. n. to 1, 1, 13. — *invido*: the mother's epithet for the wind that detains her son. — *spatio longius annuo*: he must spend the winter away, as Gyges at Oricum 3, 7, 1 ff.

13 f. *votis*, etc.: the mother employs every means to call him

home. The verse was employed by Ausonius, *Epist.* 25, 120 f. *votis ominibusque bonis precibusque vocatus | adpropera*. — *vocat*: literally. — *curvo*: a stock epithet; cf. *Epod.* 10, 21. There is a reminiscence of these two verses in St. Jerome, *ad Ruf.* 1 *non sic curvo adsidens litori anxia filium mater expectat*.

15. *icta*: smitten by, ἰμέρω πεπληγμένος, Aesch. *Ag.* 544. Cf. Lucret. 2, 360 *desiderio perfixa iuveni*.

17 ff. Notice that the emphasis falls on *tutus*, *nutrit*, *pacatum*. — *etenim*: '(we cannot spare thee from us), for under thy protection the kine,' etc. — *perambulat*: as it grazes.

18. *rura*: the repetition is not emphatic, but causes us to linger on the picture. — *Faustitas*: this

20 pacatum volitant per mare navitae,
 culpari metuit fides,
 nullis polluitur casta domus stupris,
 mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas,
 laudantur simili prole puerperae,
 culpam poena premit comes.

25 Quis Parthum paveat, quis gelidum Scythen,
 quis Germania quos horrida parturit
 fetus, incolumi Caesare? Quis ferae
 bellum curet Hiberiae?

Condit quisque diem collibus in suis

abstract divinity is named only here, but is evidently the same as *Fausta Felicitas*, 'Fertility.'

19 f. *pacatum*: i.e. of pirates. Cf. *Epod.* 4, 19. *Mon. Anc.* 5, 1 *mare pacavi a praedonibus*.—*volitant*: *flit.*—*culpari*: *unfair action*.

21–24. This strophe refers to Augustus' attempt by means of the *lex Julia de adulteriis* passed in 18 B.C. to check the growth of immorality and to restore the purity of domestic life. (Cf. *C. S.* 17 ff.) Unfortunately the picture here given of his success is too rose-colored. — *casta*: *proleptic, now pure, is, etc.* — *mos et lex*: *sentiment and law*; without the support of the first the second is of little service. Cf. 3, 24, 35 and n. — *edomuit*: *has completely, etc.*

23 f. *simili prole*: *for children that resemble (their fathers)*. Cf. Hesiod *Op.* 235 *τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναῖ-*

κες (the wives of the righteous) *ἐοικότα τέκνα τοκεῦσι*. Also Catul. 61, 221 *sit suo similis patri* | *Manlio et facile insciis* | *noscitur ab omnibus* | *et pudicitiam suae* | *matris indicet ore*. — *premit comes*: i.e. no longer limps far behind; cf. 3, 2, 32. With the phrase, cf. *S.* 2, 7, 115 (*Cura*) *comes atra premit sequiturque fugacem*.

25 ff. Peace on the borders. — *Parthum*: in 20 B.C. the Parthians had given back the Roman standards. Cf. 3, 14, 15 and n. — *Scythen*: cf. 3, 8, 23 f. and n. — *parturit*: *breeds*. — *fetus*: *swarms*. — *incolumi Caesare*: *so long as, etc.* Cf. 3, 5, 12. — *bellum Hiberiae*: i.e. the long-continued resistance of the Cantabrians, finally overcome in 19 B.C. Cf. 2, 6, 2.

29 f. *condit*: *brings to rest, i.e. spends peacefully*. Cf. Verg. *E.* 9, 51 f. *saepe ego longos* | *cantando puerum memini me condere soles*.

30 et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores ;
 hinc ad vina redit laetus et alteris
 te mensis adhibet deum ;
 te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
 defuso pateris, et Laribus tuum
 35 miscet numen, uti Graecia Castoris
 et magni memor Herculis.
 ‘ Longas o utinam, dux bone, ferias
 praestes Hesperiae ! ’ dicimus integro
 sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi,
 40 cum sol Oceano subest.

— **collibus** : cf. 1, 20, 12. — **suis** : *his own*, emphasizing the possession of lands by small holders. One of Augustus’ most cherished plans was the restoration of agriculture in Italy. — **viduas** : *unwedded*. — **ducit** : cf. *Epod.* 2, 10 and the passage from Milton there quoted, ‘ They led the vine to wed her elm,’ etc.

31. **redit** : sc. *domum*. — **alteris mensis** : before the dessert, *mensae secundae*, was brought, libations and offerings of food were made to the household gods ; with these divinities Augustus was early associated by the sentiment of the people. Later a decree of the Senate required this worship. Cf. Ovid. *Fast.* 2, 633 ff. *et libate dapēs ut, grati pignus honoris, | nutriat incinctos missa patella Lares ; | iamque ubi suadebit pla-*

cidos nox umida somnos, | larga precaturi sumite vina manu, | et ‘bene vos, bene te, patriae pater, optime Caesar’ | dicite suffuso ter bona verba mero.

32. **adhibet** : *invites*, in his prayer.

33 f. **te . . . te** : Intr. 28 c. — **Laribus** : dative. Intr. 89. — **uti Graecia**, etc. : ‘ the honor which Greece pays her mythical benefactors, thou receivest in thy lifetime.’ — **Castoris, Herculis** : belonging to both **numen** and **memor**. Intr. 100.

37 ff. **o utinam**, etc. : *i.e.* ‘ long may’st thou live, and may thy life secure thy land continued peace.’ — **ferias** : ‘ vacations,’ *i.e.* *days of peace*. — **Hesperiae** : cf. 2, 1, 32. — **integro** : *untouched*, and entire before us. — **sicci** : cf. 1, 18, 3. — **uvidi** : *βεβρεγμένοι*. Cf. 1, 7, 22 ; 2, 19, 18.

6

A prelude to the *Carmen Saeculare*.

‘Apollo, thou who didst punish Niobe and Tityos, and didst lay low Achilles for all his prowess; he who but for thee and Venus would have slain ruthlessly every Trojan child, so that none would have remained to found another state with better auspices (1–24). Thou divine minstrel, guard, I pray, the glory of the Daunian Muse (25–28). Phoebus it is who gives me my power and name. Ye noble maids and boys, mark well the measure. Sing Apollo and Diana. Proud shall be thy boast when matron that at the great festival thou didst render the song of the poet Horace (29–44).’

The poem thus falls into two divisions — the prayer to Apollo (1–28), and the address to the chorus of boys and girls that is to sing the Secular Hymn (31–44). The two parts are connected by vv. 29–30, in which Horace acknowledges that he owes his inspiration, skill, and even name of poet to the god. The date of composition is evidently not far from that of the *Carmen Saeculare*, 17 B.C. Metre, 69.

Dive, quem proles Niobea magnae
vindicem linguae Tityosque raptor
sensit et Troiae prope victor altae
Phthius Achilles,

1. **dive**: Apollo, as the following verses clearly show. The invocation is resumed v. 25 and the verb, **defende**, is not found until v. 27. — **proles Niobea**: the seven sons and seven daughters whom Apollo and Diana shot down to punish Niobe for her boast that, while Leto bore but two children, she had many. In Horace’s day a group representing the slaying was to be seen in the portico of Apollo’s temple, built by C. Sosius. The group was thought to be the work of Praxiteles or Scopas. Fragments of a similar group are now in the Uffizi in Florence.

Certain figures are reproduced in Baumeister 3, pp. 1673 ff.

2 f. **magnae . . . linguae**: boasting — *μεγάλη γλώσση* — the gods will not brook. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 127 f. *Ζεὺς γὰρ μεγάλης γλώσσης κόμπους ὑπερεχθαίρει*. — **Tityosque raptor**: cf. n. to 2, 14, 8. — **sensit**: cf. 4, 4, 25. — **prope victor**: *i.e.* after killing Hector, Troy’s chief bulwark of defense. When dying, Hector foretold the death of his slayer. *Il.* 22, 359 f. *ἤματι τῷ ὅτε κέν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων | ἐσθλὸν ἔοντ’ ὀλέσωσιν ἐνὶ Σκαιῇσι πύλῃσιν*. — **Troiae . . . altae**: the Homeric *Ἴλιος αἰπεινή*.

- 5 ceteris maior, tibi miles impar,
 filius quamvis Thetidis marinae
 Dardanas turris quateret tremenda
 cuspidē pugnae,
 (ille, mordaci velut icta ferro
 10 pinus aut impulsā cupressus Euro,
 procidit late posuitque collum in
 pulvere Teucro;
 ille non inclusus equo Minervae
 sacra mentito male feriatos
 15 Troas et laetam Priami choreis
 falleret aulam,
 sed palam captis gravis, heu nefas heu,
 nescios fari pueros Achivis

5 ff. tibi: *to thee alone*. — filius, etc.: *though he was the son of Thetis and shook*, etc. — quateret: cf. Verg. *A.* 9, 608 *quatit orpida bello*. — tremenda cuspidē: Achilles' mighty spear is described *Il.* 16, 141 ff. and 19, 387 ff. πατρώιον ἔσπα-
 σατ' ἔγχος | βριθύ, μέγα, στιβαρόν ·
 τὸ μὲν οὐ δύνατ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν |
 πάλλιν, ἀλλὰ μιν οἷος ἐπίστατο
 πῆλαι Ἀχιλλεύς, | Πηλιάδα μελίην,
 τὴν πατρὶ φίλῳ πόρε Χείρων | Πη-
 λίου ἐκ κορυφῆς, φόνον ἔμμεναι
 ἡρώεσσιν. — pugnae: with parti-
 cipial force, as Livy 22, 37, 8 *pug-*
nacesque missili telo gentes.

9 ff. mordaci: the same personi-
 fication as Eurip. *Cyc.* 395 πελέκεων
 γνάθοις. — procidit late: the meta-
 phor of the tree is still remembered,
 but cf. *Il.* 18, 26 f. αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κο-

νήσιν μέγας μεγαλωσθὶ ταυνοθεῖς |
 κείτο. — The story of the wooden
 horse had been revived in the minds
 of Roman readers by the *Aeneid*,
 which had been recently published.

13 ff. Minervae: with both equo
 and sacra. — mentito: *that pre-*
tended to be. — male feriatos: their
 holiday was ill-fated. — falleret: a
 past apodosis as the context re-
 quires. The formal protasis ap-
 pears v. 21 f. — aulam: *the court*.

17 ff. sed palam: modifying
 captis; in contrast with falleret
 — 'he would not have resorted to
 secret devices, but would have
 taken his captives in open war-
 fare,' etc. — gravis: βαρύς, *cruel*,
merciless. — nescios fari: a peri-
 phrasis for *infantes, νήπια τέκνα*. —
 Achivis: *i.e. set by the Greeks*. —

- 20 ureret flammis, etiam latentem
matris in alvo,
ni tuis victus Venerisque gratae
vocibus divum pater adnuisset
rebus Aeneae potiore ductos
alite muros;)
- 25 doctor argutae fidicen Thaliae,
Phoebe, qui Xantho lavis amne crinis,
Dauniae defende decus Camenae,
levis Agyieu.
- 30 Spiritum Phoebus mihi, Phoebus artem
carminis nomenque dedit poetae.
Virginum primae puerique claris
patribus orti,

etiam latentem, etc. : cf. *Il.* 6, 57 ff. τῶν (Τρώων) μή τις ὑπεκφύγοι αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον | χεῖράς θ' ἡμετέρας · μηδ' ὄν τινα γαστέρι μήτηρ | κοῦρον ἔόντα φέροι, μηδ' ὅς φύγοι.

21 ff. 'If it had not been for thy prayers and those of Venus, there would have been none left to found Rome.' — *ni*: found nowhere else in the Odes, but common in the Satires. — *adnuisset*: transitive. — *potiore* . . . *alite*: cf. 1, 15, 5 *mala avi* and n. — *ductos*: traced.

25 f. Resuming the address to Apollo. — *doctor*, etc.: Ἀπόλλων Μουσαγέτης. — *argutae*: λιγείας. Cf. 3, 14, 21. — *fidicen*: cf. Horace's description of his own function, 4, 3, 23. — *Xantho*: in Lycia. — *lavis*, etc.: cf. 3, 4, 61 ff.

27 f. *Dauniae*: equivalent to 'Italian,' 'Roman'; but selected with reference to Horace's birthplace. Cf. n. to 3, 30, 10; also 2, 1, 34. — *lēvis*: *smooth-cheeked*. — *Agyieu*: as guardian of streets. The epithet is found only here in Roman poetry, but is common in Greek. Cf. Eurip. *Phoen.* 631 καὶ σὺ, Φοῖβ' ἀναξ' Ἀγνιεύ.

29 f. The poet's warrant for his charge. — *spiritum*: cf. 2, 16, 38. — *artem*: 'technical skill'; the contrast with *spiritum* is strengthened by the chiasmus. — *poetae*: only here applied by Horace to himself; elsewhere he prefers *vates*. Cf. n. to 1, 1, 35.

31. *primae*, etc.: the boys and girls of the chorus which sang the *Carmen Saeculare* were of gentle

Deliae tutela deae, fugacis
 lyncas et cervos cohibentis arcu,
 35 Lesbium servate pedem meique
 pollicis ictum,
 rite Latonae puerum canentes,
 rite crescentem face Noctilucam,
 prosperam frugum celeremque pronos
 40 volvere mensis.
 Nupta iam dices 'Ego dis amicum,
 saeculo festas referente luces,

birth and *patrimi et matrimi*, i.e. 'with both parents living.'

33 ff. *tutela*: in passive sense, *wards*. Diana, the virgin goddess, was the especial protectress of innocent youth. Cf. Catull. 34, 1 *Dianae sumus in fide | puellae et pueri integri*. By the mention of this function Horace is enabled to give the goddess a place in his hymn beside her brother Apollo. — *lyncas et cervos*: possibly imitated from Callim. *Hymn. in Dian.* 16 f. ὁππότε μηκέτι λύγκας | μήτ' ἐλάφους βάλλοιμι. — *cohibentis*: *who checks*. — *Lesbium pedem*: i.e. Sappho's measure. Cf. 1, 1, 34 *Lesboum barbiton*. — *pollicis ictum*: in his imagination Horace pictures himself as χοροδιδάσκαλος, striking the lyre to direct the song.

37 f. *rite*: *duly*; i.e. performing the solemn function in the prescribed form. — *Latonae puerum canentes*: the boys; while the girls praise *Noctiluca*. — *crescen-*

tem: *with growing light (face)*. — *Noctiluca*: an archaic name of *Luna*, who under this designation was worshiped on the Palatine.

39 f. *prosperam*: with objective genitive. Cf. C. S. 29 *fertilis frugum*. Intr. 92. — *celerem* . . . *volvere*: Intr. 108. — *pronos*: *the gliding, hurrying*. Cf. 1, 29, 11 *pronos rivos*. For this function of the goddess, cf. Catull. 34, 17 ff. *tu cursu, dea, menstruo | metiens iter annuum, | rustica agricolae bonis | tecta frugibus exples*.

41 f. *nupta*: the address is confined to the girls who would remember their participation in the *ludi saeculares* as one of the greatest events in their lives. The singular number is used after the Greek fashion. — *iam*: *presently*, when married. — *amicum*: agreeing with *carmen*. For the meaning, cf. 1, 26, 1. — *saeculo*: cf. introductory note to C. S. p. 388 f. — *luces*: cf. 4, 11, 19; 15, 25.

reddidi carmen docilis modorum
vatis Horati.'

43 f. reddidi: *rendered*; regularly used of repeating what has been committed to memory. Cf. 4, 11, 34 *modos . . . quos reddas*. — *modorum*: obj. genitive with

docilis, trained in. Intr. 92. — *vatis Horati*: thus at the end Horace casually mentions his office and his name to secure the emphasis he desired.

7

Spring is here again; hand in hand the Nymphs and Graces dance. The seasons change and wane, but come again. But we, when we are gone, come not back. So give thyself good cheer while yet thou mayst; thou canst not buy escape from nether gloom.'

The ode is a close parallel to 1, 4, with which it should be carefully compared. The Torquatus addressed was an intimate of Horace and an advocate of considerable prominence. See *Epist.* 1, 5. There is no hint of the date of composition. Metre, 78.

Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis
arboribusque comae;
mutat terra vices et decrescentia ripas
flumina praetereunt;

5 Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet
ducere nuda choros.

Immortalia ne speres, monet annus et alnum

2. *comae*: cf. 1, 21, 5 and n.; 4, 3, 11.

3 f. *mutat terra vices*: the expression was frequently imitated by later writers — *e.g. Anth. Lat.* 676, 3 *R. alternant elementa vices et tempora mutant*. — *vices*: the 'inner object' of *mutat*. Cf. 1, 4, 1. — *decrescentia*: since the winter floods are over. — *praetereunt*: *i.e.* no longer overflow.

5 f. Cf. 3, 19, 16 *Gratia nudis*

iuncta sororibus; 1, 4, 6 *iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes*.

7. *immortalia*: *immortality*. — *ne speres*: dependent on *monet*; cf. 1, 18, 7 f. With the sentiment, cf. Eurip. *Frg.* 1075 *θνητὸς γὰρ ὢν καὶ θνητὰ πείσεσθαι δόκει* | *⟨ῆ⟩ θεοῦ βίον ζῆν ἀξιοῖς ἄνθρωπος ὢν*; 'For as thou art mortal, expect to bear a mortal's lot, or dost thou ask to live a god's life, when thou art but a man?'

quae rapit hora diem :
 frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit aestas,
 10 interitura simul
 pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit, et mox
 bruma recurrit iners.
 Damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae :
 nos ubi decidimus
 15 quo pius Aeneas, quo Tullus dives et Ancus,
 pulvis et umbra sumus.

— **annus** : *the changing year*, περιπλόμενος ἐνιαυτός. — **quae rapit** : *that hurries on*, etc. ; snatching away from man the time of his enjoyment. Cf. 3, 29, 48 *quod fugiens semel hora vexit*.

9–12. The progress of the seasons. Cf. Lucretius' description 5, 737 ff. *it Ver et Venus et Veris praenuntius ante | pennatus graditur Zephyrus. . . . inde loci sequitur calor aridus . . . inde autumnus adit . . . tandem bruma nives adfert pigrumque rigorem*.

— **Zephyris** : cf. n. to 1, 4, 1. — **proterit** : 'treads on the heels of.' — **interitura** : *destined to die*. Intr. 110. — **pomifer** : cf. 3, 23, 8 ; *Epod.* 2, 17. — **effuderit** : as it were from a horn of plenty. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 12, 28 *aurea fruges Italiae pleno defundit Copia cornu*. — **iners** : contrasting winter with the other seasons.

13. **damna . . . caelestia** : *the losses of the heavens, i.e. the seasons*. The contrast is furnished by the following verse. With the sentiment cf. Catull. 5, 4 ff. *soles*

occidere et redire possunt : | nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux, | nox est perpetua una dormienda.

14 f. **decidimus** : cf. *Epist.* 2, 1, 36 *scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decedit*. — **pius** : established by the *Aeneid* as the epithet of its hero. — **Tullus** : the mythical king famed for his wealth. — **Ancus** : whose goodness was immortalized by Ennius' line *lumina sis* (i.e. *suis*) *oculis etiam bonus Ancus reliquit*.

16. **pulvis et umbra** : in the grave and the lower world. Cf. Soph. *Elec.* 1158 f. ἀντὶ φιλτάτης μορφῆς σποδὸν τε καὶ σκιὰν ἀνωφελῇ. Also Asclepiades' warning to a maiden, *Anth. Pal.* 5, 84 φείδῃ παρθενίης · καὶ τί πλέον ; οὐ γὰρ ἐς αἶδην | ἐλθοῦς' εὐρήσεις τὸν φιλέοντα, κορή. | ἐν ζωῷσι τὰ τερπνὰ τὰ Κύπριδος · ἐν δ' Ἀχέροντι | ὅστέα καὶ σποδιή, παρθένε, κεισόμεθα. 'Thou sparest thy maidenhood, and what advantage? For when thou goest to Hades, maid, thou wilt not there find thy lover. Among the living only are the delights of

Quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae
tempora di superi?

Cuncta manus avidas fugient heredis, amico
20 quae dederis animo.

Cum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos
fecerit arbitria,

non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
restituēt pietas.

25 Infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum
liberat Hippolytum,

nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro
vincula Pirithoo.

Cypris; in Acheron, maiden, we shall be only bones and ashes.'

17 f. Cf. 1, 9, 13 ff.; *Epist.* 1, 4, 12 ff. *inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras | omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum; | grata superveniet quae non sperabitur hora.* Also *Anac.* 15, 9 f. τὸ σήμερον μέλει μοι, τὸ δ' αὔριον τίς οἶδεν. — *summae*: cf. 1, 4, 15.

19 ff. The lesson of the preceding. — *heredis*: the dreaded heir, the thought of whom haunts every man who gathers riches. Cf. n. to 2, 3, 19; also 2, 14, 25; 3, 24, 62. — *dederis animo*: essentially the same as *genium curare* 3, 17, 14. The adjective *amico* is added in imitation of the Homeric φίλον ἦτορ.

21. *semel*: cf. n. to 1, 24, 16. — *splendida*: *stately*; properly the characteristic of Minos' court, transferred to his decrees. Intr. 99.

23 f. *genus, facundia, pietas*:

the first two at least applied to Torquatus, for he was a member of the noble Manlian gens and was an advocate of some eminence. Note the cadence of the verse.

25 ff. Two mythological illustrations. Observe that *pudicum* and *caro* are set over against each other, and express the qualities for which Hippolytus and Pirithous were famous — the first for his chastity in refusing the advances of Phaedra, his step-mother, the second for his friendship with Theseus. Horace follows the Greek legend according to which Artemis could not save her devotee from death; but the myth among the Romans made Diana restore Hippolytus to life and transfer him under the name of Virbius to her grove by Lake Nemi (Verg. *A.* 7, 768 ff.; Ovid. *Met.* 15, 548 ff.). — *Pirithoo*: cf. n. to 3, 4, 80.

8

The two following odes treat a single theme—the immortality of song.

‘Bronzes, marbles, pictures I have none to give, good friend Censorinus, nor wouldst thou desire them. Song is thy delight, and song I can bestow. The chiseled record of men’s deeds is weaker than the Muse. Through her gift the great ones of the past escaped oblivion, and have their place in heaven.’

C. Marcius Censorinus, cos. 8 B.C., is known only from these verses and a single reference in Velleius. It has been conjectured not without reason that this ode was Horace’s gift to his friend on the Calends of March or on the Saturnalia, when presents were exchanged as at our Christmas. Metre, 53.

Donarem pateras grataque commodus,
 Censorine, meis aera sodalibus,
 donarem tripodas, praemia fortium
 Graiorum, neque tu pessima munerum
 5 ferres, divite me scilicet artium
 quas aut Parrhasius protulit aut Scopas,
 hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus
 sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum.
 Sed non haec mihi vis, non tibi talium
 10 res est aut animus deliciarum egens :

1. **donarem** : the protasis is expressed in a general way by **divite me** v. 5, which, however, is closely joined with the words that follow it. — **commodus** : *consulting their taste*, so that the gifts would be *grata*. — **aera** : *bronzes*, especially vases.

3. **donarem** : *yes, I should*, etc. Intr. 28 c. — **praemia** : in apposition with **tripodas**, which were used as early as Homer’s day for prizes. Cf. *Il.* 23, 259 νηῶν δ’ ἔκφερ’ ἄεθλα, λέβητάς τε τρίποδάς τε (Ἀχιλλεύς).

5 f. **ferres** : equivalent to *auferres* : cf. 3, 16, 22. — **scilicet** : *that is, of course*. — **artium** : *works of art*. — **Parrhasius** : a famous painter born at Ephesus, a contemporary in Athens of Socrates. — **Scopas** : of Paros, a distinguished sculptor in the first half of the fourth century B.C.

8. **ponere** : *at representing*. For the mood, see Intr. 108.

9 f. **non haec**, etc. : *I have not the power* (to give such presents). Cf. *Epod.* 5, 94. — **res . . . aut animus** : *estate or tastes*. That is,

gaudes carminibus ; carmina possumus
 donare et pretium dicere muneri.
 Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
 per quae spiritus et vita redivit bonis
 15 post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae
 reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,
 non incendia Carthaginis impiae

Censorinus is rich enough to buy these rare things if he desired, but is too simple in his tastes to wish them. — *deliciarum* : *curios*, with disparaging force.

11. Horace will bring a gift which will please his friend, but such as money cannot buy.

12. *pretium dicere muneri* : *tell the worth of, set a price on*. The common expression is *pretium statuere, ponere*. The following verses state the worth. The thought is the same as in *Epist.* 2, 1, 248 ff.

13 ff. 'Neither inscribed statues nor great deeds in war have secured Scipio the fame which he has gained from Ennius' poem.' — *notis . . . publicis* : *inscriptions cut at the state's orders*; instrumental abl. — *marmora* : the following clause shows that this includes both the statues and their bases on which the inscriptions are engraved. Translate simply, *marbles*. — *spiritus et vita* : a double expression of a single idea, yet somewhat more comprehensive than either word would be alone; cf. 4, 2, 28 *more modoque*. Also with the general sentiment, cf. Verg. *A.* 6, 847 f. *excudent alii*

spirantia mollius aera, | credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus. — *non fugae, reiectae minae, incendia* : all these confer fame, and might secure the memory of the leader under whom they were accomplished; yet all are inferior to song. — *fugae* : from Italy or after the battle of Zama, or both. — *reiectae . . . minae* : Hannibal's threats against Rome were hurled back by the reduction of Carthage. — *incendia*, etc. : this verse has troubled critics, both because it has no diaeresis and because the burning of Carthage was not accomplished until 146 B.C., when the Scipio who brought the Second Punic war to an end had been dead for seventeen, and Ennius, who celebrated his fame, for five years. It was the younger Scipio Aemilianus who razed Carthage. However, Horace may have consciously taken the name Scipio Africanus — inherited by the younger — simply as typical of one who had won great fame in war. Yet vv. 18 f. can strictly only apply to the elder Scipio.

— *impiae* : cf. n. to 4, 4, 46.

eius, qui domita nomen ab Africa
 lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
 20 laudes quam Calabrae Pierides; neque
 si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
 mercedem tuleris. Quid foret Iliae
 Mavortisque puer, si taciturnitas
 obstaret meritis invida Romuli?
 25 Ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Aeacum
 virtus et favor et lingua potentium

19. *lucratus*: *enriched by*; the word is intentionally used for its commercial connotation, but without the unpleasant connotation which *lucrum* has 3, 16, 12. Scipio boasted that his name was all the profit he made in Africa. Val. Max. 3, 8, 1 *cum Africam totam potestati vestrae subiecerim, nihil ex ea quod meum diceretur praeter cognomen rettuli*.

20 f. *Calabrae Pierides*: *i.e.* the poetry of Ennius whose birth-place was Rudiae in Calabria. He celebrated Scipio's deeds in his *Annales* as well as in a special poem. — *chartae*: *books*, papyrus rolls. — *sileant*: transitive.

22 ff. *quid foret*, etc.: without song men's deeds die with them. Cf. Pind. *O.* 10, 91 ff. καὶ ὅταν καλὰ ἔρξαις ἀοιδᾶς ἄτερ Ἀγησίδαμ' εἰς Ἀΐδα σταθμὸν | ἀνὴρ ἵκηται, κενεὰ πνεύσαις | ἔπορε μόχθῳ βραχύ τι τερ | πνόν. τὴν δ' ἀδνεπήs τε λύρα | γλυκὺς τ' αὐλὸς ἀναπάσσει χάριν. | τρέφονται δ' εὐρὺ κλέος | κόραι Πιερίδες Διός. 'Even so, Agesidemus, when a man hath done noble

deeds and goeth unsung to the house of Hades, his breath hath been spent in vain and he hath gained but brief delight by his toil. But on thee the sweet-toned lyre and pleasant pipe shed their grace; and the Pierian daughters of Zeus foster thy widespread fame,' also Ovid to Germanicus, *Ex Pont.* 4, 8, 31 ff. *nec tibi de Pario statuam, Germanice, templum marmore . . . Naso suis opibus, carmine, gratus erit . . . carmine fit vivax virtus expersque sepulchri notitiam serae posteritatis habet . . . quis Thebas septemque duces sine carmine nosset, et quidquid post haec, quidquid et ante fuit?*

— *Iliae*: cf. 1, 2, 17 and n. — *Mavortis*: *Mavors* is an archaic name of Mars preserved in ritual and adopted by poets. — *invida*: cf. 4, 5, 9, and 4, 9, 33 *lividas obliviones*.

25 f. *Aeacum*: cf. 2, 13, 22. Pindar celebrates him in *I.* 1, 8. — *virtus*: *his excellence*. — *favor*: *popular acclaim*. — *potentium va-*

30 vatum divitibus consecrat insulis.
 Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori;
 caelo Musa beat. Sic Iovis interest
 optatis epulis impiger Hercules,
 clarum Tyndaridae sidus ab infimis
 quassas eripiunt aequoribus ratis,
 ornatus viridi tempora pampino
 Liber vota bonos ducit ad exitus.

tum: *i.e.* able to confer immortality. — divitibus . . . insulis: cf. *Epod.* 16, 42 and n. The case is loc. abl. Intr. 95.

29 ff. 'Song confers not simply immortality; it actually raises mortals to the rank of gods.' Horace makes no distinction between mere subjective immortality, which can be given by poetry, and an actual existence after death. Cf. 3, 3, 9 ff. — sic: *i.e.* by song. Even the gods would be unknown, if

poets did not make them known to men. Cf. Ovid. *Ex Pont.* 4, 8, 55 *di quoque carminibus, si fas est dicere, fiunt, | tantaque maiestas ore canentis eget.*

30. optatis: *for which he had longed.*

31. clarum . . . sidus: in apposition with Tyndaridae: cf. n. to 1, 3, 2.

33. ornatus: middle participle. Intr. 84. The remainder of the verse repeats 3, 25, 20.

9

The first half of this ode continues the theme of the preceding but with a somewhat different turn. The remainder is in praise of M. Lollius.

'Do not despise my lyric Muse. Though Homer with his epic verse holds the supreme place, the verses of the lyric bards of Greece are not thereby obscured. Homer's Helen was not the first to love; nor his Troy the only city vexed; his heroes not the only ones to fight for wives and children dear, yet the others are unwept because unsung (1-28). My verse shall save thy deeds from oblivion's doom. For thou art wise, firm, upright; not consul for a single year, but victor, ruler over all (29-44). Truly fortunate is that man who wisely uses what the gods bestow, fears not small estate, and does not shrink from death for friend or native land (45-52).'

The M. Lollius addressed was consul 21 B.C.; in 16 B.C. he was defeated by the Sygambri while governor of Belgian Gaul. In 2 B.C. he was appointed governor of Syria and adviser and tutor of the young Gaius Caesar, who was then on a mission to Armenia. He died suddenly, gossip said by suicide, in the following year. Horace's ode was probably written soon after Lollius' defeat in 16 B.C., as an apology for his friend. Strangely enough the very virtues attributed to him here — honesty and rectitude — are the ones denied him by Velleius (2, 97: cf. Plin. *N. H.* 9, 58), who charges him with avarice and venality in the East. Which account is nearer the truth we cannot determine. Metre, 68.

Ne forte credas interitura quae
longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum
non ante volgatas per artis
verba loquor socianda chordis :

5 non, si priores Maeonius tenet
sedes Homerus, Pindaricae latent
Caeque et Alcaei minaces
Stesichorique graves camenae,

1 ff. **ne . . . credas**: not prohibitive, but giving the purpose of the statements in the two following strophes. Cf. nn. to 1, 33, 1; 2, 4, 1. Translate, '*You should not think . . . for,*' etc. — **longe sonantem**: with this epithet of the Aufidus, cf. *violens* 3, 30, 10. — **natus ad Aufidum**: said with a certain pride, 'I, a rustic born.' — **non ante volgatas**: cf. his more sweeping claim 3, 30, 13. — **verba . . . socianda chordis**: *i.e.* lyric poetry distinguished from epic, which was recited, not sung to the accompaniment of the lyre. With the expression, cf. Ovid. *Met.* 11. 4 *cernunt Orpheia percussis soci-*

antem carmina nervis. — **loquor**: of the poet, in place of the more common *dico*. Cf. 3, 25, 18; 4, 2, 45.

5-12. In spite of Homer's pre-eminence, the Greek lyric poets are not unknown.

5 ff. **Maeonius**: cf. 1, 6, 2. — **Pindaricae (camenae)**: described 4, 2, 5-24. — **latent**: *are not hid*. — **Cae**: of Simonides; cf. 2, 1, 38. — **minaces**: *i.e.* in his poems against the tyrants of Mitylene. Cf. n. to 1, 32, 5; 2, 13, 30 ff. — **Stesichori**: a poet of Himera in Sicily (ca. 640-555 B.C.), who treated heroic myths in lyric form. Quintilian 10, 1, 62, characterizes

10 nec, si quid olim lusit Anacreon,
delevit aetas ; spirat adhuc amor
 vivuntque commissi calores
 Aeoliae fidibus puellae.

15 Non sola comptos arsit adulteri
 crinis et aurum vestibus inlitum
 mirata regalisque cultus
 et comites Helene Lacaena,

him thus: *Stesichorus quam sit ingenio validus materiae quoque ostendunt, maxima bella et clarissimos canentem duces et epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem.* The last clause explains Horace's adjective *graves*.

9. *lusit*: of light themes, in contrast to the seriousness of Stesichorus and the passion of Sappho. With this use of the word, cf. 1, 32, 2. — *Anacreon*: a native of Teos, who flourished in the second half of the sixth century B.C. He resided at the court of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, and later at that of Hipparchus in Athens. The extant collection of poems called *Anacreontea* are, however, of Alexandrian origin.

10 ff. *spirat* . . . *vivunt*: cf. n. to 4, 8, 14. — *commissi*: with *amor* and *calores* alike. The secrets of her love she intrusted to her lyre. Cf. S. 2, 1, 30 *ille (Lucilius) velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim | credebat libris.* — *Aeoliae*: cf. 2, 13, 24 and n.

13 ff. Horace now takes up the

more general aspect of his theme. All his illustrations are from Homer. Notice the variety of expression and the cadence of the rhythm. — *comptos* . . . *crines*: *smooth locks*; the common object of *arsit*, *blazed with love's fire*, and *mirata*, *looked on with wondering admiration*. The latter continues with the three following accusatives, while *arsit* is forgotten. With this description of Paris, cf. 1, 15, 13 ff. and n. — *inlitum*: 'smeared on,' the word is chosen to emphasize the barbaric magnificence of Paris and his train. — *cultus*: *dress*; cf. 1, 8, 16. — *Lacaena*: the epithet is added in the epic fashion. Horace found models in the Greek writers for this account of the effect produced on Helen's mind by the appearance of Paris. Cf. e.g. Eurip. *Troad.* 991 f. *ὃν εἰσιδοῦσα βαρβάροις ἐσθήμασι | χρυσῷ τε λαμπρὸν ἑξέμαργώθης φρένας.* 'At sight of whom, brilliant in his barbarian dress and gold, thou lost thy senses.'

- primusve Teucer tela Cydonio
direxit arcu; non semel Ilios
vexata; non pugnavit ingens
20 Idomeneus Sthenelusve solus
- dicenda Musis proelia; non ferox
Hector vel acer Deiphobus gravis
excepit ictus pro pudicis
coniugibus puerisque primus.
- 25 Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
multi; sed omnes inlacrimabiles
urgentur ignotique longa
nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

17 f. **primusve**: the negative continues. — **Teucer**: cf. 1, 7, 21. According to *Il.* 13, 313 he was the best bowman among the Greeks. — **Cydonio**: *i.e.* Cretan. Cydonia was a town in Crete; cf. 1, 15, 17. — **Ilios**: *an Ilium*. The siege of Troy is taken as typical of great sieges.

20. **Idomeneus**: captain of the Cretans. — **Sthenelus**: cf. 1, 15, 24 and n.

21 ff. **dicenda Musis proelia**: cf. 4, 4, 68. — **non**: with **primus**. — **Hector, Deiphobus**: two examples chosen from the Trojan side.

25. **vixere fortes**, etc.: often quoted. The line sums up all that has gone before.

26 ff. **inlacrimabiles**: passive; cf. 2, 14, 6. Translate, *and none can weep for them*. — **urgentur**... **longa nocte**: cf. 1, 24, 5 f. *ergo*

Quintilium perpetuus sopor | urget!
— **vate sacro**: because consecrated to the service of the Muses; cf. 3, 1, 3 f. *Musarum sacerdos | virginibus puerisque canto*. With the preceding, cf. Pind. *N.* 7, 12 f. *ταὶ μεγάλαι γὰρ ἄλκαὶ | σκότον πολὺν ὕμνων ἔχοντι δεόμεναι. | ἔργοις δὲ καλοῖς ἔσοπτρον ἴσαμεν ἐνὶ σὺν τρόπῳ, | εἰ Μναμοσύνας ἕκατι λιπαράμπυκος | εὖρηται ἄποινα μόχθων, κλυταῖς ἐπέων ἀοιδαῖς*. 'For mighty feats of strength suffer deep darkness if they lack song; yet for glorious actions we know a mirror in one single way, if by the favor of Mnemosyne of the shining fillet a man find recompense for toil through glorifying strains of verse.' Also Boeth. *Phil. Cons.* 2, 7 *sed quam multos clarissimos suis temporibus viros scriptorum inops delevit opinio*.

30 Paulum sepultae distat inertiae
 celata virtus. Non ego te meis
 chartis inornatum silebo
 totve tuos patiar labores

 impune, Lolli, carpere lividas
 obliviones. Est animus tibi
 35 rerumque prudens et secundis
 temporibus dubiisque rectus,

 vindex avarae fraudis et abstinens
 ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniae,
 consulque non unius anni,
 40 sed quotiens bonus atque fidus

29 f. 'The hero, if posterity does not know his bravery, has but little advantage over the coward.' Thus Horace sums up the force of the preceding illustrations and passes on to assure Lollius that his excellence shall not go unsung. With the sentiment, cf. Claudian. *Cons. Hon.* 4, 225 f. *vile latens virtus. quid enim submersa tenebris | proderit obscuris?*

30 ff. non ego te: cf. 1, 18, 11. — chartis: cf. n. to 4, 8, 21. — inornatum: proleptic. — labores: thy toils and struggles.

33 ff. impune: i.e. without an effort to prevent. — carpere: to prey; suggesting Envy's biting tooth. — lividas: malicious; cf. 4, 8, 23. — est animus: cf. Verg. *A.* 9, 205 *est animus lucis contemptor.* — rerum prudens: wise in affairs (through experience). Cf. Verg.

G. 1, 416 *ingenium* ('natural endowment') *aut rerum prudentia.* — secundis temporibus dubiisque: some see here a reference to Lollius' defeat in 16 B.C. — rectus: steadfast.

37 f. vindex, etc.: i.e. ready to punish cupidity in others and himself free from that sin. — abstinens pecuniae: for the genitive, cf. *sceleris purus* 1, 22, 1. Also 3, 27, 69 f. Cf. *Intr.* 94.

39 f. consul: in a figurative sense, suggested by the Stoic tenet that only the wise, *sapiens*, is the true consul or king. Cf. n. to 3, 2, 17. Superiority to the temptations of ordinary men makes a man supreme not for a single year, but so long as he maintains his integrity. There is a certain confusion here and in the following lines, as Horace seems to shift his

iudex honestum praetulit utili,
reiecit alto dona nocentium
vultu, per obstantis catervas
explicuit sua victor arma.

45 Non possidentem multa vocaveris
recte beatum; rectius occupat
nomen beati, qui deorum
muneribus sapienter uti
duramque callet pauperiem pati
50 peiusque leto flagitium timet,
non ille pro caris amicis
aut patria timidus perire.

thought from *animus* with which
vindex, *consul*, and *iudex* are in
apposition, to Lollius, the posses-
sor of this incorruptible spirit.
In translation we follow this shift,
whenever as a judge he, etc.

41. *honestum*: τὸ καλόν, *virtue*.
— *utili*: τὸ συμφέρον, *expediency*.

42 ff. *reiecit*: following quo-
tiens by asyndeton. — *nocentium*:
the wicked. — *per obstantis*, etc.:
Porphyrio's explanation of this as
an apodosis to *quotiens* . . . *prae-
tulit, reiecit*, seems the simplest.
— *catervas*: *i.e.* of those who
would block his righteous course,

the *nocentium*. — *explicuit*: *has
carried*, etc.

45 ff. The ideal man. — *non
possidentem multa*, etc.: *it is not
the man who*, etc. Cf. 2, 2, 17 ff.
— *recte* . . . *rectius*: Intr. 28 c.
— *occupat*: *claims as his own*. —
qui deorum, etc.: cf. Claudian. *in
Ruf.* 1, 215 f. *natura beatis omni-
bus esse dedit, siquis cognoverit uti*.

49 f. *callet*: cf. *callidus* 1, 10,
7. — *pauperiem pati*: repeated
from 1, 1, 18. — *peius*: cf. *Epist.*
1, 17, 30 *cane peius et angue vitabit
chlamydem*. — *non ille*: cf. 3, 21, 9.

52. *timidus perire*: Intr. 108.

IO

The following four odes treat of love and good cheer in contrast to the serious tone of most of the other odes of the book.

These eight verses addressed to a beautiful boy, Ligurinus (4, 1, 33), warn him that beauty fades and soon he will repent his present haughtiness. The subject may have been suggested to Horace by certain Greek epigrams. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 12, 35. 186. Metre, 54.

O crudelis adhuc et Veneris muneribus potens,
 insperata tuae cum veniet pluma superbiae
 et quae nunc umeris involitant deciderint comae,
 nunc et qui color est puniceae flore prior rosae
 5 mutatus, Ligurine, in faciem verterit hispidam,
 dices 'Heu,' quotiens te speculo videris alterum,
 'quae mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit,
 vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genae?'

1 ff. Cf. Theoc. 23, 33 f. ἤξει
 καιρὸς ἐκείνος, ὅπανίκα καὶ τὸ φιλά-
 σεις, | ἀνίκα τὰν κραδίαν ὀπτεύ-
 μενος ἄλμυρὰ κλαύσεις.—Veneris
 muneribus: cf. *Il.* 3, 54 f. οὐκ ἄν
 τοι χραίσμη κίθαρις τά τε δῶρ'
 Ἀφροδίτης, | ἣ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος,
 ὅτ' ἐν κονίῃσι μυγείης. — *insperata*:
 predicate with *veniet*, *unexpectedly*. — *pluma*: *down* (of thy first
 beard), not found elsewhere in
 this sense. — *deciderint comae*: *i.e.*
 as a sign of man's estate.

4 f. flore . . . rosae: cf. 3, 29,
 3. — *verterit*: intransitive. — *his-
 pidam*: *i.e.* with thy new beard.

6 ff. *speculo*: instrumental ab-
 lative. — *alterum*: 'changed into
 another self.' Cf. *Anth. Pal.*
 11, 77 ἦν δ' ἐθέλῃς τὸ πρόσωπον
 ἰδεῖν ἐς ἐσόπτρον ἑαυτοῦ | 'οὐκ
 εἰμὶ Στρατοφῶν,' αὐτὸς ἐρεῖς ὁμό-
 σας. 'But if thou wilt look at
 thy face in the mirror, thou wilt
 say on thy oath, "I am not Stra-
 tophon."'

I I

An invitation to Phyllis to join in celebrating the birthday of Mae-
 cenas.

'Come, Phyllis, here is plenty, and my house is all abustle with our
 preparations (1-12). We must keep the birthday of Maecenas, dearer
 to me almost than my own (13-20). Telephus is not for thee, but for
 a maid of richer station. Remember it was ambition that brought low
 Phaethon and Bellerophon. Come then, last of my flames, and learn a
 song to lessen thy love cares (21-36).'

In theme and treatment this ode is not unlike 3, 28. It is interest-
 ing to note that it contains the only reference to Maecenas in this book,
 which is so largely devoted to the praise of Augustus and his stepsons;
 but the warmth of vv. 17-20 shows that no shadow had fallen on the
 friendship between Horace and his patron. The year of composition is
 unknown. Metre, 69.

Est mihi nonum superantis annum
 plenus Albani cadus ; est in horto,
 Phylli, nectendis apium coronis ;
 est hederæ vis

5 multa, qua criniſ religata fulges ;
 ridet argento domus ; ara castis
 vincta verbenis avet immolato
 spargier agno ;

cuncta festinat manus, huc et illuc
 10 cursitant mixtae pueris puellae ;
 sordidum flammae trepidant rotantes
 vertice fumum.

1 ff. *est*: the triple anaphora shows the poet's earnestness — 'yes, everything we need is here in abundance.' Cf. Theoc. 11 45 ff. ἐντὶ δάφναι τῆνεί, ἐντὶ ῥαδιναὶ κυπάρισσοι, | ἔστι μέλας κισσός, ἔστ' ἄμπελος ἃ γλυκύκαρπος, | ἔστι ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ. 'There are laurels thereby, there are slender cypresses, there is dark ivy, and the vine with its sweet clusters, there is cool water.' — *Albani*: in quality next after the Caecuban and Falernian, according to Pliny *N. H.* 14, 64. — *nectendis* . . . *coronis*: dative of purpose. — *apium*: cf. 1, 36, 16; 2, 7, 24.

4. *vis*: *supply, copia*.

5 ff. *religata*: *middle*; cf. 2, 11, 24. — *fulges*: gnomic present; somewhat stronger in meaning than the common *niteo*, 1, 5, 13. — *ridet*: cf. Hesiod. *Theog.*

40 γελᾷ δέ τε δώματα πατρός. The silver has been polished up for the occasion. Cf. Juvenal's description of preparations for guests 14, 59 ff. *hospite venturo cessabit nemo tuorum*; | '*Verre pavimentum, nitidas ostende columnas, | arida cum tota descendat aranea tela*; | *hic leve argentum, vasa aspera tergeat alter*' | *vox domini furit*. — *ara* . . . *vincta*, etc.: cf. 1, 19, 13 f. and nn.

— *avet*: used only here in the lyric poems and the Epistles. — *spargier*: the archaic passive pres. inf. is not found elsewhere in the lyrics, but is employed five times in the Satires and Epistles.

9 ff. *manus*: *the household, familia*. — *puellae*: rare in this meaning of *famulae*. — *sordidum*: *murky, smoky*. — *trepidant*: *quiver*; cf. 2, 3, 11; 3, 27, 17. The word

15 Vt tamen noris quibus advoceris
 gaudiis, Idus tibi sunt agenda,
 qui dies mensem Veneris marinae
 findit Aprilem,
 iure sollemnis mihi sanctiorque
 paene natali proprio, quod ex hac
 luce Maecenas meus adfluentis
 20 ordinat annos.

Telephum, quem tu petis, occupavit
 non tuae sortis iuvenem puella
 dives et lasciva, tenetque grata
 compede vinctum.

has a certain personifying force like *avet* above, and pictures the fire as sharing in the excitement of preparation. — *vertice*: *i.e.* 'in eddying column.'

13 f. *ut noris*: the purpose of the explanation *Idus tibi*, etc. Cf. 4, 9, 1 ff. and n.

15 f. *Veneris marinae*: cf. 1, 4, 5; 3, 26, 5. In explanation of the fact that April was sacred to Venus, it was said that in this month the goddess (*Ἀφροδίτη ἀναδυομένη*) was born from the sea, and in fact the name *Aprilis* was falsely derived from *ἀφρός*, 'sea-foam.' — *findit*: hinting at the derivation of *idus* from the Etruscan *iduate*, to divide (Macrob. 1, 15, 17).

17. *sollemnis*: *festal*. — *sanctior*: cf. Tib. 4, 5, 1 f. *qui mihi te, Cerinthe, dies dedit, hic mihi sanc-*

tus | atque inter festos semper habendus erit. Also Iuv. 12, 1 ff. *natali, Corvine, die mihi dulcior haec lux, | qua festus promissa deis animalia caespes | expectat*.

19 f. *luce*: cf. 4, 6, 42. — *adfluentis . . . annos*: *the years in their onward flow*. The phrase does not necessarily imply that Maecenas was already old. — *ordinat*: *reckons*, adds to the tale of those already passed.

21 ff. 'Do not let your love for Telephus delay you, he is not for thee.' — *Telephum*: the name is found 1, 13, 1 f.; 3, 19, 26. — *petis*: frequent in this sense; cf. 1, 33, 13. — *occupavit*: cf. 1, 14, 2 and n. — *sortis*: *station*. — *lasciva*: *coquettish*. — *tenet grata compede*: cf. 1, 33, 14. — Also Tibul. 1, 1, 55 *me retinent vinctum formosae vincla puellae*.

25 Terret ambustus Phaethon avaras
 spes, et exemplum grave praebet ales
 Pegasus terrenum equitem gravatus
 Bellerophontem,

semper ut te digna sequare et ultra
 30 quam licet sperare nefas putando
 disparem vites. Age iam, meorum
 finis amorum,

(non enim posthac alia calebo
 femina,) condisce modos, amanda
 35 voce quos reddas; minuentur atrae
 carmine curae.

25 ff. *terret*: cf. the position of *monet* 1, 18, 8. — *ambustus Phaethon*: cf. 2, 4, 10 *ademptus Hector*. — *ales*: *winged*; cf. 1, 2, 42. — *terrenum*: *earth-born*, and hence unfit for the heavens to which he attempted to fly on Pegasus. — *gravatus*: transitive. — *Bellerophontem*: used by Pindar *I.* 6, 44 ff. and later writers as an example of the punishment which falls on overvaulting ambition.

29 ff. *ut sequare*, etc.: following on *exemplum*. — *te*: with *digna*. — *putando*: the ablative of the gerund here approaches the meaning of the present participle.

— *disparem*: euphemistic in place of *superiorem*. — *age iam*, etc.: ‘come, do not waste thought on what is hopeless.’

32. *finis amorum*: Horace never loved very deeply and could not declare with Propertius 1, 12, 19 f. *mi neque amare aliam neque ab hac discedere fas est*; | *Cynthia prima fuit, Cynthia finis erit*.

33 ff. *calebo*: cf. 1, 4, 19. — *condisce*: *i.e.* under my teaching. — *reddas*: cf. n. to 4, 6, 43. — *minuentur*, etc.: cf. the prescription Nemesian. 4, 19 *cantet amat quod quisque: levant et carmina curas*.

12

On the return of Spring. ‘The breezes of the Spring are here again; the mourning swallow builds her nest; the shepherds pipe their songs once more (1–12). It is the thirsty season, Vergil. If thou wouldst

drink a cup of choice wine at my house, bring a box of precious nard with thee. Let go thy cares and give thyself up to our revel (13-28).'

This is the third of Horace's poems on this theme; but whereas in the others (1, 4 and 4, 7) he employs the changes of the year to remind us of the fleeting character of life, here he gives the matter a more cheerful turn with only a glance (v. 26) at the gloomy world below. The invitation is not unlike that of Catullus (C. 13) to his friend Fabullus to dine with him and provide all the entertainment save the unguent only.

The Vergil addressed cannot be the poet, who died in 19 B.C.; but we know nothing more of him than the ode tells us. Some critics think that the similarity of v. 21 to v. 13 f. of the preceding ode shows that they were written at about the same time. Metre, 72.

Iam veris comites, quae mare temperant,
impellunt animae linthea Thraciae;
iam nec prata rigent nec fluvii strepunt
hiberna nive turgidi.

5 Nidum ponit, Ityn flebiliter gemens,
infelix avis et Cecropiae domus

1 f. Cf. Meleager *Anth. Pal.* 9, 363, 9 f. ἤδη δὲ πλώουσιν ἐπ' εὐρέα κύματα ναῦται | πνοιῇ ἀπημάντῳ Ζεφύρου λίνα κολπώσαντες. — **veris comites**: in apposition with **animae** . . . **Thraciae**. — **temperant**: *quiet*; cf. 3, 19, 6. — **animae**: only here in Horace for *venti*. Cf. Vergil *A.* 8, 403 *quantum ignes animaeque valent*. — **Thraciae**: apparently the Zephyrus. The epithet is purely conventional, adopted from Homer. Some editors take it to be the north winds. Cf. Colum. 11, 2 *venti septentrionales, qui vocantur Ornithae, per dies XXX (i.e. from about Feb. 20) esse solent. tum et hirundo advenit*.

5. **Ityn**: the son of Procne

and Tereus. The mother slew her son and served him up at table to his father to avenge the latter's outrage of Philomela, Procne's sister. When Tereus discovered the horrible deceit that had been practiced on him, he and the two sisters were changed into birds; Procne became a swallow, and Philomela a nightingale, according to the form of the myth which Horace seems to follow here. The swallow is the proverbial messenger of spring with both Greeks and Romans, so there seems little doubt that this bird is meant by **infelix avis**. — **flebiliter**: *piteously*.

6 ff. **Cecropiae**: Procne was the daughter of Pandion, king of

aeternum opprobrium, quod male barbaras
regum est ulta libidines.

10 Dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium
custodes ovium carmina fistula
delectantque deum cui pecus et nigri
colles Arcadiae placent.

Adduxere sitim tempora, Vergili;
sed pressum Calibus ducere Liberum
15 si gestis, iuvenum nobilium cliens,
nardo vina merebere.

Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum,
qui nunc Sulpiciis accubat horreis,
spes donare novas largus amaraque
20 curarum eluere efficax.

Athens. — **male**: with *ulta*, *took an unnatural revenge on*, etc. — **regum**: generalizing plural, as *virginum* 3, 27, 38.

9 ff. **dicunt**: cf. 1, 6, 5. — **tenero**: as it is early spring. — **fistula**: instrumental abl.; cf. 3, 4, 1 f. *dic age tibia . . . longum melos*. — **deum**: Pan, the Arcadian god. — **nigri colles**: cf. 1, 21, 7 *nigris Erymanthi silvis*.

14 ff. **pressum Calibus**; cf. 1, 20, 9 and n. — **ducere**: *quaff*; 1, 17, 22. — **iuvenum nobilium cliens**: who the *iuvenes nobiles* were we have no means of knowing; but the purpose of introducing this phrase is to imply, 'At the tables of your noble patrons you are entertained scot-free, but at mine you must pay.' — **nardo**: cf. n. to 2, 11, 16. — **vina**: plural as 4, 5,

31 and frequently. — **merebere**: the future of mild command.

17. **onyx**: usually masculine, as here; a small flask to hold ointment, so named since such receptacles were originally made of alabaster. Cf. *St. Mark* 14, 3 'As he sat at meat, there came a woman having an alabaster cruse of ointment of spikenard very costly; and she brake the cruse and poured it on his head.' The adjective **parvus** emphasizes the cost of the ointment. — **eliciet**: personifying the *cadus*; cf. 3, 21, 1 ff.

18 ff. **Sulpiciis . . . horreis**: storehouses on the river at the foot of the Aventine. — **donare . . . largus**: *generous in giving*. Intr. 108. — **amara curarum**: cf. 2, 1, 23 *cuncta terrarum*. — **eluere efficax**: Intr. 108.

Ad quae si properas gaudia, cum tua
velox merce veni; non ego te meis
immunem meditor tinguere poculis,
plena dives ut in domo.

25 Verum pone moras et studium lucri,
nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium
misce stultitiam consiliis brevem:
dulce est desipere in loco.

21 ff. *properas*: *art eager*, not of physical hurry. — *merce*: *i.e.* the nard. — *immunem*: the Greek ἀσύνβολον, *scot-free, without bringing your share*. — *tinguere*: colloquial; cf. Alcaeus *Frg.* 39 τέγγε πνεύμονα οἴνω. — *plena...domo*: cf. 2, 12, 24.

25 ff. *verum*: dropping his jocose manner. The word is found

only here in the lyrical poems. — *nigrorum*: cf. 1, 24, 18 and n. — *misce stultitiam*, etc.: cf. Menander's precept οὐ πανταχοῦ τὸ φρόνιμον ἀρμόττει παρόν, καὶ συμμανῆναι δ' ἐνία δεῖ. — *in loco*: *on occasion*; ἐν καιρῷ. Cf. Ter. *Adelphi* 216 *pecūniam in loco negligere maximum interdūmst lucrum*.

13

In mockery to a faded courtesan. The subject of the ode is similar to that of 1, 25 and 3, 15. This Lyce can hardly be the same as the Lyce of 3, 10; and we can only guess how much of the ode represents any real experience. Metre, 73.

Audivere, Lyce, di mea vota, di
audivere, Lyce: fis anus; et tamen
vis formosa videri,
ludisque et bibis impudens

5 et cantu tremulo pota Cupidinem
lentum sollicitas. Ille virentis et

1 f. *audivere* . . . *audivere*: exultant repetition. — *vota*: *i.e.* *devotiones*; cf. n. to 2, 8, 6.

4 f. *ludis*: cf. 3, 15, 5. — *tremulo*: with old age and wine.

— *pota*: cf. 3, 15, 16. — *lentum*: *slow in coming, unresponsive*. — *ille virentis*, etc.: cf. Arist. *taenet.* 2, 1 ἀπηνθηκότι σώματι οὐ πέφυκε προσιζάνειν ὁ Ἔρως.

doctae psallere Chiaae
 pulchris excubat in genis ;
 importunus enim transvolat aridas
 10 quercus et refugit te quia luridi
 dentes, te quia rugae
 turpant et capitis nives ;
 nec Coae referunt iam tibi purpurae
 nec cari lapides tempora quae semel
 15 notis condita fastis
 inclusit volucris dies.

Quo fugit venus, heu, quove color, decens
 quo motus ? Quid habes illius, illius,
 quae spirabat amores,
 20 quae me surpuerat mihi,

οὐ δ' ἂν εὐανθὲς τε καὶ εὐώδης ἦ,
 ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐνιζάνει καὶ μένει.
 'Love is not wont to rest upon
 a form from which the flower
 of beauty has already fled ; but
 where fair bloom and fragrance
 sweet exist, there he lights and
 ever stays.' — Chiaae : this name
 is found on inscriptions of freed-
 women. — excubat : *keeps vigil*
on.

9 ff. importunus : *rude, ruthless*. — aridas : in contrast with
 virentis v. 6. Cf. also n. on *sucus*
 3. 27, 54. — quercus : typical of
 long life. — te : object alike of re-
 fugit and turpant, as the repeated
 te makes clear. — capitis nives : if
 this metaphor was not invented
 by Horace, it certainly is not much
 older. Quintilian 8, 6, 17 con-

demns the figure as far fetched ;
sunt et durae (translationes), id
est a longinqua similitudine ductae
ut capitis nives. To us it is com-
 mon as snow itself, which Romans
 saw much less often.

13 ff. Coae : the famous semi-
 transparent silk of Cos was a fav-
 orite stuff with women of Lyce's
 class. — notis condita fastis : *i.e.*
 'your years are safely stored away
 and all can read the record ; you
 cannot hope to hide them.' — volu-
 cris dies : cf. 3, 28, 6 and 4, 7, 8
rapit hora diem.

18 ff. illius, illius : *of her, of*
her ; partitive with quid. — spira-
 bat amores : cf. *Epist.* 2, 1, 166
nam spirat tragicum satis. Intr.
 86. — surpuerat : by syncope for
 the common *surripuerat*.

felix post Cinaram notaque et artium
gratarum facies ? Sed Cinaræ brevis
annos fata dederunt,
servatura diu parem

25 cornicis vetulae temporibus Lycen,
possent ut iuvenes visere fervidi
multo non sine risu
dilapsam in cineres facem.

21 f. *felix post*: *happy and fortunate next to*, etc. — *Cinaram*: cf. 4, 1, 4 and n. — *nota*: with *facies*, *a vision known* (to all). — *artium gratarum*: genitive of quality. Cf. 4, 1, 15 *centum puer artium*.

24 f. *servatura*: almost adverbative, *yet bound to keep*. — *parem*: proleptic, *to match*. — *cornicis vetulae*: cf. 3, 17, 13 *annosa cornix* and n. — *temporibus*: *the years*.

26 ff. *fervidi*: youths in whom the fire of passion burns fiercely, contrasted with Lyce, whose fire has become ashes. — *non sine*: cf. n. to 1, 23, 3. — *dilapsam*: crumbled; cf. Meleager *Anth. Pal.* 12, 41, 1 f. *πυρανγῆς πρίν ποτε, νῦν δ' ἤδη δαλός Ἀπολλόδοτος*. 'Once bright as flame, but now at last a burned-out torch is Apollodotus.'

14

The following ode is written ostensibly to celebrate the exploits of Tiberius in his campaign of 15 B.C. against the Tirolese tribes. (See intr. n. to 4, 4). In reality the greater part of the ode is occupied with the glorification of Augustus' service to the state.

'How can the senate and the people honor thee enough or worthily transmit thy memory to posterity, Augustus? Under thy auspices Drusus overcame the savage Alpine peoples, and Tiberius drove the Raeti before him, even as Auster drives the stormy waters, or Aufidus pours its torrent on the fertile plain (1-34). It was on the day of Alexandria's fall that fortune bestowed this new honor (35-40). Thou art recognized as lord by all the world, the peoples of the farthest West and East, the South and North alike (41-52).'

It should be noted that while Tiberius was only alluded to in the fourth ode, here Drusus is distinctly mentioned, although Tiberius is given the greater prominence. This partiality toward the younger of

the brothers may have been intended to please Augustus, with whom Drusus was more of a favorite than his brother. The position of the ode in the book is thought by many to be due to the same cause; but it is more probable that Horace placed it and its companion ode, the fifteenth, at the end, that he might close the book with the Emperor's praise. The date of composition must be about the same as that of the fourth ode, *i.e.* 14 B.C. Metre, 68.

Quae cura patrum quaeve Quiritium
 plenis honorum muneribus tuas,
 Auguste, virtutes in aevum
 per titulos memoresque fastos

5 aeternet, o qua sol habitabilis
 inlustrat oras maxime principum?
 Quem legis expertes Latinae
 Vindelici didicere nuper

quid Marte posses. Milite nam tuo

10 Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
 Breunosque velocis et arcis
 Alpibus impositas tremendis

1 f. **patrum . . . Quiritium**: a poetic turn for the official *senatus populusque Romanus*. — **plenis**: *adequate*.

4. **titulos**: inscriptions on statues, honorary decrees, etc. — **memoresque fastos**: repeated from 3, 17, 4.

5. **o qua sol**, etc.: the whole inhabitable world.

7 f. **quem didicere . . . quid posses**: this Greek construction is found in the lyrics only here and v. 17 **spectandus . . . quantis**, etc. — **legis expertes**: *i.e.* not yet brought under our rule. — **Vin-**

delici: cf. introductory n. to 4, 4. — **nuper**: referring to Drusus' victory near Tridentum. The adverb helps fix the date of composition.

9 ff. **Marte**: cf. 3, 5, 24, 34. — **milite**: cf. 1, 15, 6 and v. 33 below. — **Genaunos, Breunos**: two Raetian tribes living in the valley of the river Inn. The latter tribe gave its name to the Brenner Pass. — **implacidum**: first found here. — **velocis**: *quick, agile*; a characteristic of mountaineers. — **arcis . . . impositas**: repeated by Horace *Epist.* 2, 1, 252.

15 deiecit acer plus vice simplici;
 maior Neronum mox grave proelium
 commisit immanisque Raetos
 auspiciis pepulit secundis,
 spectandus in certamine Martio,
 devota morti pectora liberae
 quantis fatigaret ruinis,
 20 indomitas prope qualis undas
 exercet Auster Pleiadum choro
 scindente nubis, impiger hostium
 vexare turmas et frementem
 mittere equum medios per ignis.
 25 Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,

13. **deiecit**: especially applicable to the mountain citadels, but belonging by a slight zeugma to **Genaunos, Breunos** also.—**vice**: *requital*; *i.e.* they suffered greater losses than they had themselves caused.

14 ff. **maior Neronum**: cf. n. to 4, 4, 28. The name Tiberius cannot be employed in Alcaic verse.—**mox**: Tiberius' attack from the north followed Drusus' successes.—**immanis**: *monstrous* (in their cruelty). The savagery of the Alpine tribesmen is described by Strabo 4, 6, 8.

17. **spectandus**: cf. n. to v. 7 above. The gerundive is equivalent to *dignus qui spectaretur*; cf. 4, 2, 9 *donandus*. Observe that the verse lacks the caesura. Intr. 50.

18 ff. **morti . . . liberae**: *a free-man's death*.—**ruinis**; *shocks, blows*.—**indomitas prope qualis**,

etc.: the comparison is twofold—Tiberius is likened to the *Auster*, his foes to the invincible waves. Strictly speaking, of course, the Raeti were not *indomiti*.—**prope**: prosaically qualifying the simile; cf. S. 2, 3, 268 *tempestatis prope ritu*.

21 ff. **exercet**: *vexes*.—**Pleiadum choro**: the constellation set in November, a stormy month.—**nubis**: *i.e. the (drifting) storm-clouds*.—**vexare**: for the mood, see Intr. 108.—**medios per ignes**: may be taken literally of the burning villages, or metaphorically of extreme danger. Cf. Sil. Ital. 14, 175 f. *si tibi per medios ignis mediosque per ensis | non dederit mea dextra viam*.

25 ff. **sic . . . ut**: an unusual inversion by which the subject of the comparison occupies the relative clause.—**tauriformis**: the Greek

qui regna Dauni praefluit Apuli,
 cum saevit horrendamque cultis
 diluvium meditatur agris,
 ut barbarorum Claudius agmina
 30 ferrata vasto diruit impetu,
 primosque et extremos metendo
 stravit humum, sine clade victor,
 te copias, te consilium et tuos
 praebente divos. Nam tibi, quo die
 35 portus Alexandria supplex
 et vacuum patefecit aulam,
 Fortuna lustris prospera tertio
 belli secundos reddidit exitus,

ταυρόμορφος. Such compounds are very rare in Horace. — Aufidus: a favorite illustration. Cf. 3, 30, 10; 4, 9, 2.

26. Dauni: cf. n. to 1, 22, 14. — praefluit: cf. 4, 3, 10 and n. — diluvium: *flood*; cf. 3, 29, 40.

29 ff. Claudius: *i.e.* Tiberius. — ferrata: *mail clad*. The use of mail by the Germanic and Gallic tribes is not stated before Tacitus *Ann.* 3, 43, 3 (he is speaking of Gauls) *quibus more gentico continuum ferri tegimen*. — diruit: properly of razing buildings; here the mailed ranks of the enemy are likened to a fortress. — primos et extremos: *i.e.* the entire army. — metendo: see n. to 4, 11, 30 for this use of gerund; for the figurative use, cf. Verg. *A.* 10, 513 *proxima quaeque metit gladio*.

32. stravit humum: *i.e.* with their corpses. — sine clade victor: Velleius 1, 95 says that the victory was won *maiore cum periculo quam damno Romani exercitus*.

33. te . . . te . . . tuos: Intr. 28 c.

34 ff. nam, etc.: explaining tuos . . . divos; *i.e.* 'since the day, when Alexandria fell, the gods have smiled on all thy undertakings and have granted this last success.' — quo die: we need not suppose that the victory in the Alps fell exactly on Aug. 1, the probable date of Alexandria's surrender. — vacuum: made so by the death of Cleopatra.

37 ff. lustris . . . tertio: abl. of time completed. — reddidit: *gave as thy due*. — laudem: in the recognition of Rome's power by the

40 laudemque et optatum peractis
imperiis decus adrogavit.

Te Cantaber non ante domabilis
Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes
miratur, o tutela praesens
Italiae dominaeque Romae;

45 te fontium qui celat origines
Nilusque et Hister, te rapidus Tigris,
te beluosus qui remotis
obstrepat Oceanus Britannis,

50 te non paventis funera Galliae
duraeque tellus audit Hiberiae,

remote peoples named below. —
adrogavit: *has bestowed*.

41 ff. Augustus' world-wide dominion. — **te, te, etc.**: the multi-fold repetition keeps the subject constantly before us. Cf. n. to 1, 10, 17. — **Cantaber**: cf. n. to 2, 6, 2. — **Medus**: cf. n. to 1, 2, 22. — **Indus**: cf. 1, 12, 56. — **tutela**: here active, *protector*; cf. its use 4, 6, 33. — **praesens**: cf. 3, 5, 2. — **dominae**: *imperial*; cf. 4, 3, 13 *Romae principis urbium*.

45. **qui celat origines**: the sources of the Nile were not discovered until the nineteenth century, so that they were long a synonym for unknown and remotest regions. Cf. Lucan 10, 189 ff. where Caesar says *nihil est quod noscere malim | quam fluvii causas per saecula tanta latentis | ignotumque caput : spes sit mihi certa videndi | Nili-*

acos fontes, bellum civile relinquam.

In 20 B.C., when Augustus was in Samos, an embassy of Ethiopians visited him. For the use of the river to designate the people living by it, cf. n. to 2, 20, 20.

46 ff. **Hister**: the Dacians. — **Tigris**: the Armenians. — **beluosus**: *teeming with monsters*. The word is not found after Horace until Avienus in the 4th century. It reproduces the Homeric *μεγακήτεια πόντον*. — **obstrepat**: *that roars against*. Cf. 2, 18, 20. — **Britannis**: some of the chiefs of Britain had sought protection from Augustus (Strabo 4, 5, 3).

49. **non paventis funera**: the Gallic indifference to death was attributed by the Romans to Druidical teachings as to the immortality of the soul. Cf. Caes. *B. G.* 6, 14, 5 *in primis hoc volunt per-*

te caede gaudentes Sygambri
compositis venerantur armis.

*suadere, non interire animas, . . .
atque hoc maxime ad virtutem exci-
tare putant, metu mortis neglecto.*

51. Sygambri: the list closes with a people lately subdued. See intr. n. to 4, 2.

15

The closing ode of the book is appropriately given to the praise of Augustus alone. It stands in the same close relation to 14 that 5 does to 4. (See the introductions to these odes.)

‘When I would sing the deeds of war, Apollo checked my course. My song shall rather be of thy age, Caesar, which has brought back peace and its blessings, and recalled the ancient virtues which built our empire from the rising to the setting sun (1–16). So long as Caesar guards our state, no fear of civil strife or foreign foe shall vex our peace (17–24). And every day over our wine, with wives and children by, we’ll pray the gods in forms prescribed, and hymn the great ones of our past, kindly Venus’ line (25–32).’

It should be noted that this ode like 5 extols Augustus as the restorer of peace and morality, while 4 and 14 glorify his success in war. In date of composition it is probably the latest of all; the fact that no mention is made of Augustus’ return to Rome on July 4, 13 B.C., or of the honors planned for his return, makes it very probable that it was written before that date, approximately toward the end of 14 B.C. Metre, 68.

Phoebus volentem proelia me loqui
victas et urbis increpuit lyra,

1 f. Phoebus, etc.: possibly in imitation of Verg. *E.* 6, 3 f. *cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthia aurem | vellit et admonuit.* Ovid makes a similar apology for his *Amores*, 1, 1, 1 ff. *arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam | edere, materia conveniente modis; | par erat inferior versus; risisse Cupido | dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem.* — proelia . . . loqui,

etc.: *i.e.* sing of epic themes, for which Horace had again and again declared his unfitness. On the use of *loqui*, cf. n. to 4, 2, 45. — *increpuit*: *checked and warned me*, etc. — *lyra*: Porphyrio connected this with *loqui*, which then means ‘handle epic themes in lyric verse’; but it is more natural to read it with *increpuit*, both from its position and because the lyre is Apollo’s

ne parva Tyrrhenum per aequor
vela darem. Tua, Caesar, aetas

5 fruges et agris rettulit uberes
et signa nostro restituit Iovi
derepta Parthorum superbis
postibus et vacuum duellis

10 Ianum Quirini clausit et ordinem
rectum evaganti frena licentiae

natural instrument for arousing and directing his subjects. Cf. 2, 10, 18 *quondam cithara tacentem suscitatur musam . . . Apollo*. Also Ovid. *A. A.* 2, 493 f. *haec ego cum canerem subito manifestus Apollo | movit inauratae pollice fila lyrae*.

3 f. The metaphor is common for bold undertakings; cf. e.g. Prop. 4, 9, 3 f. *quid me scribendi tam vastum mittis in aequor? | non sunt apta meae grandia vela rati*. — *parva*: as befitting his lyric verse. Cf. 1, 6, 9 *tenuis grandia*, etc. — *tua aetas*: the abruptness of the transition brings these words into special prominence as the theme which Apollo assigns.

5. *fruges*, etc.: cf. n. to 4, 5, 18. — *et . . . et*, etc.; the polysyndeton in the following three strophes gives a cumulative force to this recital of the blessings of Augustus' rule.

6 ff. *signa*: restored in 20 B.C., when the Parthian king was distressed by domestic troubles and overawed by Augustus' preparations for an expedition against him. — *nostro . . . Iovi*: i.e. Capi-

toline Jove. It is conjectured from this passage that the standards were deposited in the temple on the Capitol until transferred to the temple of Mars Ultor, dedicated in 2 B.C. Horace's words, however, do not necessitate this conclusion. — *derepta*: poetic exaggeration. — *postibus*: of their temples. — *duellis*: cf. 3, 5, 38 and n.

9 f. *Ianum Quirini*: a variation of the common *Ianum Quirinum*, the name given the temple as well as the god. The shrine stood near the north end of the Forum. — *clausit*: in 29 and 25 B.C. The gates had then not been closed since the end of the First Punic War. They were shut a third time during Augustus' rule, but the exact year is not known. When Horace wrote the gates were open. — *evaganti*: transitive. Intr. 86. — *frena*, etc.: Horace's hope expressed 3, 24, 28 f. is fulfilled. With the expression, cf. Val. Max. 2, 9, 5 *freni sunt iniecti vobis, Quirites: lex enim lata est, quae vos esse frugum iubet*.

iniecit emovitque culpas
et veteres revocavit artis,

per quas Latinum nomen et Italae
crevere vires famaue et imperi

15 porrecta maiestas ad ortus
solis ab Hesperio cubili.

Custode rerum Caesare non furor
civilis aut vis exiget otium,

20 non ira, quae procudit ensis
et miseras inimicat urbis.

Non qui profundum Danuvium bibunt
edicta rumpent Iulia, non Getae,

non Seres infidive Persae,
non Tanain prope flumen orti.

12. *artis*: the virtues; cf. 3, 3, 9. With these statements, cf. Augustus' claims *Mon. Anc.* 2, 12 *legibus novis latis multa revocavi exempla maiorum exolescentia*.

13 ff. *Latinum nomen, Italae vires, imperi maiestas*: the three steps of Roman dominion. — *nomen*: cf. 3, 3, 45. — *fama*: modified by *imperi*. — *porrecta*: participle, which has been, etc. — *ad ortus*, etc.: cf. e.g. Tib. 2, 5, 57 *Roma, tuum nomen terris fatale regendis, | qua sua de caelo prospicit arva Ceres, | quaque patent ortus et qua fluitantibus undis | solis anhelantes abluit amnis equos*.

17 ff. A similar passage to 3, 14, 14 ff. — *non . . . non*, etc.: the effect of the anaphora in the two following strophes is like that

secured by the polysyndeton in the three preceding. — *furor*: madness; cf. *Epist.* 2, 2, 47 *civilis aestus*. — *ira*: cf. 1, 16, 9 ff. — *inimicat*: a compound coined by Horace.

21 ff. *qui profundum Danuvium bibunt*: the peoples living by the Danube had not been reduced to complete submission at the time Horace wrote; that was accomplished later. All Horace means is that they were at peace with Rome. — *edicta . . . Iulia*: not in a technical, but a general sense, — the terms set by Augustus. — *Getae*: cf. 3, 24, 11. — *Seres*: cf. n. to 1, 12, 56. — *infidi*: cf. *Epist.* 2, 1, 112 *Parthis mendacior*. — *Persae*: 1, 2, 22. — *Tanain prope flumen orti*: cf. 3, 29, 28. This

25 Nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
 inter iocosi munera Liberi,
 cum prole matronisque nostris
 rite deos prius adprecati,

 virtute functos more patrum duces
 30 Lydis remixto carmine tibiis
 Troiamque et Anchisen et almae
 progeniem Veneris canemus.

list of peoples should be compared with that in 4, 14, 41-52. It will be noted that none of the peoples here named were actually subject to Rome; but as remote nations which had more or less dealings with Rome, they appealed to the Roman imagination.

25 ff. *nos*: marking the shift to the Romans' own happy lot. — *et profestis . . . et sacris*: *i.e.* every day alike. — *lucibus*: cf. 4, 6, 42; 11, 19. — *iocosi munera Liberi*: the Hesiodic δῶρα Διωνύσου πολυγυθῆος. Cf. 1, 18, 7. — *cum prole*, etc.: each in his own home. — *rite*: in prescribed fashion.

29. *virtute functos*: varying the common *vita functos*; cf. 2, 18, 38 *laboribus functos*. Translate, *who have done their noble*

work. — *more patrum*: modifying *canemus*. The custom of extolling the virtues of their ancestors in song at banquets was an ancient one among the Romans, according to Cato. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 3 in *Originibus dixit Cato morem apud maiores hunc epularum fuisse, ut deinceps qui accubarent canerent ad tibiam clarorum virorum laudes atque virtutes*.

30 ff. *Lydis*: apparently a purely ornamental epithet. — *remixto*: an unusual word. — *tibiis*: dative. — *Anchisen et . . . progeniem Veneris*: *i.e.* the long line descended from Anchises and Venus; but the special reference is obviously to Augustus, as in C. S. 50 *clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis*.

CARMEN SAECVLARE

Horace's preëminent art was officially recognized in 17 B.C. by his appointment to write the hymn for the celebration of the *ludi saeculares*. This festival originated in a worship of the gods of the lower world by the *gens Valeria* at a spot in the Campus Martius called Terentum (or Tarentum), near the bend in the river not far below the present Ponte San Angelo. In 249 B.C., after the defeat at Drepanum, some fearful portents prompted a consultation of the Sibylline Books: these ordered a celebration of the *ludi Terentini*, and further directed that the festival should be repeated every hundred years. Thus the gentile cult became a national one. The second celebration was not in 149 but 146 B.C.; the confusion of 49 B.C. must have prevented any thought of the *ludi* in that year. Apparently Augustus thought of a similar festival in honor of Apollo and Diana for 23 B.C.; this undoubtedly would have taken the form of an appeal to these divinities to avert the misfortune which then threatened the state and the emperor — the bad harvest with its attendant hardship and Augustus' sickness (cf. Intr. n. to I, 21 and n. to I, 21, 6). For some unknown reason the celebration was deferred. The year 17, however, marked the close of the decade for which Augustus in January, 27 B.C., had undertaken the direction of the state. In this ten years the Roman world had revived under the blessings of peace and had seemed to enter on a new era. Augustus proposed to celebrate the close of this period by a revival of the *ludi saeculares* in new and magnificent form.

To obtain religious sanction for his plan he applied to the *quindecimviri*, the college in charge of the Sibylline Books, who took 110 years as the length of the *saeculum*, — antiquarians differed as to whether 100 or 110 years was the correct number, — and on this basis pointed to four previous dates for celebrations beginning with 456 B.C.; the

CARMEN SAECVLARE

one proposed by Augustus was then the fifth, and fell in the last year of the *saeculum* instead of at its close. Claudius celebrated the festival in 47 A.D., taking the traditional date of the founding of the city as his starting point and reckoning a *saeculum* as 100 years; Domitian's celebration was in 88 A.D.; that of Antoninus Pius, in 147, marked the close of the city's ninth century. Later celebrations were by Septimius Severus in 204; by Philip in 248 in honor of the completion of the first millennium of the state. Whether there were celebrations by Gallienus in 257 or by Maximian in 304 is uncertain. They were revived by Pope Boniface as papal jubilees in 1300.

Augustus, however, made important changes in the nature of the festival. Hitherto it had been a propitiatory offering to the gods of the lower world; now it became rather a festival of thanksgiving for present blessings and of prayer for the continuance of them forever. Pluto and Proserpina were not mentioned, but Apollo and Diana had the most prominent place. Jupiter and Juno were also honored. Zosimus (2, 5) has preserved for us an account of the celebration and the oracle which contains directions for it. This oracle in its present detailed form was unquestionably written for the festival or after it, but is probably based on an earlier production. After the celebration was past, two pillars, one marble, the other bronze, inscribed with a complete record, were erected at the spot Terentum; in 1890 some fragments of the marble pillar were recovered and are now preserved in the Museo delle Terme which occupies a portion of the remains of the baths of Diocletian.¹ These fragments and literary notices, especially Zosimus, enable us to trace the course of the festival clearly. The celebration proper began on the evening before June 1; but on May 26–28 the magistrates distributed to all citizens who applied *suffimenta*, pitch-pine, sulphur, and bitumen, for purposes of purification; May 29–31 the citizens brought contributions of grain to the officials to be used by them in paying the musicians and actors.

The festival itself lasted three nights and days; the nocturnal sacrifices were at Terentum; the ceremonies by day were at the temples of the several divinities. Augustus, assisted by Agrippa, conducted the entire celebration. On the first night nine black ewe lambs and nine she-goats were burnt whole in sacrifice to the *Parcae* (C. S. 25 ff.); on the following night consecrated cakes were offered to the *Ilithyiae*

¹ The inscription is best edited by Mommsen in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, 1891, pp. 225–274. For accounts of the festival see also Lanciani in the *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1892; Slaughter, *Transactions of the Am. Phil. Association*, 1895, pp. 69–78; and *Harper's Classical Dictionary*, p. 974 f.

(C. S. 13 ff.) ; and on the third night a sow big with young was sacrificed to *Tellus* (C. S. 29 ff.).¹

After the sacrifice of the first night, scenic representations were begun on a stage without seats for the audience, and continued uninterruptedly throughout the festival ; beginning with the first day, however, they were given in a theater erected for the occasion (*ludi Latini in theatro ligneo quod erat constitutum in campo secundum Tiberim*).

On the first day Augustus and Agrippa each sacrificed a white bull to Jupiter on the Capitol, and the following day each a white cow to Juno in the same place ; on the third day, when the festival reached its climax, Augustus and Agrippa offered consecrated cakes to Apollo and Diana at the temple of Apollo on the Palatine (cf. introductory n. to 1, 31) ; and then twenty-seven boys and a like number of girls, especially chosen for this service, sang the hymn which Horace had written for the occasion, and repeated it on the Capitol (*sacrificioque perfecto pueri XXVII quibus denuntiatur et puellae totidem carmen cecinerunt ; eodemque modo in Capitolio. Carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus*). In addition to these ceremonies 110 matrons conducted *sellesternia* to Juno and Diana on each day ; and *ludi circenses* and *ludi honorarii* were continued seven days (June 4–11) after the close of the festival.²

The ode itself lacks the grace and ease of most of Horace's lyric verse ; its formal phrases when read seem stiff and rigid. Doubtless

¹ The verses of the oracle ordering these ceremonies are as follows : —

μεμνησθαι, Ῥωμαῖε, . . .
 ῥέζειν ἐν πεδίῳ παρὰ θύβριδος ἄπλετον ὕδωρ,
 ὅππῃ στεινότατον, νύξ ἡνίκα γαῖαν ἐπέλθῃ,
 ἡελίου κρύψαντος ἐὼν φάος· ἐνθα σὺ ῥέζειν
 ἱερὰ παντογόνους Μοίραις ἄρνας τε καὶ αἶγας
 κυανέας, ἐπὶ ταῖς δ' Εἰλειθυίας ἀρέσασθαι
 παιδοτόκους θυέεσσιν, ὅππῃ θέμις· αὐθι δὲ Γαίῃ
 πληθομένη χοίροις ὕς ἱρεύοιτο μέλαινα.

² The oracle prescribes these rites also in detail : —

πάνλευκοι ταῦροι δὲ Διὸς παρὰ βωμὸν ἀγέσθων
 ἡματι μὴδ' ἐπὶ νυκτί· . . .
 . . . δαμάλης δὲ βοὸς δέμας ἀγλαὸν Ἥρης
 δεξάσθω νηὸς παρὰ σεῦ. καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
 ὅστε καὶ ἡέλιος κικλήσκειται, Ἴσα δεδέχθω
 θύματα Λητοίδης. καὶ ἀειδόμενοί τε Δατῖνοι
 παιᾶνες κούροις κόρησί τε νηὸν ἔχοιεν
 ἀθανάτων. χωρὶς δὲ κόραι χορὸν αὐταὶ ἔχοιεν,
 καὶ χωρὶς παίδων ἄρσῃν στάχυς, ἀλλὰ γονήων
 πάντες ζώντων, οἷς ἀμφιθαλὴς ἔτι φύτλη,
 αἱ δὲ γάμου ζεύγλαισι δεδμημέναι ἡματι κείνῳ
 γνύξ Ἥρης παρὰ βωμὸν ἀοίδιμον ἐδριώσας
 δαίμονα λισσέσθωσαν.

this was intentional and marked no falling off in Horace's skill as a versifier. He saw that for this ceremonial occasion simplicity and dignity were of chief importance. Any just appreciation of the poem on our part must start with the consideration that it was written to be sung to musical accompaniment by a trained chorus in the open air before a large body of people. Thus performed it must have been beautiful and impressive. The ode is carefully polished; the number of feminine caesuras is striking. It is impossible to determine to-day with accuracy the way in which the strophes were assigned; it is probable that the first, second, and last were sung by the full chorus, and it is clear that vv. 33-34 belong to the boys, 35-36 to the girls. Beyond this all is mere conjecture. For the influence of the *Aeneid* in this ode, cf. n. to vv. 37 ff. Metre, 69.

Phoebe silvarumque potens Diana,
lucidum caeli decus, o colendi
semper et culti, date quae precamur
tempore sacro,

5 quo Sibyllini monuere versus
virgines lectas puerosque castos
dis quibus septem placuere colles
dicere carmen.

1 ff. **Phoebe . . . Diana** : the opening verse shows that these are the chief divinities of the festival. — **silvarum potens** ; cf. 1, 3, 1 *diva potens Cypri*, i.e. Venus, and n. On Diana, goddess of the woods, cf. 1, 21, 5 ; 3, 22, 1. — **caeli decus** : i.e. as sun and moon ; in apposition with both **Phoebe** and **Diana**. The phrase is repeated by Seneca *Oed.* 409 ; cf. also Verg. *A.* 9, 405 *astrorum decus et nemorum Latonia custos*. — **colendi . . . culti** : almost a ritual expression, *ye, who are ever to be, and have ever been, worshipped*. Cf. Ovid *Met.* 8, 350 *Phoebe . . . si te coluque*

coloque ; and Horace's own phrase, *Epist.* 1, 1, 1 *prima dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena* (*Mae-cenas*). — **semper** : with both **colendi** and **culti**.

5 ff. **quo** : with **dicere**. — **Sibyllini . . . versus** : the older collections of Sibylline oracles were destroyed at the burning of the Capitol, 83 B.C. A new collection was made which was added to from time to time. The oracle preserved by Zosimus, as said above, was compiled after the details of the festival had been determined, or after the celebration itself. — **lectas, castos** : both ad-

10 Alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui
promis et celas, aliusque et idem
nascers, possis nihil urbe Roma
visere maius.

15 Rite maturos aperire partus
lenis, Ilithyia, tuere matres,
sive tu Lucina probas vocari
seu Genitalis.

Diva, producas subolem patrumque
prosperes decreta super iugandis

jectives belong to each noun. Cf. 4, 6, 31 f. — *dis quibus*, etc.: the guardian gods in general, not limited to Apollo and Diana. — *placueret*: *have found favor*; cf. 3, 4, 24.

9 ff. Apollo as the sun god. Cf. v. 16 f. of the oracle καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων | ὅστε καὶ ἥλιος κικλήσκειται. — *alme*: cf. 4, 7, 7 *almum diem*. — *alius et idem*: *another and yet the same*. — *possis*: optative subj. — *nihil urbe*, etc.: cf. Verg. *A.* 7, 602 f. *maxima rerum Roma*, and Pausanias 8, 33, 3 with reference to Babylon, Βαβυλῶνος . . . ἣν τινα εἶδε πόλεων τῶν τότε μεγίστην ἥλιος.

12 ff. The goddess of child-birth, Ilithyia (tacitly identified with Diana). — *maturos*: *in due season*. — *aperire*: with *lenis*, which is a part of the prayer — *be thou gentle*, etc. — *Ilithyia*: among the Greeks we find now one, now many, goddesses so called. In

the inscription we read *deis Ilithyis* and in the oracle Εἰλειθυίας, but the inscription gives the prayer *Ilithyia, uti tibi*, etc. There can be little question that the goddess was identified with Diana, although the adjective *Lucina* properly belongs to Juno; *Genitalis* is apparently Horace's invention, possibly to represent the Greek Γενετυλλίς.

15 f. *sive . . . seu*: in early Roman religion the divinities were not clearly conceived; hence arose the habit of addressing them in prayers by various appellations that they might not be offended, e.g. *sive deus sive dea*; *sive quo alio nomine te appellari volueris*; etc.

17 ff. *producas*: *rear*. — *decreta*: with reference to the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* passed the preceding year. This was a law to discourage celibacy and to encourage marriage and raising of children (cf. 4, 5, 22 and n.). — *super*: *in regard to*; cf.

20 feminis prolisque novae feraci
lege marita,

certus undenos deciens per annos
orbis ut cantus referatque ludos,
ter die claro totiensque grata
nocte frequentis.

25 Vosque veraces cecinisse, Parcae,
quod semel dictum est stabilisque rerum
terminus servet, bona iam peractis
iungite fata.

30 Fertilis frugum pecorisque Tellus
spicea donet Cererem corona;

1, 9, 5. — *feraci*: part of the prayer — *which we pray may be productive of*.

21 ff. The purpose of the prayer in the preceding strophe, — ‘grant us an abundant posterity that the festival may surely (*certus*) be repeated at the close of each *saeculum* by great throngs (*frequentis*) of citizens.’ — *certus*: this with the last word of the strophe, *frequentis*, bears the emphasis. — *undenos*, etc.: a paraphrase for 110 years. — *per*: *extending through*. — *orbis*: *cycle*. — *ut*: for its position, see Intr. 31. — *frequentis*: modifying *ludos*.

25 ff. *veraces cecinisse*: *true in your past prophecies*. For the infinitive, see Intr. 108. Cf. 2, 16, 39 *Parca non mendax*. — *Parcae*: *Μοῖραι* in the inscription and oracle, to whom offerings were

made on the first night. — *quod semel dictum est*: equivalent to *fatum*; *quod* does double duty as subject of *dictum est* and object of *servet*. We may translate, *as has been ordained once for all, and as we pray the fixed bound of events may keep it*. — *stabilis rerum terminus* is a paraphrase for ‘destiny.’ Cf. Verg. *A.* 4, 614 *et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret*. — *servet*: optative subj. — *iam peractis*: *to those already passed*; *i.e.* in the *saeculum* just closed.

29 ff. *fertilis*, etc.: a part of the prayer. With the expression, cf. Sall. *Iug.* 17, 5 *ager frugum fertilis*. — *Tellus*: *Terra Mater* in the inscription. Sacrifice was made to her on the third night. — *spicea donet*, etc.: *i.e.* may the crops of grain be abundant. Cf.

nutriant fetus et aquae salubres
et Iovis aerae.

35 Condito mitis placidusque telo
supplices audi pueros, Apollo;
siderum regina bicornis audi,
Luna, puellas.

40 Roma si vestrum est opus Iliaequē
litus Etruscum tenere turmae,
iussa pars mutare laris et urbem
sospite cursu,

cui per ardentem sine fraude Troiam
castus Aeneas patriae superstes

the prayer of Tibullus 1, 1, 15 *flava Ceres, tibi sit nostro de rure corona | spicea*. — fetus: restricted to the fruges, as the context clearly shows.

33 ff. In the previous strophes the divinities worshipped by night have been invoked; the hymn is now directed to the gods of light. This strophe forms the transition. — condito mitis, etc.: logically parallel to audi, — *replace thy weapon, be kind*, etc. — telo: i.e. his arrow. Apollo was represented in his temple on the Palatine (cf. 1, 29) as a gracious and kindly god, not armed but playing on the lyre. See Baumeister, no. 104.

35 f. siderum regina: cf. 1, 12, 47 f. — bicornis: i.e. of the crescent moon.

37 ff. The *Aeneid*, which had

recently been published, supplied the theme of this and the following strophe. Horace appeals to the gods to protect their own creation. — si: the condition expresses no doubt, but has rather a causal force, — *if Rome is your work* (and it surely is); i.e. 'since Rome, etc.' — vestrum: not referring to Apollo and Diana of the preceding strophe, but meaning the great gods who cared for the destinies of the state. The vagueness of the adjective must be counted a defect. — tenere: *gained*. — pars: *the remnant*; in apposition with turmae. — laris: 'their hearths and homes.'

41 f. fraude: harm. Cf. 2, 19, 20. — castus: and therefore saved while the wicked perished. Cf. with the epithet, Vergil's *pius*. — patriae: dative; cf. *Ep.* 5, 10.

liberum munivit iter, daturus
plura relictis,

45 di, probos mores docili iuventae,
di, senectuti placidae quietem,
Romulae genti date remque prolemque
et decus omne;

50 quaeque vos bobus veneratur albis
clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis,
impetret, bellante prior, iacentem
lenis in hostem.

Iam mari terraque manus potentis
Medus Albanasque timet securis,
55 iam Scythae responsa petunt, superbi
nuper, et Indi.

43 f. *daturus*: *destined to give*.
— *plura relictis*: *i.e.* a city (Rome)
greater than the one they had left.

45 ff. *probos mores*, etc.: one
of Augustus' chief desires was to
restore a healthy moral life. Cf.
3, 24, 25 ff.; 4, 5, 22 and nn. —
docili, placidae: proleptic, belong-
ing to the prayer. — *remque*, etc.:
cf. Ovid *Fast.* 3, 86 *arma ferae*
genti remque decusque dabant. —
prolemque: hypermetric. Intr.
69.

49 ff. *quae*: with *veneratur*,
prays for with sacrifice of, etc. —
bobus . . . albis: offered to Jupi-
ter on the first day, on the second
to Juno. The prayer, preserved
in the inscription, was for the
safety and exaltation of the Ro-
man state and its arms. — *clarus*

Anchisae, etc. The phrase is a
solemn paraphrase for Augustus,
but at the same time it emphasized
the connection of the present with
the beginnings of the state (cf.
Romulae genti). — *bellante prior*:
continuing the prayer in *impetret*.
With the sentiment, cf. Vergil *A.*
6, 853 *parcere subiectis et debellare*
superbos.

53 ff. *iam*: marking the follow-
ing as victories already secure. —
Medus, Scythae, Indi: cf. 4, 15,
21 ff. and n. Also Ovid *Trist.*
2, 227 f. *nunc petit Armenius pa-*
cem, nunc porrigit arcus | Par-
thus eques timida captaque signa
manu. — *Albanas*: having the same
connotation as *Romulae* v. 47, *An-*
chisae Venerisque v. 50. — *respon-*
sa petunt: as from a god. Cf.

Iam Fides et Pax et Honor Pudorque
priscus et neglecta redire Virtus
audet, adparetque beata pleno

60 Copia cornu.

Augur et fulgente decorus arcu
Phoebus acceptusque novem Camenis,
qui salutari levat arte fessos
corporis artus,

65 si Palatinas videt aequus aras,
remque Romanam Latiumque felix
alterum in lustrum meliusque semper
prorogat aevum;

70 quaeque Aventinum tenet Algidumque
quindecim Diana preces virorum

Apoll. Sid. *Epist.* 8, 9, 20 *dum responsa petit subactus orbis.*

57 ff. Peace and her companions. — **Fides**: cf. 1, 35, 21. — **Pax**: Peace had an altar on the Campus Martius, built at Augustus' direction. — **Honor**: to whom with *Virtus* Marcellus dedicated a temple in 205 B.C. — **Pudor**: cf. 1, 24, 6 f. — **Copia**: cf. 1, 17, 14.

61-72. The closing prayer is to Apollo, the augur, god of the silver bow, leader of the Muses, and god of healing. — **fulgente . . . arcu**: of silver; the Homeric ἀργυρότοξος. — **Camenis**: cf. 1, 12, 39.

63 f. qui salutari, etc.: Ἀπόλλων Παιών. Cf. 1, 21, 13 f.

65 ff. si: expressing the same confidence as in v. 37. — **Palatinas . . . aras**: where the hymn was

sung. — **aequus**: *with favor*; cf. *iniquus* 1, 2, 47. — **remque Romanam Latiumque**: calling to mind Ennius' verse 478 M. *qui rem Romanam Latiumque augescere voltis*. — **felix**: proleptic with **Latium**, — *in prosperity*. — **que . . . que**: observe the archaic usage: the first -**que** does not connect **videt** and **prorogat**, but is correlative with the second. — **alterum**: *a new*. Augustus' imperium was renewed for five years in 17 B.C.; but the idea is rather, 'from lustrum to lustrum'; as **semper** clearly shows.

69 ff. Diana's chief temple at Rome was built on the Aventine at an early period—later tradition ascribed its founding to Servius Tullus—to be a common

curat et votis puerorum amicas
adplicat auris.

75

Haec Iovem sentire deosque cunctos
spem bonam certamque domum reporto,
doctus et Phoebi chorus et Dianae
dicere laudes.

sanctuary for the Latin tribes. — **Algidum**: the shrine of Diana Nemorensis was on the slopes of this ridge. Cf. n. to 1, 21, 6. — **quindecim . . . virorum**: the sacred college in charge of the Sibylline Books; the members led by Augustus and Agrippa, had charge of all the ceremonies of the festival. — **puerorum**: the children, including both boys and girls, as in ancient usage. Cf. Naev. 30 M. *Cereris puer, Proserpina*.

73 ff. The hymn closes with

an expression of confident belief that all the prayers and hopes expressed will be fulfilled. — **haec**: referring to the last three strophes. — **sentire**: depending on **spem**. — **reporto**: the singular is used after the manner of a Greek chorus. Cf. 4, 6, 41. — **doctus**: cf. *docilis* 4, 6, 43. — **Phoebi . . . Dianae**: modifying both **chorus** and **laudes**. Note that the hymn closes with the mention of the two divinities named in the opening verse.

EPODON LIBER

For a general account of the Epodes and the conditions under which they were written, see Intr. 4.

I

Addressed to Maecenas in the spring of 31 B.C., when he was about to leave Rome. Antony and Cleopatra had spent the winter of 32–31 B.C. at Patrae, while their fleet of five hundred vessels had remained on guard at Actium. When the spring opened, Octavian summoned the most influential senators and knights to meet him at Brundisium, before he crossed to Epirus to engage in the final struggle. Maecenas naturally was to go with the rest. Dio Cassius, 51, 3, tells us that Maecenas was left in charge of Italy during Octavian's absence, so that it is generally assumed that he was not present at the battle of Actium. On the other hand, an anonymous elegy, regarded by Bücheler as contemporary, speaks of him as actually present *cum freta Nilivae texerunt laeta carinae | fortis erat circum, fortis et ante ducem*. *PLM.* 1, 122 ff. However, the evidence is inconclusive; yet it seems clear from Horace's words that at the time he wrote this epode he expected Maecenas to share in the dangers of the coming struggle. He remonstrates with his patron for his readiness to run all risks (1–4); assures him of his own devotion and willingness to share every danger, and of his anxiety, if he be forced to stay behind (5–22); and closes with the protestation that it is not selfish hope of gain that moves him: Maecenas has given him all he can desire (23–34). The last verses bear the emphasis of the epode. Horace's devotion is unselfish.

This epode serves as a dedication of the collection to Maecenas. There is a warmth of expression in it that Horace does not employ elsewhere. Metre, 74.

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
 amice, propugnacula,
 paratus omne Caesaris periculum
 subire, Maecenas, tuo.

5 Quid nos, quibus te vita si superstite
 iucunda, si contra, gravis?

1. *ibis*: you are then really going. Emphatic as *feremus* v. 11. So Tibullus 1, 3, 1 says in his address to Messala, who left him behind in Corcyra when traveling to the East in 30 B.C., *ibitis Aegaeas sine me, Messala, per undas*. — *Liburnis*: in contrast with the *alta navium propugnacula* — *lofty battlemented ships* — of Antony and Cleopatra. These huge galleons, some of which had as many as nine banks of oars, proved no match for the small swift two-banked *Liburnae* of Octavian's fleet; the latter, modeled after the vessels used by the Liburnian pirates in the imperial period, formed the chief part of the Roman navy. Antony had felt his ships invincible. According to Dio Cassius 50, 18, he called to his troops, ὁρᾶτε γάρ πον καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πάχος τῶν ἡμετέρων σκαφῶν. Cf. also Vergil's description of the battle, *A.* 8, 691–693 *pelago credas innare revolsas | Cycladas, aut montis concurrere montibus altos: | tanta mole viri turritis puppibus instant*.

4. *tuo*: sc. *periculo*.

5 f. *nos*: i.e. *I and such as I*. The plural of modesty, which Horace uses in his lyrics only here and *C.* 1, 6, 5. 17; 2, 17, 32; 3, 28, 9. While we employ a verb in translating, it is improbable that the Romans were conscious of any ellipsis in such phrases as this. — *si superstite*, etc.: the apparent use of *si* with the abl. abs. is anomalous. *te superstite* alone would form a protasis to *vita . . . iucunda*, and we should expect as the alternative, *te mortuo (vita) gravis*. To avoid the ominous *te mortuo*, Horace euphemistically says *si contra*, with which some such verb as *vivitur*, or, as Porphyrio suggests, *sit*, is necessary; this construction has its influence on the preceding clause, so that we must regard the entire relative sentence as a condensed form for *quibus vita si te superstite (sit), iucunda, si contra (sit), gravis*. The ellipsis is somewhat similar to that in v. 8 below, *ni tecum simul (persequemur)*, etc. — *superstite*: *superstes* here means 'living on,' elsewhere in the epodes and odes 'out-living,' 'surviving another's death.'

utrumne iussi persequemur otium,
 non dulce, ni tecum simul,
 an hunc laborem, mente laturi decet
 10 qua ferre non mollis viros?
 Feremus, et te vel per Alpium iuga
 inhospitalem et Caucasum,
 vel Occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum
 forti sequemur pectore.
 15 Roges tuum labore quid iuvem meo,
 imbellis ac firmus parum?
 Comes minore sum futurus in metu,
 qui maior absentis habet,

7. **utrumne**: a combination of two interrogatives introduced by Horace, who uses it only here and in *S.* 2, 3, 251; 6, 73. It is employed by Curtius, Pliny, and other later prose writers. — **iussi**: sc. *a te, at thy bidding*. Horace's request to be allowed to accompany Maecenas had already been refused. — **persequemur otium**: *give ourselves up to a life of ease*.

8. **ni tecum**: cf. n. on v. 5.

9 f. **laborem**: in contrast to **otium** v. 7. By a slight zeugma connected with **persequemur**, whereas the more natural verb with it is *fero*, which is used in the relative clause immediately following. — **laturi**: *ready to bear*. Intr. 110.

11 f. **feremus**: the position and form show Horace's emphatic resolve. — **Alpium, Caucasum**: the Alps and the Caucasus were stock examples of hardships. — **inhospitalem Caucasum**: repeated *C.* 1, 22,

6 and adopted by Seneca, *Thyest.* 1052 *quis inhospitalis Caucasi rupem asperam Heniochus habitans?* For the position of *et*, see Intr. 31.

13. **sinum**: *recess*, expressing the remoteness of the western sea. Cf. Verg. *G.* 2, 122 *India . . . extremi sinus orbis*.

15. **roges**: equivalent to *si roges*. — **tuum . . . meo**: parallel in form to *Caesaris periculum subire, Maecenas, tuo* 3 f.

16. **imbellis ac firmus parum**: cf. the Homeric ἀπτόλεμος καὶ ἀναλκις. Horace laughs at himself for running away at Philippi *C.* 2, 7, 8 ff. (Intr. p. 11); the second half of his description here probably refers to his poor health. — **parum**: cf. *C.* 1, 12, 59 and n. to 1, 2, 27.

17 f. An appeal to Maecenas' friendship, 'I do not claim that I can help you, but I beg you, save

20 ut adsidens implumibus pullis avis
 serpentium adlapsus timet
 magis relictis, non, ut adsit, auxili
 latura plus praesentibus.
 Libenter hoc et omne militabitur
 bellum in tuae spem gratiae,
 25 non ut iuvençis inligata pluribus
 aratra nitantur meis
 pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum

me from the fears that absence and anxiety bring.'—*maior habet*: *has a stronger hold*.

19–22. The comparison of the mother bird who fears for her chicks is old and familiar in literature. Cf. Aesch. Sept. 291 ff. δράκοντας δ' ὥς τις τέκνων | ὑπερδέδοικεν λεχαίων δυσευνάτορας | πάντρομος πελειάς. 'As a fostering dove fears the snakes, ill mates for her nestlings.' Cf. also Mosch. 4, 21 ff. and especially Claudian *Rapt. Proserp.* 3, 141 ff. *sic aestuat ales, | quae teneros humili fetus commiserit orno | allatura cibos et plurima cogitat absens, | ne gracilem ventus discussarit arbore nidum, | ne furtum pateat homini neu praeda colubris*.

—*pullis*: dative, more closely connects with *timet* than with *adsidens*; (Intr. 100) the latter may be translated attributively with *avis*, *the brooding mother bird*, thus expressing the condition rather than the act.

21 f. *ut adsit*: *even if she were with them*. — *non latura*: conces-

sive, *though she could not give*. — *praesentibus*: repeating *adsit* in sense, but added in contrast to *relictis*. This use of repetition to express the reciprocal relation is common in Latin, and is most clearly seen in such examples as Plaut. *Pseud.* 1142 *tute praesens praesentem vides*, or Verg. *A.* 4, 83 *illum absens absentem auditque videtque*.

24. *in spem*: *to further my hope*. Cf. *C.* 1, 7, 8 *in Iunonis honorem*. — *tuae . . . gratiae*: *favor in thy sight*.

25 f. *non ut*, etc.: emphatically placed to deny the possible charge of selfishness. — *nitantur*: the oxen's efforts in dragging the plow,—suggesting a heavy, fertile soil,—is transferred to the plow itself. Intr. 99.

27 f. Cf. *C.* 1, 31, 5 *non aestuosae grata Calabriae armenta*. In the heat of summer the flocks were driven from the rich pastures of low Calabria to the higher lands of Lucania and Samnium. Cf. Varro *R. R.* 2, 1, 6

Lucana mutet pascuis,
 neque ut superni villa candens Tusculi
 30 Circaea tangat moenia.
 Satis superque me benignitas tua
 ditavit ; haud paravero
 quod aut avarus ut Chremes terra premam,
 discinctus aut perdam nepos.

greges ovium longe abiguntur ex Apulia in Samnium aestivatum.
 — **mutet** : for the varying constructions with *mutare*, see Intr. 98.

29 f. The lofty ridge of Tusculum, on the northeast side of the Alban Hills, about fifteen miles from Rome, was a favorite resort in antiquity, as it has been in modern times. The northern slope was then as now occupied by villas ; Cicero, Julius Caesar, Lucullus, and others possessed country homes there. The buildings had stucco, or possibly in some cases marble, walls, whose gleam (*villa candens*) could be seen from Rome, as the present villas can to-day.

— **Circaea moenia** : so named because tradition said that Telegonus, the son of Circe by Ulysses, founded Tusculum. So the town

is called *C. 3, 29, 8 Telegoni iuga parricidae*. — **tangat** : border on. Cf. Cic. *pro Mil.* 51 *villam quae viam tangeret*.

31. **satis superque** : note the emphasis. With the sentiment, cf. *C. 2, 18, 12 nec potentem amicum largiora flagito*, and *C. 3, 16, 38 nec, si plura velim, tu dare deneges*.

32 f. **haud paravero** : also emphatic ; *I will never try to amass wealth*, etc. — **avarus ut Chremes** : *like a greedy Chremes*, — a typical miser, probably from some drama now lost. No miser Chremes appears in our extant plays, although the name is common enough. On the position of *ut*, cf. v. 12 above. Intr. 31.

34. **discinctus . . . nepos** : *loose spendthrift*, in the same construction as **avarus Chremes**.

2

In praise of country life.

‘ ‘ Free from the busy rush of town, how fortunate is he who can till his ancestral fields, care for his vines, his orchards, flocks, and bees (1–16). His are the delights of autumn, summer, and winter (17–36). These make one forget the pains of love (37–38) ; and if there be beside a sturdy, honest housewife to do her part, care for the children, milk the ewes, prepare the evening meal, what life more joyful ! Not all the

dainties of a city table can compare with the country's simple meal, which I enjoy, watching the sheep and cattle come at evening's fall, while round the bright hearth sit the slaves (39-66)." So spoke the broker Alfius, who straightway planned to foreclose his mortgages — and to put his money out again' (67-70).

The sudden turn in the last four verses is very characteristic of Horace, but it gives us no reason for doubting the sincerity of his praise of rural life. He was a man of real simplicity and of great sensitiveness; but like every conventional man of the world, shrank from too great enthusiasms: he will never preach, and when he feels himself approaching the danger line, he pulls himself up suddenly, as here, with a whimsical, half cynical turn. Another famous example, in which the serious note is not so long continued, is the *Integer vitae*, C. 1, 22. There is no hint of the date of composition. Metre, 74.

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis,
ut prisca gens mortalium,
paterna rura bobus exercet suis,
solutus omni faenore,
neque excitatur classico miles truci,
neque horret iratum mare,

1 f. This is similar to a fragment of Aristophanes in praise of peace 387 K. ὦ μῶρε, μῶρε πάντα ταῦτ' ἐν τῇδ' (sc. εἰρήνῃ) ἐνι | οἰκεῖν μὲν ἀργὸν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ γηδίῳ | ἀπαλλαγέντα τῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν πραγμάτων | κεκτημένον ξευγάριον οἰκεῖον βοοῖν, | ἔπειτ' ἀκούειν προβατίων βληχωμένων. 'Foolish, foolish man, peace has everything — living without hard work on one's bit of land, free from the troubles of the market-place, with one's own little yoke of oxen; and besides, the hearing of the bleating sheep.' — negotiis: in a narrow sense, like our 'business.'

2 f. prisca gens: the ancient

folk of the Golden Age. — paterna ... suis: the fortunate farmer is he who has inherited his lands, which he works (exercet) with his own oxen; such is a *dominus*, not a mere *colonus*. No mortgage vexes him; secure in his own estate he can enjoy the freedom of his country life.

4. faenore: the double meaning — 'money borrowing,' 'money lending' — of the word is not apparent until v. 67.

5-8. The farmer escapes the stress of war, the danger of the sea, the worry of courts, and the haughtiness of patrons. Cf. the reminiscence of these verses in

forumque vitat et superba civium
 potentiorum limina.
 Ergo aut adulta vitium propagine
 10 altas maritat populos,
 aut in reducta valle mugientium
 prospectat errantis greges,
 inutilisve falce ramos amputans
 feliciores inserit,
 15 aut pressa puris mella condit amphoris,
 aut tondet infirmas ovis;

Claudian *Carm. min.* 52, 7 f. *non freta mercator tremuit, non classica miles; | non rauci lites pertulit ille fori.* — *superba . . . limina*: referring to the morning call, *salutatio*, and the humiliations to which clients were exposed from their patrons. Imitated by Seneca, *Epist.* 68, 10 *pulsare superbas potentiorum fores.*

9. *ergo*: *and so*, being free from such cares. — *adulta*: according to Columella, when three years old. In this word lurks the figurative sense — ‘old enough for marriage.’ — *propagine*: *shoot*, properly the ‘layer’ by which new vines were obtained. See *Class. Dict.* s.v. *vitis*.

10. *maritat populos*: the black poplar was considered second only to the elm as a support for grape vines. The ‘wedding’ of the vine and tree seems to have been a farmer’s expression that established itself early in literature; so Cato says *R. R.* 32 *arbores facito ut bene maritae sint*. Milton adopts

the figure *P. L.* 5 ‘or they led the vine | To wed her elm; she, spoused, about him twines | Her marriageable arms.’ The plane tree which has a thick foliage was unfitted for this purpose; so *C.* 2, 15, 4 *platanus caelebs*.

11 f. *in reducta valle*: repeated *C.* 1, 17, 17. Connect with *errantis*. — *mugientium*: used substantively like Vergil’s *balantum gregem*, *G.* 1, 272, for sheep.

13 f. *ramos*: of fruit trees. — *feliciores*: *more fruitful*. The root appears in *fē-mina*, *fē-cundas*. — *inserir*: *grafts*, a technical term. Cf. *insitiva*, v. 19.

15 f. Note the alliteration. — *pressa . . . mella*: after as much honey had drained out as naturally would, the comb was pressed to extract the remainder. Cf. Verg. *G.* 4, 140 f. *spumantia cogere pressis mella favis*. — *infirmas*: *weak*, and so unresisting. A stock epithet; cf. Ovid. *Ib.* 44 *pecus infirmum*.

vel, cum decorum mitibus pomis caput
 autumnus agris extulit,
 ut gaudet insitiva decerpens pira,
 20 certantem et uvam purpurae,
 qua muneretur te, Priape, et te, pater
 Silvane, tutor finium.
 Libet iacere modo sub antiqua ilice,
 modo in tenaci gramine;
 25 labuntur altis interim ripis aquae,
 queruntur in silvis aves,

17 f. **decorum** : *decked*. — **autumnus** : personified as *C. 4, 7, 11 pomifer autumnus*. Cf. Colum. *R. R. 10, 43 autumnus quassans sua tempora pomis*. — **agris** : probably dative.

19 f. **insitiva** : implying a better sort. — **decerpens** : with *gaudet*, ἡδεται δρέπων. This Greek construction of a participle agreeing with the subject after a verb of emotion is rare and poetical. Cf. *Epist. 2, 2, 107 gaudent scribentes*. — **purpurae** : poetic usage allows the dative with *certare*, while in prose we find the ablative. The grape as it ripens takes on a color that rivals the 'royal purple.' Cf. n. to *C. 2, 5, 12*.

21 f. **muneretur** : potential, expressing suitability. — **Priape** : a Hellenistic divinity, peculiarly the genius of the garden, who was represented by a rude wooden statue that also served the useful purpose of scaring away the birds. Cf. *S. A. 8, 1 ff.* (Priapus speaks)

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum, | cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum, | maluit esse deum. deus inde ego, furum aviumque | maxima formido. — **Silvane** : an ancient Italian divinity of the wood and field, protector of flocks (*Verg. A. 8, 601 arborum pecorisque deus*), and guardian of the farm boundaries. Cf. *Gromat. 1, p. 302 primus in terram lapidem finalem posuit* (sc. *Silvanus*).

24. **tenaci** : *i.e.* with firm hold on the rich soil, not easily pulled up like grass that grows where the soil is thin; hence *luxuriant, deep*.

25. **interim** : *i.e.* while we lie in the deep grass. — **ripis** : instrumental abl. denoting the route taken, *between the banks*; cf. *Lucret. 2, 362 flumina summis labentia ripis*.

26 f. **queruntur** : the low sad notes of the birds are heard in the distance, while the rustle of the

frondesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus,
 somnos quod invitet levis.
 At cum tonantis annus hibernus Iovis
 30 imbris nivisque comparat,
 aut trudit acris hinc et hinc multa cane
 apros in obstantis plagas,
 aut amite levi rara tendit retia,
 turdis edacibus dolos,
 35 pavidumque leporem et advenam laqueo gruem
 iucunda captat praemia.
 Quis non malarum quas amor curas habet
 haec inter obliviscitur?
 Quod si pudica mulier in partem iuvet
 40 domum atque dulcis liberos,

leaves vies and mingles with the murmuring waters. Cf. Prop. 5, 4, 4 *multaque nativis obstrepit arbor aquis*.

28. quod invitet: *a sound to woo*. — levis: *gentle*, not the heavy sleep of exhaustion.

29 ff. Horace now turns to the delights of winter. In contrast to the fair and quiet weather, we now have tonantis . . . Iovis. — annus: *season*, as C. 3, 23, 8 *pomifer . . . annus*, i.e. *autumnus*.

31–36. Three winter sports — hunting the wild boar, catching thrushes, and snaring the hare and the crane. These are followed 39–48 by three typical occupations of the good housewife.

31. cane: the singular represents the class. Cf. Verg. *A.* 1, 334 *multa tibi . . . cadet hostia*.

32 ff. obstantis plagas: the toils into which the boar was driven by the beaters and the dogs. — amite lēvi: the smooth pole of the wide-meshed (rara) spring-net. For the scansion, see Intr. 58. — turdis edacibus: cf. Mart. 3, 58, 26 *sed tendit avidis rete subdolum turdis*.

35. For the scansion, see Intr. 58. — advenam: *wandering, the stranger*.

37. curas: the substantive common to both antecedent and relative clauses. — amor: *passion*. Horace is thinking of city intrigues in contrast to the domestic happiness implied in the following lines.

39. in partem: *for her part*; i.e. 'does her share in caring for,' etc.

Sabina qualis aut perusta solibus
 pernicious uxor Apuli,
 sacrum vetustis exstruat lignis focum
 lassi sub adventum viri,
 45 claudensque textis cratibus laetum pecus
 distenta siccet ubera,
 et horna dulci vina promens dolio
 dapes inemptas adparet;
 non me Lucrina iuverint conchylia
 50 magisve rhombus aut scari,
 si quos Eois intonata fluctibus
 hiems ad hoc vertat mare;
 non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum,

41. The Sabine women were the ideal farmers' wives (*C.* 3, 6, 37 ff.); the Apulians were noted for their industry (*C.* 3, 16, 26).

43 f. **sacrum . . . focum**: made sacred by being the shrine of the household gods. — **vetustis**: therefore 'dry,' 'seasoned.' — **sub**: *against*. Cf. Gray's *Elegy* 'For them no more the blazing hearth shall burn, | Or busy housewife ply her evening care.'

45. **textis cratibus**: *in wattled folds*. — **laetum**: *sturdy, lusty*.

47 f. **horna . . . vina**: the common folk drank the wine the same year it was pressed, without fermenting it; hence the adjective **dulci**. The finer wines were fermented in *dolia* and then drawn off into *amphorae*, which were sealed and put away. — **inemptas**: therefore simple and doubly sweet. Cf. Verg.

G. 4, 133 *dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis*.

49 ff. The apodosis begins here. Five dainties of the luxurious city table are set off against five articles of country diet. — **Lucrina . . . conchylia**: the Lucrine lake near Baiae produced the best oysters, which are meant here. — **scari**: so highly esteemed that it was called by Ennius, *Heduphag.* 8, *cerebrum Iovis*. Cf. also Suidas s.v. *Διὸς ἐγκέφαλος*: τὸ κάλλιστον βρώμα.

51 f. **si quos**: the scar was most common in the eastern half of the Mediterranean sea, the coast of Sicily being the western limit of its range. It was believed that storms in the east drove the fish westward. — **intonata**: with active meaning.

53 f. **Afra avis**: *guinea-hen*. According to Varro, in Horace's

non attagen Ionicus
 55 iucundior quam lecta de pinguissimis
 oliva ramis arborum,
 aut herba lapathi prata amantis et gravi
 malvae salubres corpori,
 vel agna festis caesa Terminalibus,
 60 vel haedus ereptus lupo.
 Has inter epulas ut iuvat pastas ovis
 videre properantis domum,
 videre fessos vomerem inversum boves
 collo trahentis languido,

day a new and costly delicacy from Numidia. — *attagen*: a kind of grouse; another dainty from the East. St. Jerome warns his friend against luxury of the table, using this bird as a typical article, *ad Salvin. 79 procul sint a conviviiis tuis Phasides aves, crassi turtures, attagen Ionicus*.

55. *iucundior*: predicate, *giving greater satisfaction*. — *pinguissimis*: the epithet is transferred from the fruit to the branches on which it grows. Intr. 99.

57 f. For the scansion, see Intr. 58. — *herba lapathi*: *sorrel*, for salad. — *gravi . . . corpori*: from the indigestion caused by overeating.

59 f. The simple country diet is relieved by fresh meat only on some holyday when sacrifice is made, or when some chance offers. It was a proverb that the wolf selected the choicest of the flock. Plut. *Sympos. 2, 9 τὰ λυκόβρωτα λέγεται τὸ μὲν κρέας γλυκύτετον*

παρέχειν. At the present time also fresh meat is a great rarity to the Italian peasant. — *Terminalibus*: this festival to Terminus, the god of boundaries, fell on February 23. It is described by Ovid. *Fasti 2, 639 ff.* The blood offering was either a lamb or sucking pig; cf. *Fast. 655 f. spargitur et caeso communis Terminus agno | nequeritur lactans cum sibi porca datur*. — *lupo*: dative with *ereptus*.

61–66. This picture with its expression of quiet joy forms a fitting close to the preceding description. Notice that the rapid movement of 61–62 is followed by the slow verses 63–64, expressing the quiet return of the weary cattle at the close of day. Cf. Gray's *Elegy*, 'The curfew tolls the knell of parting day, | The lowing herd winds slowly o'er the lea,' | etc.

62 f. *videre . . . videre*: the anaphora is expressive of the farmer's satisfaction. Intr. 28.

65 positosque vernas, ditis examen domus,
 circum renidentis Laris.
 Haec ubi locutus faenerator Alfius,
 iam iam futurus rusticus,
 omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam;
 70 quaerit Kalendis ponere.

65. *positosque vernas* : *the home-born slaves in their places* (at supper). *Vernae* were slaves born within the house, not bought from abroad. Such were highly prized, sold only from necessity, and formed an important part of a well-to-do house. Cf. Tibul. 2, 1, 23 *turbaque vernarum, saturi bona signa coloni*. On the scansion of *positos*, see Intr. 58.

66. *renidentis* : the polished images of the household gods, placed about the hearth, reflect the firelight and seem to share in the satisfaction of the scene.

67 ff. Horace breaks off with this unexpected turn which is not fully understood until the last line is reached, as if he would say: 'But I am getting too serious. Any man, even an Alfius, can

talk this way, and yet have no real feeling for the country; his enthusiasm will not last a fortnight.' It is a favorite method with Horace to hide a deeper purpose behind an apparently light expression.

— *locutus* : sc. *est*. — *Alfius* : a well known *faenerator* of Cicero's day, whom Horace takes as typical. — *iam iam* : intensive, *in hot haste to*. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 47, 5 *iam iamque iturus*. — *idibus . . . kalendis* : settlements were made and new arrangements entered into regularly on the Calends, Nones, or Ides. Alfius called in (*redegit*) his money on the Ides, but before the Calends of the next month came, repented of his enthusiasm for country life, and tried to invest (*ponere*) his wealth again.

3

With comic pathos and extravagance Horace inveighs against garlic, declaring that it is worse than all the drugs and poisons known. The occasion of Horace's indignation seems to have been a fit of indigestion caused by a salad, of which garlic had been an ingredient, offered him at Maecenas' table. In his distress he calls down vengeance on his friend. This epode was written after Horace had acquired an intimate footing with his patron. The date of composition cannot be more exactly fixed. Metre, 74.

Parentis olim si quis impia manu
 senile guttur fregerit,
 edit cicutis alium nocentius.
 O dura messorum ilia !
 5 Quid hoc veneni saevit in praecordiis ?
 Num viperinus his cruor
 incoctus herbis me fefellit, an malas
 Canidia tractavit dapes ?
 Vt Argonautas praeter omnis candidum
 10 Medea mirata est ducem,
 ignota tauris inligaturum iuga
 perunxit hoc Iasonem ;
 hoc delibutis ultra donis paelicem

1 ff. The parricide shall henceforth be punished by a dose of garlic, surer in its results than the hemlock (*cicutis*) that carried off Socrates. — *olim* : *ever*. — *guttur fregerit* : *strangle*, as *C. 2, 13, 6 fregisse cervicem*. — *edit* : the old and colloquial form of the subjunctive *edat*. Cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 339 *dē mendico mōle meretur qui ē dat quod edit aut bibat*.

4. o *dura* : as if caught by a fresh spasm of pain, Horace cries out in amazement that reapers (here typical of all classes of toilers) can be so fond of garlic as they are. Porphyrio quotes Verg. *E. 2, 10 f. Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus aestu | alia serpullumque herbas contundit olentis*.

5. *quid veneni* : comically graphic, like Terence's *quid mulieris uxorem habes?* *Hec.* 643.

8. *Canidia* : for an account of Canidia, probably a dealer in unguents and perfumes, to whom the practice of poisoning was attributed, see *Epod.* 5. From Canidia Horace passes to the queen of poisoners, Medea. — *tractavit* : *had a finger in*. Cf. *C. 2, 13, 8 ille venena Colcha . . . tractavit*.

9 f. *praeter omnis* : connect with *mirata est*. — *candidum* : used of youthful beauty as in *C. 1, 18, 11 candide Bassareu*.

11. *tauris* : connected with *ignota* and *inligaturum* alike. Intr. 100.

13 f. When Jason deserted Medea at Corinth for King Creon's daughter Glauce, Medea avenged herself by sending the bride, here opprobriously called *paelicem*, a poisoned robe and diadem, which burst into flames and caused her death. Cf. 5, 63 ff. Medea es-

serpente fugit alite.

- 15 Nec tantus umquam siderum insedit vapor
siticulosae Apuliae,
nec munus umeris efficacis Herculis
inarsit aestuosius.
At si quid umquam tale concupiveris,
20 iocose Maecenas, precor
manum puella savio opponat tuo,
extrema et in sponda cubet.

caped on a chariot drawn by winged snakes.

— hoc : emphatic anaphora.

Intr. 28 c.

15 f. vapor: heat. Cf. Sen. *Oed.* 47 *gravis et ater incubat terris vapor*. — siticulosae Apuliae: cf. the Homeric πολυδύσιον Ἄργος. The heat of Apulia is frequently mentioned by Horace; cf. 2, 41 f.; C. 3, 30, 11; S. 1, 5, 77 ff., 91 f.

17 f. The robe dipped in the blood of the Centaur, Nessus, which Deianira sent to Hercules, hoping to win back his love from

Iole. Cf. 17, 31. — efficacis : with reference to the successful accomplishment of his labors.

19 ff. The close of the epode is a comic imprecation against the author of Horace's distress.

— at: regular in curses. Cf. 5, 1; Catull. 3, 13 *at vobis male sit, malae tenebrae Orci*, and Verg. *A.* 2, 535 ff. *at tibi pro scelere, exclamat, pro talibus ausis, | di, si qua est caelo pietas, quae talia curet, | persolvant grates dignas et praemia reddant | debita*. Cf. the Greek ἀλλά in address.

4

The rich parvenu became common in Rome during the last years of the Republic. The increase of this class, chiefly made up of freedmen, was fostered by the disorders and confiscations of the civil wars; so that society was contaminated by those vulgar rich who wished to establish themselves in it. They were not satisfied with enrollment in the equestrian order, but pressed even into the senate, which Octavian purged in the winter of 29–28 B.C. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 35 *senatorum affluentem numerum deformi et incondita turba (erant enim super mille, et quidam indignissimi et post necem Caesaris per gratiam et*

praemium adlecti, quos orcinos vulgus vocabat) ad modum pristinum et splendorem redegit duabus lectionibus.

Horace was himself the son of a freedman, but nothing could be more offensive to him than the straining and display of such parvenus. His own attitude is clearly seen in *S.* 1, 6, where his calm tone shows that he is discussing a general question. The fierceness of this epode seems to warrant the belief that he has some definite individual in mind, who probably was easily recognized by his contemporaries. All efforts to identify him are useless. Many of the Mss. have the inscription: *ad Sextum Menam Libertinum. Vedium Rufum ex servitute miratur usurpasse equestrem dignitatem usque ad tribunatum militum.* The first part refers to Menas, or Menodorus, a freedman of Sextus Pompey who twice deserted to Octavian. The name Vedium was probably suggested to the earlier commentators by a passage in Cicero's letter to Atticus (*ad Att.* 6, 1, 25) which was written at Laodicea in 54 B.C., but not published until some time in the first century A.D. *hoc ego ex P. Vedio, magno nebulone (rascal), sed Pompeii tamen familiari, audiui: hic Vedium venit mihi obviam cum duobus essedis (English gigs) et raeda (carryall) equis iuncta et lectica et familia magna, pro qua, si Curio legem pertulerit, HS centenos pendat necesse est; erat praeterea cynocephalus (a dog-headed ape) in essedo nec deerant onagri (wild asses): numquam vidi hominem nequiores.* The possibility remains, however, that this epode is nothing more than an exercise after Archilochus (*Intr.* 4). The date of composition is probably 36 B.C. See n. to 17-19. Metre, 74.

Lupis et agnis quanta sortito obtigit,
tecum mihi discordia est,

1 f. The enmity of wolves and sheep has been proverbial in literature from the Homeric poems down. Cf. *Il.* 22, 262 ff. ὥς οὐκ ἔστι λέουσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὄρκια πιστά, | οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν | ἀλλὰ κακὰ φρονέουσι διαμπερὲς ἀλλήλοισιν, | ὥς οὐκ ἔστ' ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ φιλήμεναι, and Ovid. *Ib.* 43 *pax erit haec nobis, donec mihi vita*

manebit, | cum pecore infirmo quae solet esse lupis. — *sortito*: in origin an ablative absolute, it is equivalent to *sorte, lege naturae, i.e.* 'the allotment made by nature'; this meaning clearly appears in *S.* 2, 6, 93 *terrestria quando mortalis animas vivunt sortita*, also Plaut. *Merc.* 136 *at tibi sortito id optigit*, said in answer to the cry *perimus*.

Hibericis peruste funibus latus
et crura dura compede.

5 ' Licet superbus ambules pecunia,
 fortuna non mutat genus.
 Videsne, Sacram metiente te viam
 cum bis trium ulnarum toga,
 ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium
10 liberrima indignatio?
 'Sectus flagellis hic triumviralibus

3. **Hibericis . . . funibus**: made of *spartum*, the tough Spanish broom, used in antiquity for the best ropes and cables (Plin. *N. H.* 19, 26). — **peruste**: *scarred*; with **latus**, *body*, and **crura**. For the use of the word, cf. *Epist.* 1, 16, 47 *loris non ureris*.

4 ff. **compede**: fetters were used only on the lowest slaves. — **ambules**: *strut abroad*. Cf. 8, 14; Claudian, in *Eutrop.* 1, 306 f. *erecto pectore dives | ambulat*. — **fortuna**: in the restricted sense of our 'fortune,' as the previous line shows.

7 f. **sacram viam**: the fashionable promenade at Rome, running down from the Velia along the foot of the Palatine through the Forum. — **metiente**: *pacing*, as if he pompously would measure the street's length. — **bis trium ulnarum**: the *ulna* was about half a yard; this rich man's toga was then three yards wide, which made it possible for him to arrange it in elaborate folds. Such a toga was in marked contrast to the *exigua toga*

such as simple Cato would wear, which Horace mentions, *Epist.* 1, 19, 13.

9 f. **vertat**: 'causes their color to change with indignation.' Cf. *S.* 2, 8, 35 f. *vertere pallor tum parochi faciem*. — **huc et huc**: *up and down*, with **euntium**. — **liberrima**: *free spoken*; cf. 11, 16. The following lines give the words of the indignant passers-by.

11. **sectus**: stronger than the ordinary *caesus*. — **triumviralibus**: the *tresviri capitales* were police commissioners whose chief duty was the safe custody of condemned persons and the execution of the punishment inflicted by the court. And under the Republic they were responsible for good order in the city. They had the power of executing summary punishment on disorderly persons and slaves. Cf. Schol. Cic. *Div. in Caecil.* 16, 50 *fures et servos nequam qui apud IIIviro capitales apud columnam Maeniam* (where the *IIIviri capitales* had their headquarters) *puniri solent*.

praconis ad fastidium
 arat Falerni mille fundi iugera
 et Appiam mannīs terit
 15 sedilibusque magnus in primis eques
 Othone contempto sedet.
 Quid attinet tot ora navium gravi
 rostrata duci pondere

12. **praeconis**: the crier who proclaimed the reason for the punishment while the flogging was going on. This particular upstart has in his time been flogged so often and so much that even the *praeco* is sick and tired of it; and yet to-day, arat Falerni mille fundi iugera.

13. **arat**: equivalent to *possidet*. Cf. Verg. *A.* 3, 13 f. *terra procul vastis colitur Mavortia campis | Thraces arant*. — **Falerni**: the *ager Falernus*, in the south of Campania, was famous for its vineyards. — **iugera**: the *iugerum* was the Roman unit of measure for land, containing about five-eighths of an acre.

14. **Appiam**: sc. *viam*, the great road leading to the south of Rome, called by Statius *longarum regina viarum*. This the parvenu wears out (*terit*) as he drives, either to exhibit his fine turnout to the throng of travelers, who continually pass along the road, or to visit his country estates. On this use of *tero*, cf. Ovid. *ex Ponto* 2, 7, 44 *nec magis est curvis Appia trita rotis*. — **mannis**: Gallic

ponies, fashionable for pleasure driving.

15 f. L. Roscius Otho, tribune of the people, in 67 B.C. had a law passed by which the knights were assigned fourteen rows in the theater back of the orchestra, which belonged to the senators. This upstart, regardless of his low birth, takes his seat as knight, swollen with pride (**magnus**) over his great wealth. Worse than that, as *tribunus militum* he sits in the first of the fourteen rows. **magnus** is used in the same ironical sense *S.* 1, 6, 72 *magni quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti*.

17–19. The allusions here give us reason to believe that this epode was written soon after the completion of the large ships referred to. In 38 B.C. Octavian was badly defeated by Sextus Pompey; in the following winter 37–36 B.C. he had a new fleet built, consisting of very large and heavy vessels. The date at which this epode was composed is then probably 36 B.C. — **ora rostrata**: an artificial expression similar to the Greek πρόσωπον νεώς, Achil. Tat. 3, 1;

contra latrones atque servilem manum,

20

hoc, hoc tribuno militum?'

Diod. Sic. 13, 40 has τὰ στόματα τῶν ἐμβόλων. — latrones . . . servilem manum: such as Sextus Pompey welcomed to his standards. Augustus says in the *Mon. Anc.* 5, 1 that he captured and returned

to their former owners some thirty thousand runaway slaves that had joined Sextus Pompey's army.

20. hoc, hoc: emphatic. Intr. 28 a. Cf. Sen. *H. F.* 99 *hoc, hoc ministro noster utatur dolor.*

5

The Romans were extremely superstitious, and during the last century of the Republic especially, there was a rapid increase in the number of people among them who professed to practice the magic arts. The efficacy of witchcraft and love potions was not doubted by the mass of the people. In this epode Horace pictures four hags, of whom Canidia is the chief, in the act of preparing one of their most potent charms by which Canidia hopes to win back the affections of her aged lover. The quartette have captured a boy whom they propose to bury to the chin in the atrium of Canidia's house, that he may starve. His death is to be made the more painful by the sight of food frequently renewed, that his longing for it may sink into his liver and very marrow, which then shall be used for the irresistible philter. It is not impossible that children were occasionally murdered for such purposes; at any rate there was a current belief that such atrocities were practiced, as the Chinese are said to believe to-day that the missionaries kill young children to obtain the ingredients for certain charms. Cicero charges Vatinius, in *Vatin.* 14 *cum inaudita ac nefaria sacra susceperis, cum inferorum animas elicere, cum puerorum extis deos manes mactare soleas*, etc. The following inscription, found in a columbarium on the Esquiline, is also important testimony. CIL. 6, 19, 747 *Iucundus Liviae Drusi Caesaris f(ilius) Gryphi et Vitalis. In quartum surgens comprehensus deprimor annum, | cum possem matri dulcis et esse patri. | eripuit me saga manus crudelis ubique, | cum manet in terris et nocit arte sua. | vos vestros natos concustodite parentes, | ni dolor in toto pectore fixsus eat.*

Commentators have been much puzzled as to the identity of this Canidia, whom Horace mentions in two other epodes (3 and 17) and in *S.* 1, 8. Porphyrio says that she was a certain Gratidia from Naples,

whose business was the manufacture of perfumes. There is also the tradition that Horace was once in love with her, and that the *celeres iambi* which he recants in the sixteenth ode of the first book, are this epode and the seventeenth, a mock palinode. But Porphyrio's identification is probably only a clever guess, based on verses 43 and 59, and *Epode* 17, 23, which give after all very insufficient basis for his statement; and the rest of the tradition has no foundation whatever.

It may be true that Horace attacked under the name Canidia some *unguentaria*, well known at the time, who was ready to furnish potions and poisons to her customers, but it is equally probable that Horace had a purely literary motive in depicting a scene similar to that in Vergil's eighth eclogue, the *Pharmaceutria*, which is based on Theocritus' second Idyll.

The epode is dramatically constructed. It opens with the cries and prayers of the boy as he is hurried into the house (1-10). Canidia orders the various materials for her infernal rites (11-24), while Sagana sprinkles the house with water from Avernus (25-28); Veia digs the pit in which the boy is to be buried (29-40). A fourth hag, Folia, who can call down the very moon and stars, is also present (41-46). Canidia then prays that the charm she has already used may bring her aged lover to her doors; but suddenly the fear comes on her that some more skillful rival may detain him (47-72). At this thought she breaks out with the threat that she will use an irresistible charm (73-82). The boy, seeing that his prayers are of no avail, calls down curses on his murderesses and threatens that his shade shall haunt them (82-102). The date of composition cannot be exactly fixed, but is later than that of *S.* 1, 8 and probably earlier than that of *Epod.* 17. Metre, 74.

‘At o deorum quicquid in caelo regit
terrās et humanum genus,

1. *at*: used regularly at the beginning of entreaties, prayers, and curses; here it marks the sudden outburst of the kidnapped boy. Cf. n. to 3, 19. — *o deorum quicquid*: cf. Livy, 23, 9, 3 *iurantes per quidquid deorum est*, and *S.* 1, 6, 1 *Lydorum quicquid . . . incoluit*. — *in caelo*: apparently

added pleonastically, but Horace may have wished to make the contrast between *dii superi* and *dii inferi* under whose protection the boy's tormentors were. If so, he betrays a lack of skill, for a frightened child would hardly think of so subtle a taunt as this. Cf. n. to v. 5.

quid iste fert tumultus, et quid omnium
vultus in unum me truces?

5 Per liberos te, si vocata partubus
Lucina veris adfuit,
per hoc inane purpurae decus precor,
per improbaturum haec Iovem,
quid ut noverca me intueris aut uti
10 petita ferro belua?'

Vt haec trementi questus ore constitit
insignibus raptis puer,
impube corpus quale posset impia
mollire Thracum pectora,

15 Canidia, brevibus implicata viperis

3 f. *fert*: *means*. This supplies the verb for the following verse. — *omnium*: in contrast to *unum*. — *in me*: connect with *truces*. Cf. C. 1, 2, 39 *acer . . . vultus in hostem*.

5 f. *te*: the boy now turns to Canidia as the leader of the four. — *si vocata*, etc.: the addition of *veris* makes the clause carry an implication that Canidia has never had a child, although she has tried to palm one off as her own. This is plainly expressed in 17, 50. Such an insinuation is, however, quite too clever for a child in this situation. — *Lucina*: Juno as goddess of childbirth. Cf. C. S. 15 and n.

7 f. *purpurae decus*: the *toga praetexta*, worn by boys until they reached the age of manhood, is here the badge of innocence and should protect the child, but it is

of no avail (*inane*). — *improbaturum*: a mild word for *vindicaturum*.

9 f. *ut noverca*: typical of savage hatred. Cf. Sen. Cont. 4, 6 *hic tuus est; quid alterum novercalibus oculis intueris?* and Tac. Ann. 12, 2 (*coniunx*) *novercalibus odiis visura Britannicum et Octaviam*. — *petita*: equivalent to *saucia*.

12 f. *insignibus raptis*: the *toga praetexta* and the *bullae*, the amulet which the Roman boy wore about his neck. These symbols of his innocent youth are ruthlessly stripped from him, so that he stands naked before them; but the helplessness of his childish figure (*impube corpus*), a sight to touch even barbarian hearts, makes no appeal to Canidia and her crew.

15 f. Notice the effect produced by the succession of short syllables. Canidia is pictured as a fury

crinis et incomptum caput,
 iubet sepulcris caprificos erutas,
 iubet cupressos funebris
 et uncta turpis ova ranae sanguine
 20 plumamque nocturnae strigis
 herbasque quas Iolcos atque Hiberia
 mittit venenorum ferax,
 et ossa ab ore rapta ieiunae canis

with snakes intertwined in her disheveled hair. Indeed she is called *furia* in *S.* 1, 8, 45. Cf. Ovid. *Her.* 2, 119 *Alecto brevibus torquata colubris*. — *crinis* . . . *caput*: Intr. 84.

17–24. These verses name the materials for the witches' infernal sacrifice. — *caprificos*: the first ingredient shall be from the barren wild fig tree, naturally associated with the dead, for it grew most often in the crevices of tombs. Cf. Mart. 10, 2, 9 *marmora Messalae findit caprificus*, and Iuv. 10, 143 ff. *laudis titulique cupido | haesuri saxis cinerum custodibus, ad quae | discutienda valent sterilis mala robora fici*.

18 f. *cupressos funebris*: cypress from some house of mourning. Cf. *C.* 2, 14, 23 *invisas cupressos*. — *ranae*: the *rana rubeta*, a poisonous toad described by Plin. *N. H.* 8, 110 *ranae rubetae, quarum et in terra et in umore vita, plurimis refertae medicaminibus deponere ea cotidie ac resumere pastu dicuntur, venena tantum semper sibi reservantes*. This crea-

ture was regularly used in potions. Cf. Iuv. 1, 69 *matrona potens, quae molle Calenum | porrectura viro miscet sitiente rubetam*.

20. *strigis*: modifying both *ova* and *plumam*. The *strix* was probably the ordinary screech-owl, which frequented tombs and deserted places. Popular superstition still magnifies it into a bugaboo. It is described by Ovid. *Fasti* 6, 133 *grande caput, stantes oculi, rostra apta rapinis; | canities pinnis, unguibus hamus inest*. On the use of these ingredients in potions, cf. Prop. 4, 6, 27 ff. *illum turgentis ranae portenta rubetae | et lecta exsectis anguibus ossa trahunt | et strigis inventae per busta iacentia plumae*, reminding one of the witches' brew in *Macbeth*, 4, 1.

21. *Iolcos*: in Thessaly, famous for witchcraft. Cf. *C.* 1, 27, 21 *Thessalis magus*. — *Hiberia*: in Pontus, near Colchis, the home of Medea. Cf. *Colchicis*, v. 24.

23 f. Bones snatched from a hungry dog are efficacious as communicating the craving of the baffled animal to the one bewitched.

flammis aduri Colchicis.
 25 At expedita Sagana, per totam domum
 spargens Avernalis aquas,
 horret capillis ut marinus asperis
 echinus aut currens aper.
 Abacta nulla Veia conscientia
 30 ligonibus duris humum
 exhauriebat ingemens laboribus,
 quo posset infossus puer
 longo die bis terque mutatae dapis
 inemori spectaculo,
 35 cum promineret ore quantum exstant aqua
 suspensa mento corpora,

25-28. Sagana is mentioned also *S.* 1, 8, 25 as Canidia's assistant. With dress tucked up (*expedita* = *succinta*) she hurries like a wild creature through the house, sprinkling it with water from Avernus in lustral preparation for the infernal rites. The waters of Lake Avernus, being near, as was supposed, to an entrance to the lower world, were especially appropriate for such purposes as these. So Vergil says of Dido, *A.* 4, 512 *sparserat et latices simulatos fontis Avernī*.

29 f. *Veia*: her function is to dig in the floor of the atrium the pit in which the boy is to be buried. — *ligonibus*: plural, magnifying the difficulty and intensity of her toil; so *laboribus* in the following line. — *duris*: *pitiless*, with *ligonibus*. Cf. *C.* 3, 11, 31 *duro perdere ferro*.

31. *ingemens*: showing the difficulty of her task. Cf. Verg. *G.* 1, 45 f. *depresso incipiat iam tum mihi taurus aratro | ingemere*.

33. The food is to be changed again and again (*bis terque*) to increase the boy's longing, a refinement of torture whereby the day is to be made interminably long for him.

34. *inemori*: a compound found only here: *pine to death at (sight of, etc.)*. The *in-* has the same force as in *ingemens* v. 31, or in the simpler compound *immori*, *Epist.* 1, 7, 85. — *spectaculo*: dative like *laboribus*, v. 31.

36 f. *suspensa*, etc.: an artificial expression for *natantes*. — *exsecta*, *aridum*: modifying both substantives. His marrow, his innermost part, and his liver, the seat of the passions, shall be cut out and dried to form the basis of the philter.

exsecta uti medulla et aridum iecur
 amoris esset poculum,
 interminato cum semel fixae cibo
 40 intabuissent pupulae.
 Non defuisse masculae libidinis
 Ariminensem Foliam
 et otiosa credidit Neapolis
 et omne vicinum oppidum,
 45 quae sidera excantata voce Thessala
 lunamque caelo deripit.
 Hic inresectum saeva dente livido
 Canidia rodens pollicem

38 ff. *amoris poculum*: cf. 17, 80 *desiderique temperare pocula*. — *interminato*: *forbidden*, in passive sense. — *semel*: connect with *intabuissent*. — *cibo*: dative with *fixae* and *intabuissent* alike. Intr. 100.

41–46. Horace skillfully says that he has only heard from Neapolitan gossip that Folia was present, thus implying that his statements in regard to the other three are based on certain knowledge. — *masculae libidinis*: descriptive genitive with *Foliam*.

43. *otiosa . . . Neapolis*: cf. Ovid. *Met.* 15, 711 *in otia natam Parthenopen*. This Greek city was given to gossip; according to the ancient commentator it was called *fabulosa*. Gossip and curiosity are characteristic of the Greek people. Cf. Demost. *Philip.* 1, 10 (to the Athenians) ἡ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, περιμόντες αὐτῶν πυνθά-

νεσθαι “λέγεται τι καινόν;” and *Acts* 17, 21. Livy represents the Roman point of view when he says of the Neapolitans, 8, 22 *gens lingua magis strenua quam factis*.

44. *omne vicinum oppidum*: especially the luxurious watering-place Baiae, whose characteristics in the following century are so well depicted in Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*.

45 f. The power regularly assigned to incantations. Cf. Verg. *E.* 8, 69 *carmina vel caelo possunt deducere lunam*.

47 f. *hic*: *then*, marking a point in the preparations. — *inresectum*: *with untrimmed nail*. Long nails are marks of witches; with them they tear their victims, since the use of iron is impossible in magic. Canidia gnaws her nail in frenzied impatience. Cf. Mart. 4, 27, 5 *ecce iterum nigros conrodit lividus unguis*. — *livido*: her very teeth

quid dixit aut quid tacuit? 'o rebus meis
 50 non infideles arbitrae,
 Nox et Diana, quae silentium regis,
 arcana cum fiunt sacra,
 nunc, nunc adeste, nunc in hostilis domos
 iram atque numen vertite.
 55 Formidolosis dum latent silvis ferae
 dulci sopore languidae,
 senem, quod omnes rideant, adulterum
 latrent Suburanae canes,

show her envy and rage. Cf. 6, 15 *atro dente*.

49. *tacuit*: *thought*, i.e. left unexpressed in words. The following lines represent both what she thought and what she said. — *rebus meis*: with *adeste*, v. 53.

51 f. Cf. Medea's prayer, Ovid. *Met.* 7, 192 ff. *nox, ait, arcanis fidissima . . . tuque, triceps Hecate, quae coeptis conscia nostris adiutrixque venis . . . adeste*; also Verg. *A.* 3, 112 *fida silentia sacris*, and 2, 255 *tacitae per amica silentia lunae*.

53 f. *nunc, nunc*: cf. *hoc, hoc* 4, 20. Intr. 28a. — *hostilis domos*: a common formula in prayers; here used to include the homes of her rivals. Cf. 3, 27, 21 ff. — *iram atque numen*: *the power of your divine wrath*.

55 f. This with v. 51 shows that the time is night, when all creatures are lulled in sleep save unhappy lovers. Cf. Verg. *A.* 4, 522 ff. *nox erat, et placidum carpe-*

bant fessa soporem | corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant | aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu, | cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres, | . . . at non infelix animi Phoenissa.

57. In spite of her preparations, Canidia still hopes that the unguent she has already used may prove effective. — *senem*: her aged lover, the Varus of v. 73, whose foppish appearance excites the mirth of the passers-by. Cf. Plaut. *Casin.* 240 *sénectan aetate unguentatus per vias, ignave, incedis?*

58. *latrent*: transitive. She trusts that the barking of the dogs may announce his approach. So Vergil's enchantress hears Daphnis' coming, *E.* 8, 107 *Hylas in limine latrat*. — *Suburanae*: Canidia's house is in the Subura, the Roman slums, situated east of the fora between the Esquiline, Quirinal, and Viminal hills. It was crowded with small shops, cafés, and brothels.

nardo perunctum quale non perfectius
 60 meae laborarint manus.
 Quid accidit? Cur dira barbarae minus
 venena Medae valent,
 quibus superbam fugit ulta paelicem,
 magni Creontis filiam,
 65 cum palla, tabo munus imbutum, novam
 incendio nuptam abstulit?
 Atqui nec herba nec latens in asperis
 radix fefellit me locis.
 Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
 70 oblivione paelicum.
 A, a, solutus ambulat veneficae
 scientioris carmine.
 Non usitatis, Vare, potionibus,
 o multa fleturum caput,

59 f. **quale . . . laborarint**: *tale* is implied in **quale**, in place of which we might expect *quo non*, 'none more perfect will my hands ever make.' The future perfect expresses Canidia's confidence.

61 ff. At v. 60 Canidia listens, but to no purpose — her lover does not come. She fears that the potent unguent, prepared from Medea's own recipe, has lost its power. — **minus**: equivalent here to *parum*.

63. **quibus**: connect with **ulta**, which contains the main idea. — **superbam**: as exultant over Medea, Jason's lawful wife. — **paelicem**: the opprobrious term applied by Medea to Creusa.

65. **tabo . . . imbutum**: *death-*

died. The robe burst into flames as soon as the princess put it on.

67 ff. 'Yet I made no mistake. Still he must be sleeping over all my magic unguents, forgetful of every mistress.' She has smeared his very bed with her potent ointment.

71 ff. **A, a**: suddenly the fear strikes her that a clever rival may have some more powerful charm, and in fury she threatens Varus with her irresistible philter. — **solutus**: *set free*; cf. C. 1, 27, 21. — **ambulat**: *walks abroad*.

74. **fleturum**: *doomed to weep*; like the Greek *κλαίω*. Intr. 110. — **caput**: in the sense of 'person,' most common in addresses expressing either love or, as here,

- 75 ad me recurres, nec vocata mens tua
 Marsis redibit vocibus :
 maius parabo, maius infundam tibi
 fastidienti poculum,
 priusque caelum sidet inferius mari,
 80 tellure porrecta super,
 quam non amore sic meo flagres uti
 bitumen atris ignibus.'
 Sub haec puer iam non, ut ante, mollibus
 lenire verbis impias,
 85 sed dubius unde rumperet silentium,
 misit Thyesteas preces :
 venena magnum fas nefasque non valent

hate. Cf. *C.* 1, 24, 1 *desiderium* . . . *tam cari captis*. So κεφαλή, κάρα in Greek, e.g. *Il.* 8, 281 Τεύκρε, φίλη κεφαλή, *Soph. Antig.* 1 ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα.

76. *Marsis* . . . *vocibus* : 'no home-made spells shall avail you to call back your mind when once it has fallen under this new charm.' For Marsic spells, cf. 17, 29 and *Verg. A.* 7, 750.

78 f. *fastidienti* : 'in spite of all your disregard for me.' — *inferius* : for the metre, see *Intr.* 58.

82. *uti bitumen* : she draws the comparison from her own rites. Cf. *Verg. E.* 8, 82 *fragilis incende bitumine laurus*. — *atris* : the actual color of the flame.

83 f. *sub haec* : *thereupon*. The boy now sees that there is no hope of escape and turns to threats. — *lenire* : the only case of the his-

torical infinitive in the odes and epodes.

85 f. *unde* : 'with what words.' — *Thyesteas preces* : such curses as Thyestes uttered when betrayed into eating the flesh of his own son. The words Horace had in mind are probably those in *Ennius'* famous Thyestes, which *Cicero, Tusc.* 1, 107, has preserved to us *ipse summis saxis fixus disperis, evisceratus, | latere pendens, saxa spargens tabo, sanie et sanguine atro, | neque sepulcrum, quod recipiat, habeat portum corporis, | ubi remissa humana uita corpus requiescat malis*. Cf. also in *Pis.* 43. — *preces* : curses, as *Caes. B. G.* 6, 31 *omnibus precibus detestatus Ambiorigem*.

87 f. The passage is corrupt, but the sense is : 'Sorceries cannot overturn the mighty law of

convertere humanam vicem.
 diris agam vos ; dira detestatio
 90 nulla expiatur victima.
 Quin ubi perire iussus exspiravero,
 nocturnus occurram furor,
 petamque voltus umbra curvis unguibus,
 quae vis deorum est manium,
 95 et inquietis adsidens praecordiis
 pavore somnos auferam.
 Vos turba vikatim hinc et hinc saxis petens
 contundet obscaenas anus ;
 post insepulta membra different lupi

right and wrong after the manner of men (*humanam vicem*).’ That is, ‘neither your evil practices nor offerings of victims are powerful enough to save you from the vengeance of the gods.’ — *humanam vicem*: adverbial accus. Cf. Sall. *Hist. Frg.* 4, 67 M. *ceteri vicem pecorum obtruncabantur*.

89 f. *diris*: substantively, *curses*, repeated in the formal *dira detestatio* that follows. — *nulla*, etc.: It was commonly believed that there was no escape from a solemn curse of this kind. Cf. *C.* 1, 28, 34 *teque piacula nulla resolvent*, and Plin. *N. H.* 28, 19 *defigi quidem diris precationibus nemo non potuit*. Cf. Dido’s threat, *A.* 4, 384 ff. *sequar atris ignibus absens, | et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus, | omnibus umbra locis adero*.

92. *furor*: *an avenging spirit*; the masculine of *furia*.

94. ‘Such is the power of the spirits of the dead (to return and harm).’ Cf. Livy 3, 58, 11 *manesque Verginiae . . . per tot domos ad petendas poenas vagati nullo relicto sonte tandem quieverunt*.

95. *inquietis*: proleptic. — *asidens*: like the incubus in a nightmare.

97 f. *hinc et hinc*: ‘on every side.’ Cf. 2, 31 n. — *obscaenas*: ‘foul hags,’ giving the cause of their punishment. Stoning to death in Rome was rare. Livy 4, 50, 5 f. speaks of a case in which a military tribune was killed in this fashion by a mob of soldiers.

99 f. The Esquiline outside the walls was a common burial place for the poor until Maecenas redeemed it by buying it up and laying it out into beautiful gardens. Cf. *S.* 1, 8. Here the hags’ bodies are to be cast unburied, for the

100

et Esquilinae alites;
neque hoc parentes, heu mihi superstites,
effugerit spectaculum.'

wolves and birds to prey on. — **post**: adverb. — **Esquilinae** || **alites**: for the hiatus, see Intr. 43.

101 f. **neque hoc . . . effugerit**: 'my parents will not fail to see your mangled corpses and gloat over them.' — **heu mihi superstites**: The boy turns from his own fate to pity for his parents. His death will deprive them of the joy and support which their old age should have known. The sadness of such bereavement oppressed the ancients, whose religious ideas gave no consolation for early death.

Horace here breaks off, observing the rules he laid down himself for the drama, *Epist.* 2, 3, 182 ff. *non tamen intus | digna geri promes in scaenam, multaque tolles | ex oculis, quae mox narret facundia praesens, | ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet, | aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus, | aut in avem Procne vertatur, Cadmus in anguem.* He thus leaves us impressed with the pathos of the situation, not the manner of the boy's horrible death.

6

An attack on a scurrilous defamer, who like a cowardly cur dared to assail only those who could not fight in return. 'Attack me,' says Horace, 'and you will find I am ready to bite back. You bark nobly and then sniff the bone thrown to you (1-10). I shall prove a bull with horns as sharp as the iambs of Archilochus or Hipponax; I am no boy to cry and not strike back (11-16).' The metaphors are only apparently mixed, for at v. 11 Horace definitely abandons the figure of the dog.

Who the object of this attack was must remain uncertain. A number of Mss. have the inscription *in Cassium Severum*, by which the early commentators probably meant the orator Cassius Severus, banished by Augustus on account of his defamatory writings (Tac. *Dial.* 19; *Ann.* 1, 27; 4, 21). But this Cassius belonged to Ovid's generation, so that he can hardly be the person meant. All other guesses are equally futile. The verses may be only an exercise in *iambs* (Intr. 4). Metre, 74.

Quid immerentis hospites vexas canis
 ignavus adversum lupos?
 Quin huc inanis, si potes, vertis minas
 et me remorsurum petis?
 5 Nam qualis aut Molossus aut fulvus Lacon,
 amica vis pastoribus,
 agam per altas aure sublata nivis
 quaecumque praecedet fera.
 Tu cum timenda voce complesti nemus,
 10 proiectum odoraris cibum.
 Cave, cave: namque in malos asperrimus
 parata tollo cornua,
 qualis Lycambae spretus infido gener
 aut acer hostis Bupallo.

1. **hospites**: *passers-by*. The word frequently has this sense in epitaphs. Cf. Cicero's translation of the inscription over the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae, *Tusc.* 1, 42, 101 *dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentes*. Also Catullus' verse 4, 1 *Phasellus ille quem videtis hospites*. — **canis**: a shepherd dog, as the following verse shows.

3 f. **inanis**: a barking dog, you have no bite. — **remorsurum**: equivalent to a relative clause. — **petis**: *fly at*.

5. **Molossus** . . . **Lacon**: adjectives used substantively like our 'St. Bernard,' 'bull,' etc. These were the choice breeds of watchdogs, mentioned together by Vergil *G.* 3, 405 *velocis Spartae catulos acremque Molossum*. Cf.

Shakespere, *Midsummer Night's Dream* 4, 1, 124 'My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind.'

6 f. **vis**: cf. Lucret. 6, 1220 *fida canum vis*; Verg. *A.* 4, 132 *odora canum vis*. — **aure sublata**: *i.e. arrepta*. Cf. the opposite *demittit auris C.* 2, 13, 34.

9 f. 'A scrap of meat flung to you is quite enough to stop your noise; you are a blackmailer.' — **proiectum**: more contemptuous than the ordinary *obiectum*. — **cave, cave**: cf. *nunc, nunc* 5, 53; *hoc, hoc* 4, 20. Intr. 28 a.

12. **parata tollo cornua**: the same figure as in the proverbial *S.* 1, 4, 34 *faenum habet in cornu*.

13 f. Lycambes promised his daughter Neobule in marriage to Archilochus, the great master of iambic poetry, but later refused

15

An, si quis atro dente me petiverit,
inultus ut flebo puer?

him (*infido*); tradition says that Archilochus by his bitter verses drove both father and daughter to suicide. The dative depends on *spretus*. — *acer hostis Bupalus*: Hipponax, who retaliated with bitter verses on Bupalus and Athenis, two sculptors who in sport had made a bust of the homely poet with which they amused their

friends. The story is told by Pliny *N. H.* 26, 12.

15 f. *an*: introducing an interrogative conclusion. Cf. 17, 76. — *atro dente*: *i.e.* 'with envious malice.' Cf. *Epist.* 1, 19, 30 *versibus atris*; *C.* 4, 3, 16 *iam dente minus mordeor invido*. — *inultus*: connect with the subject rather than with the predicate *puer*.

7

An appeal to the Romans not to renew civil war, written probably in 38 B.C. on the eve of the outbreak of hostilities between the triumvirs and Sextus Pompey. In August, 39 B.C., a treaty between the opposing parties signed at Misenum had raised the hope that the exhausted Roman world might have an opportunity to recover itself in peace; but within a year these hopes were disappointed. It was most natural then that Horace should express himself in this gloomy way; later he was more hopeful of the state. Notice the dramatic form of which Horace is fond. He makes a personal appeal to the opposing lines. Metre, 74.

Quo, quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris
aptantur enses conditi?

Parumne campis atque Neptuno super
fusum est Latini sanguinis, —

5

non ut superbas invidae Carthaginis

1 f. *quo, quo*: cf. *hoc, hoc* 4, 20. Intr. 28 a. — *scelesti*: *i.e.* with fratricide. — *ruitis*: literally, *rushing down to ruin*. Cf. 16, 2 *ipsa Roma . . . ruit*; *C.* 1, 3, 26 *gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas*. — *conditi*: 'that were so lately

sheathed.' Cf. *C.* 1, 31, 1 *dedicatum Apollinem* and n.

3. *campis atque Neptuno*: with *super*. Intr. 32.

5. *non ut*: *shed not that*, etc. The Roman youth are no longer wasted to punish a proud enemy

Romanus arcis ureret,
 intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
 Sacra catenatus via,
 sed ut secundum vota Parthorum sua
 10 urbs haec periret dextera.
 neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus,
 numquam nisi in dispar feris.
 Furorne caecus an rapit vis acrior
 an culpa? Responsum date!

or to extend the Roman empire, but solely to compass the destruction of their own state. — *invidae*: cf. Sall. *Cat.* 10, 1 *Carthago aemula imperi Romani ab stirpe interiit.*

7 f. *intactus Britannus*: practically true, as Caesar's expeditions to Britain had had no practical results. Cf. Tac. *Agric.* 13 *igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Iulius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse.* It is not improbable that Octavian planned an expedition against the Britons after the peace of Misenum, as he certainly did in 34 B.C. Dio Cass. 49, 38. — *descenderet Sacra . . . via*: the *Sacra via* made a descent of some fifty feet from the Velia to the forum and then ascended the Capitol. The descent into the forum and passage through it formed the most brilliant part of the triumphal pro-

cession. — *catenatus*: a *chained captive*, before the car of triumph. Cf. 4, 2, 34 ff.

9 f. *secundum vota*: the Parthians at this time had overrun Syria and Asia Minor and were the most powerful opponents of the Romans. Finally when driven back and overawed, in 20 B.C., they gave up the standards they had captured from Crassus in 53 and from Antony in 36 B.C. Cf. C. 3, 5, 5 ff.; 6, 9 ff.; 4, 15, 6 ff., and the notes on these passages. — *sua*: emphatic. With the expression in these two verses, cf. 16, 1-10.

11 f. *hic . . . mos*: *i.e.* of destroying their own kind. — *dispar*: used substantively, equivalent to *dispar animal*. — *feris*: here an adjective, agreeing with *lupis* and *leonibus*, — *who are never fierce save*, etc.

13 f. *vis acrior*: some external force, more powerful than your own strength, *i.e.* Fate. — *culpa*: defined below by *scelus fraternae necis*.

15 Tacent, et albus ora pallor inficit,
 mentesque percussae stupent.
 Sic est : acerba fata Romanos agunt
 scelusque fraternae necis,
 ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi
 20 sacer nepotibus cruor.

15 f. Horace dramatically turns to the spectators, 'They have no answer,' etc. — *albus* : *deathly*. — *percussae* : *i.e.* with horror at their own situation.

17. *sic est* : 'this is the sum of the whole matter.' — *acerba fata* : the *vis acrior* of v. 13.

19 f. *ut* : temporal, *ever since*. Cf. *C.* 4, 4, 42. — *sacer* : *that brought a curse on*. *sacer* means 'conse-

crated,' 'set apart for the gods,' then 'devoted to a god for destruction'; hence 'accursed,' 'polluting,' the Greek *ἐναγής*. Cf. *Verg. A.* 3, 56 *quid non mortalia pectora cogis, | auri sacra fames?* Lucan echoes the idea that the curse of the first fratricide hung over the whole Roman people, *Phars.* 1, 95 *fraterno primi maderunt sanguine muri*.

8

Rogare longo putidam te saeculo
 viris quid enervet meas,
 cum sit tibi dens ater et rugis vetus
 frontem senectus exaret,
 5 hietque turpis inter aridas natis
 podex velut crudae bovis!
 Sed incitat me pectus et mammae putres,
 equina quales ubera,
 venterque mollis et femur tumentibus
 10 exile suris additum.
 Esto beata, funus atque imagines
 ducant triumphales tuum,
 nec sit marita quae rotundioribus
 onusta bacis ambulet.

15 Quid quod libelli Stoici inter sericos
 iacere pulvillos amant ?
 Inlitterati num minus nervi rigent ?
 minusve languet fascinum,
 quod ut superbo provoces ab inguine,
 20 ore adlaborandum est tibi ?

9

Addressed to Maecenas in September, 31 B.C., on hearing of Octavian's success at Actium. In eager enthusiasm Horace asks his patron when they can hope to celebrate together this glorious victory, as they had celebrated a few years before the defeat of Sextus Pompey. The evidence seems to show that Maecenas was in Rome at the time this was written (see introduction to *Epod.* 1), but those who believe that Maecenas was present at Actium regard the opening lines as additional evidence that he took part in the battle. Some even hold that the graphic details mentioned prove that Horace also was there.

After the address to Maecenas (1-10), Horace reflects on the disgrace Antony has brought on the Romans by enslaving himself to an oriental queen (11-16), a sight that made the Gauls desert to Caesar, and the queen's own fleet withdraw (17-20). 'Hail, Triumph, dost thou delay the great procession for the mightiest leader thou hast ever yet brought home (21-26). The enemy has changed his purple robe for mourning and flees to farthest lands (27-32). Come, boy, bring larger cups and stronger wine; I will forget my care and fear for Caesar (33-38).' With this epode compare *C.* 1, 37 written a year later in joy at the news of Cleopatra's death. Metre, 74.

Quando repostum Caecubum ad festas dapes
 victore laetus Caesare
 tecum sub alta (sic Iovi gratum) domo,

1. *repostum*: for the syncope, see *Intr.* 40. — *Caecubum*: one of the choicer wines. Cf. *C.* 1, 20, 9; 37, 5.

3 f. *sub alta . . . domo*: Maecenas' palace on the Esquiline; Horace calls it *C.* 3, 29, 10 *molem propinquam nubibus arduis*, with

beate Maecenas, bibam,
 5 sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra,
 hac Dorium, illis barbarum?
 ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
 dux fugit ustis navibus,
 minatus urbi vincla quae detraxerat
 10 servis amicus perfidis.
 Romanus eheu (posterī negabitis)
 emancipatus feminae
 fert vallum et arma, miles et spadonibus
 servire rugosis potest,

reference no doubt to its lofty tower which commanded a view of the city and surrounding country.—*beate*: *fortunate, blest and happy*. Cf. 2, 1 *beatus ille*.

5 f. *tibiis*: Intr. 89.—*carmen*: *strain*. The lyre shall raise a Dorian strain of victory, the music of a Pindaric epinicion; the pipes a Phrygian (*barbarum*) dithyrambic tune, suitable for reveling. Cf. the *Berecynthiae tibiae* of C. 3, 19, 18; 4, 1, 22.

7 f. *nuper*: in 36 B.C. after the battle of Naulochus.—*freto*: sc. *Siculo*.—*Neptunius dux*: said in scornful mockery. Pompey had styled himself the son of Neptune, according to Appian *B. C.* 5, 100 ἔθνε (ὁ Πομπήμιος) μόνον θαλάσση καὶ Ποσειδῶνι, καὶ υἱὸς αὐτῶν ὑφίστατο καλεῖσθαι.

9 f. *vincla*: Intr. 40.—*servis*: cf. n. to 4, 19. It is dependent on both *detraxerat* and *amicus*. Intr. 100.—*perfidis*: for they had

run away from their owners to fight with Pompey against them.

11 f. *Romanus*: emphatic, Antony and his soldiers. 'To think that a Roman could fall so low! Future generations will say it was impossible!'—*emancipatus*: *in slavery to*.

13. *fert*, etc.: 'Romans actually serve as common soldiers and carry on the march the *valli* and their arms, subject to a woman's orders!'—*miles*: contrasted with *spadonibus rugosis*, as *fert vallum et arma* is set over against *feminae*. According to the Schol. Verg. *A.* 7, 696 the Roman contingent was commanded by Cleopatra and her eunuchs, *Augustus in commemoratione vitae suae refert Antonium iussisse, ut legiones suae apud Cleopatram excubarent, eiusque nutu et iussu parerent*.

14. *servire*: emphatic by position.—*potest*: *can bring himself to*.

15 interque signa turpe militaria
 sol adspicit conopium.
 Ad hoc frementis verterunt bis mille equos
 Galli canentes Caesarem,
 hostiliumque navium portu latent
 20 puppes sinistrorsum citae.
 Io Triumphē, tu moraris aureos
 currus et intactas boves?

15 f. *turpe*: a shameful sight, with *conopium*. — *sol adspicit*: the all-seeing sun is regularly invoked as the witness of shameful deeds. So by Aeschylus' Prometheus in his suffering, *P. V.* 91 καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ. Likewise by Shelley's, 'I ask you, Heaven, the all-beholding sun, | Has it not seen?' — *conopium*: 'a mosquito bar,' then a 'canopied couch.' Symbolical of the abomination of oriental luxury. Cf. the similar passage in Propertius, who is speaking of Cleopatra, 3, 9, 45 *foedaque Tarpeio conopia tendere saxo (ausa)*.

17 f. *ad hoc*: (in disgust) at this. — *Galli*: Galatians, led by Amyntas and Deiotarus, who went over to Octavian before the battle. *vertērunt*: Intr. 36. — *canentes Caesarem*: cf. Verg. *A.* 7, 698 *ibant aequati numero regemque canebant*.

19 f. The naval maneuver here spoken of is not clearly understood. Horace evidently refers to a defection or at least a withdrawal from active battle by a part of the fleet, similar to the action of the

Galatian cavalry. The ships seemed to have abandoned the rest of the fleet by making a turn to the left (*sinistrorsum citae*). — *citae*: apparently a real participle, equivalent to the Greek *κινηθεῖσαι*.

21 f. *io Triumphē*: the shout of the people to the personified Triumph, as the procession advanced towards the Capitol. Cf. *C.* 4, 2, 49. Horace already in imagination sees Octavian in the triumphal car. The triumph did not actually take place until Aug. 13–15, 29 B.C. Cf. Verg. *A.* 8, 714–728. — *aureos currus*: the gilded car of triumph, to be used in the triumphal procession. With the plural, cf. 1, 2, 15 f. — *intactas*: sc. *iugo*. Only cattle that had not been broken to the service of man could be used in sacrifice to the gods. Cf. Verg. *A.* 6, 38 *grege de intacto . . . mactare iuvencos*. The reference here is to the white bulls (the gender of *boves* is due to custom) which were driven in the triumphal procession and sacrificed to Jupiter on the Capitol.

Io Triumphæ, nec Iugurthino parem
 bello reportasti ducem,
 25 neque Africanum, cui super Carthaginem
 virtus sepulcrum condidit.
 Terra marique victus hostis punico
 lugubre mutavit sagum;
 aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus,
 30 ventis iturus non suis,
 exercitatas aut petit Syrtis Noto,
 aut fertur incerto mari.
 Capaciores adfer huc, puer, scyphos
 et Chia vina aut Lesbia,

23 f. *parem . . . ducem* : *i.e.* *parem Caesari*. Marius is meant. The mention of his service in the war against Iugurtha rather than of his greater exploits in repulsing the Teutons and Cimbri, is probably due to the recent appearance of Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum*.

25 f. The younger Scipio Africanus, who destroyed Carthage in 146 B.C. — *Africanum* : in the same construction as *ducem*. — *cui . . . virtus sepulcrum condidit* : *i.e.* his valor has raised over the ruins of Carthage an eternal memorial. Cf. Vell. Pater. 1, 12 *Carthaginem magis invidia imperii, quam ullius eius temporis noxiae invisam Romano nomini funditus sustulit fecitque suae virtutis monumentum, quod fuerat avi eius clementiae*.

27 f. Horace now returns to the present. — *hostis* : Antony. — *punico lugubre*, etc. : a general in

battle wore either a purple or a white cloak (*sagum purpureum*). This Antony has put aside for that of the common soldier, as Pompey did after the battle at Pharsalia. Caesar *B. C.* 3, 96. For the order, see *Intr.* 21.

29 f. *centum . . . urbibus* : *ἐκατόπολις*. Cf. *C.* 3, 27, 33 *centum . . . potentem oppidis Creten*. — *Cretam* : paralleled in construction with *Syrtis*. — *non suis* : *i.e.* *adversis*. Cf. Mart. 10, 104, 3 f. *et cursu facili tuisque ventis | Hispanae pete Tarraconis arces*.

32. *incerto* : in doubt whither to turn his course. *Intr.* 99. Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3, 2, 6 *dubio committitur alto*.

33 f. *capaciores . . . scyphos* : ordinary cups are quite too small. Seneca adapted the expression *de Ira* 3, 14, 2 *bibit deinde liberalius quam alias capacioribus scyphis*. — *puer* : the universal address to

35

vel quod fluentem nauseam coerceat
 metire nobis Caecubum.
 Curam metumque Caesaris rerum iuvat
 dulci Lyaeo solvere.

a slave. So the Greek παῖ. — Chia . . . Lesbica : sweet Greek wines which used in excess might well produce the 'rising qualms' mentioned in the next verse. The frankness with which this result of overdrinking is mentioned was less offensive to the ancient than to us. There is no reason for saying as some have done that

Horace is on the sea off Actium and beginning to suffer from sea-sickness.

36 ff. Caecubum : the Caecuban was strong and dry. — rerum : obj. gen. — Lyaeo : the 'Releaser'; cf. C. 1, 7, 22; 3, 21, 16, as if from the Greek λύω, so that there may be a play between the name and solvere.

IO

A propempticon to the poet Mevius, hated by Horace and the circle to which he belonged. Vergil has secured immortality for Mevius and his associate Bavius by his verses *E. 3, 90 f. qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Mevi; | atque idem iungat vulpes et mulgeat hircos.* The ill-nature of Horace's poem should be compared with the good wishes in the propempticon addressed to Vergil C. 1, 3.

That this epode also is modeled on a poem by Archilochus is shown by a fragment recovered from a papyrus sheet in 1899.¹ The beginning, which probably contained the name of the poet's false friend, is lost; the fragment, as restored, is as follows :

κύμ(ατι) πλα(ζόμ)ενος,
 κὰν Σαλμυδ(ησσ)ῶ γυμνὸν εὐφρονέσ(τατα)
 Θρήϊκες ἀκρό(κο)μοι
 λάβοιεν (ἐνθα πολλ' ἀναπλήσει κακὰ
 δούλιον ἄρτον ἔδων)
 ῥίγει πεπηγότ' αὐτόν · ἐκ δὲ τοῦ (ῥό)θου
 φυκία πόλλ' ἐπ(έ)χοι,
 κροτέοι δ' ὀδόντας, ὥς (κύ)ων ἐπὶ στόμα
 κείμενος ἀκρασίῃ

¹ First published by Reitzenstein, *Sitzungsb. d. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1899, p. 857 ff.

ἄκρον παρὰ ῥηγμῖνα κυμάτων ὀμοῦ·
 ταῦτ' ἐθέλοιμ' ἄν ἰδεῖν,
 ὅς μ' ἠδίκησε λ(ὰ)ξ δ' ἐφ' ὀρκίοις ἔβη
 τὸ πρὶν ἑταῖρος (ἐ)ών.

' . . . driven by the wave, and in Salmydessus may the tufted Thracians give him kindest welcome, naked, stiffened with cold, — there shall he suffer many woes to the full, eating the bread of slavery. And I pray that he may have over him (for his covering) deep weed from the surge, that his teeth may chatter as those of a dog that in its weakness lies on its belly on the edge of the strand near the waves. This is what I could wish to see (the man suffer) who has done me injustice and trampled on his pledges, though he was once my friend.' Metre, 74.

Mala soluta navis exit alite,
 ferens olentem Mevium :
 ut horridis utrumque verberes latus,
 Auster, memento, fluctibus ;
 5 niger rudentis Eurus inverso mari
 fractosque remos differat ;
 insurgat Aquilo, quantus altis montibus
 frangit trementis ilices,
 nec sidus atra nocte amicum adparcat,
 10 qua tristis Orion cadit,
 quietiore nec feratur aequore

1 f. *mala . . . alite*: modifying *soluta*. Cf. C. 1, 15, 5 *mala ducis avi domum*. — *olentem*: rank, for Horace will have it that he, like Gargonius. S. 1, 2, 27. *olet hircum*.

3 f. All the winds of Heaven unfavorable for a voyage to Greece shall compass Mevius' ruin. — *ut verberes*: optative subjunctive. — *memento*: parenthetical.

5. *niger . . . Eurus*: as it gathers dark clouds. Cf. C. 1, 5, 6 *aspera nigris aequora ventis*.

The opposite, C. 1, 7, 15, is *albus Notus* and 3, 7, 1 *candidus Favonius*. — *inverso mari*: cf. Verg. A. 1, 43 *evertitque aequora ventis*.

7. *quantus*: with the power it has when, etc. — *montibus*: locative abl. Isr. 95.

9 f. *amicum*: friendly, with kindly light. — *Orion, etc.*: Orion's rising is accompanied with heavy winds and storms. Cf. C. 1, 3, 14. Hence is, like the Hyades, a *tristis*.

quam Graia victorum manus,
 cum Pallas usto vertit iram ab Ilio
 in impiam Aiakis ratem.
 15 O quantus instat navitis sudor tuis
 tibiue pallor luteus
 et illa non virilis eiulatio
 preces et aversum ad Iovem,
 Ionius udo cum remugiens sinus
 20 Noto carinam ruperit.
 Opima quod si praeda curvo litore
 porrecta mergos iuverit,

12. **Graia victorum manus**: the adjective is equivalent to the genitive *Graecorum*, and so is modified by *victorum*.

13 f. After the fall of Troy, Pallas transferred her wrath against the city to the Greeks because Ajax Oileus had torn from the altar Cassandra, Pallas' priestess. This act polluted the entire fleet. Cf. Verg. *A.* 1, 39 ff. *Pallasne exurere classem | Argivom atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto, | unius ob noxam et furias Aiakis Oilei?*

15 f. **O quantus sudor**: a reminiscence of *Il.* 2, 388 ff. quoted in n. to *C.* 1, 15, 9 f. *heu heu, quantus equis, quantus adest viris sudor!* — **luteus**: Greek ὀχρός. The dark skins of Italians and Greeks take on this greenish yellow tint when pale. Cf. Tibul. 1, 8, 52 *nimius luto corpora tingit amor.*

17 f. **illa**: almost equivalent to

'your common.' — **non virilis**: cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 2, 55 *ingemescere nonnumquam viro concessum est idque raro, eiulatus ne mulieri quidem.* — **et**: for the position, see Intr. 31. — **aversum**: cf. *C.* 3, 23, 19 *aversos Penatis.*

19 f. **udo . . . Noto**: i.e. 'rain-bringing.' — **remugiens**: cf. *C.* 3, 10, 6.

21. **opima praeda**: a fat prize. — **quod si**: introducing a conclusion. Cf. *C.* 1, 1, 35. Notice that Horace here makes no mention of Mevius by name, and euphemistically avoids ill-omened expressions such as *tuum corpus*, which is implied, however, in **porrecta**. In this way he makes his wish for Mevius' harm all the harsher. Porphyrio saw a special point in **opima**, for he remarks *apparet et pinguem fuisse (Mevium).*

22. **mergos**: the voracious coots are, however, not given to eating carrion.

libidinosus immolabitur caper
et agna Tempestatibus.

23 f. Horace mockingly closes with the promise of a solemn sacrifice of thanksgiving for the storm that shall drown Mevius. The *libidinosus caper* is clearly chosen as a fit offering for relief from an *olens Mevius*. With the sacrifice of a lamb to the storms, cf. Verg. *A.* 5, 772 *Tempestatibus agnam caedere deinde iubet*.

I I

Horace no longer finds any pleasure in writing verses, for love once more has him in his meshes (1-4). Two years have passed since he freed himself from Inachia, who long charmed and tortured him (5-22); now he is ensnared by the fair Lyciscus (23-28). The Pettius to whom these verses are addressed is otherwise unknown to us. The names Inachia and Lyciscus are borrowed from the Greek. Metre, 80.

Petti, nihil me sicut antea iuvat
scribere versiculos amore percussum gravi,
amore qui me praeter omnis expetit
mollibus in pueris aut in puellis urere.
5 Hic tertius December, ex quo destiti
Inachia furere, silvis honorem decutit.
Heu me, per urbem (nam pudet tanti mali)

1 f. *nihil*: cognate object of *iuvat*. — *versiculos*: the diminutive in disparagement of the epodic measure, unsuited for love verses. — *amore*: not fully personified.

3 f. *amore*: for the anaphora, see Intr. 28 c. — *praeter omnis*: the lover's inevitable extravagance. 'No one ever suffered as he does.' — *in puellis urere*: cf. C. 1, 17, 19 f. *dices laborantis in uno | Penelopen vitreamque Circen*. For the infinitive, see Intr. 107.

5 f. *hic tertius December*, etc.: *this December which is stripping, is the third since*, etc. Horace measures the years by the month in which his birthday fell. — *Inachiā furere*: like the Greek *μαίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τινι*. — *honorem*: *splendor*. Cf. Verg. *G.* 2, 404 *frigidus et silvis aquilo decussit honorem*.

7 f. *nam*: in apology for his sigh, *heu me*. Notice that the broken order also expresses Horace's feeling of shame.

fabula quanta fui! Conviviorum et paenitet,
 in quis amantem languor et silentium
 10 arguit et latere petitus imo spiritus!
 'Contrane lucrum nil valere candidum
 pauperis ingenium!' querebar adplorans tibi,
 simul calentis inverecundus deus
 fervidiore mero arcana promorat loco.
 15 'Quod si meis inaestuēt praecordiis
 libera bilis, ut haec ingrata ventis dividat
 fomenta volnus nil malum levantia,
 desinet imparibus certare submotus pudor.'
 Vbi haec severus te palam laudaveram,
 20 iussus abire domum ferebar incerto pede

8. *fabula*: *subject of gossip*.
 So Ovid. *Am.* 3, 1, 21 *fabula,*
nec sentis, tota iactaris in urbe.
 —et: Intr. 31.

9. *quis*: this form is found
 only here in the lyric poems. —
amantem: sc. *me*. — *languor*: *lack*
of interest, indifference, which
 showed itself in his silence.

11 f. The poet's indignant out-
 burst against his richer rivals.
 For the construction, see Intr. 106.
 — *adplorans*: *i.e.* 'accompanying
 my complaints with tears.'

13 f. *simul*: regularly used by
 Horace equivalent to *simul ac*. —
calentis: genitive agreeing with
 the genitive implied in the pos-
 sessive pronoun that is naturally
 understood here, *i.e. mea arcana*.
 Cf. Cic. *in Pis.* 3, 6 *iuravi hanc*
urbem mea unius opera esse sal-
vam. — *inverecundus deus*: the god
 who destroys all *verecundia*, when

taken in excess. The god and his
 gift are identified. Cf. the opposite
C. 1, 27, 3 *verecundum Bacchum*.
 — *mero*: with *calentis*. — *loco*: *i.e.*
 'their proper place' — my own
 mind.

15 ff. *quod si*, etc.: resuming the
 quotation of his former confidences.
 — *libera bilis*: 'my anger find free
 speech,' etc. Cf. 4, 10 *liberrima*
indignatio. Propertius desired the
 same relief, 1, 1, 28 *sit modo liber-*
tas quae velit ira loqui. — *ingrata*:
vain, inrita. Cf. Verg. *A.* 9, 312 f.
sed aurae | omnia discerpunt et
nubibus inrita donant. — *fomenta*:
 figuratively used of his plaintive
 outpourings to Pettius. — *pudor*:
 the false pride that still urged him
 to the contest.

19 f. *ubi haec severus*, etc.:
when I determined grown had
spoken thus so nobly. — *iussus*: sc.
a te. Pettius approved his praise-

ad non amicos heu mihi postis et heu
 limina dura, quibus lumbos et infregi latus.
 Nunc glorientis quamlibet mulierculam
 vincere mollitia amor Lycisci me tenet;
 25 unde expedire non amicorum queant
 libera consilia nec contumeliae graves,
 sed alius ardor aut puellae candidae
 aut teretis pueri longam renodantis comam.

worthy resolution. — *ferebar*: note the tense. He wished to carry out his determination to break with his love, but still with irresolute steps (*incerto pede*) he wandered to his mistress' home. Tibullus acknowledges the same weakness, 2, 6, 13 *iuravi quotiens rediturum ad limina numquam: | cum bene iuravi, pes tamen ipse redit*.

21 f. *heu . . . heu*: he sighs over his weak will; the exclamations are to be taken with the entire sentence rather than with any particular words. — *dura*: literally, as the relative clause shows.

23. *mulierculam*: Lyciscus uses the diminutive disparagingly.

25 f. *expedire*: *set free* (from these toils). Cf. C. 1, 27, 23 f. *vix inligatum te . . . Pegasus expedit*. — *libera consilia*: *frank advice*. Cf. v. 16. — *contumeliae*: on the part of Lyciscus.

28. *teretis*: *shapely*. Cf. C. 2, 4, 21 *teretis suras*. — *renodantis comam*: *binding his long hair into a knot*. *renodo* has here the same sense as *relegare* C. 1, 5, 4 *cui flavam religas comam?* For the custom of such boys to wear the hair long, see C. 2, 5, 23 f.; 3, 20, 14; 4, 10, 3.

12

Quid tibi vis, mulier nigris dignissima barris?
 Munera cur mihi quidve tabellas
 mittis, nec firmo iuveni neque naris obesae?
 Namque sagacius unus odoror,
 5 polypus an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis,
 quam canis acer ubi lateat sus.
 Qui sudor vietis et quam malus undique membris
 crescit odor, cum pene soluto

indomitam properat rabiem sedare, neque illi
 10 iam manet umida creta colorque
 stercore fucatus crocodili, iamque subando
 tenta cubilia tectaque rumpit!
 Vel mea cum saevis agitat fastidia verbis:
 'Inachia langues minus ac me;
 15 Inachiam ter nocte potes, mihi semper ad unum
 mollis opus. Pereat male quae te
 Lesbia quaerenti taurum monstravit inertem,
 cum mihi Cous adesset Amyntas,
 cuius in indomito constantior inguine nervus
 20 quam nova collibus arbor inhaeret.
 Muricibus Tyriis iteratae vellera lanae
 cui properabantur? Tibi nempe,
 ne foret aequalis inter conviva, magis quem
 diligeret mulier sua quam te.
 25 O ego non felix, quam tu fugis ut pavet acris
 agna lupos capreaeque leones.'

13

A study from the Greek. The motive is taken from the same poem of Alcaeus that Horace imitated later in *C.* 1, 9. While snow and rain fall outside, the poet calls his friends to celebrate the day with a jar of old wine, so long as youth yet is theirs. As warrant for this he quotes Chiron's advice to his pupil Achilles. Metre, 79.

Horrida tempestas caelum contraxit, et imbres
 nivesque deducunt Iovem; nunc mare, nunc silvae

1 f. *caelum contraxit*: the heavy clouds have covered the sky and brought it nearer to the earth. — *deducunt Iovem*: the identification of the sky and the supreme divinity of the heavens was a common-

place of Hellenistic and Roman literature. Cf. *C.* 1, 1, 25 *sub Iove frigido* (= *sub caelo*). Verg. *E.* 7, 60 *Iuppiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri*, and *G.* 2, 325 ff. *tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbri-*

Threicio Aquilone sonant: rapiamus, amici,
 occasionem de die, dumque virent genua
 5 et decet, obducta solvatur fronte senectus.

Tu vina Torquato move consule pressa meo.
 Cetera mitte loqui; deus haec fortasse benigna
 reducet in sedem vice. Nunc et Achaemenio
 perfundi nardo iuvat et fide Cyllenea
 10 levare diris pectora sollicitudinibus,

*bus aether | coniugis in gremium
 laetae descendit, et omnis | mag-
 nus alit magno commixtus cor-
 pore, fetus.* — *siluae*: trisyllabic
 as *C.* 1, 23, 4.

3. *Threicio || Aquilone*: for the
 hiatus, see *Intr.* 43. Thrace is
 the home of the North wind. Cf.
C. 1, 25, 11 *Thracio . . . vento.* —
rapiamus: an intensive expression,
eagerly seize. Plutarch's ἀρπάσας
 τὸν καιρόν. Cf. *Publil. Syr.* p. 129
*W. occasiones non modo accipe,
 arripe.*

4. *de die*: 'offered by the day,'
 with the suggestion of beginning
 early. Cf. the expressions *de die
 bibere*; *de die convivium facere.* —
virent genua: cf. *C.* 1, 9, 17 *donec
 virenti canities abest.* Theoc. 14,
 70 ποιεῖν τι δεῖ ἄς (*i.e.* ἕως) γόνυ
 χλωρόν.

5. *et decet*: 'youth is the time
 for drinking'; some ten years
 later, Horace called his friend to
 a carouse *dum licet*, *C.* 2, 11, 16.
 — *obducta*: *clouded*.

6. *tu*: with this abrupt address
 Horace invests one of his imagi-
 nary company with the duties of

host. Cf. *C.* 1, 9. — *vina . . .
 move, broach.* Cf. *C.* 3, 21, 6
(testa) moveri digna bono die. —
Torquato . . . consule . . . meo:
 L. Manlius Torquatus, cos. 65 B.C.,
 the year of Horace's birth. Cf.
C. 3, 21, 10 *nata mecum consule
 Manlio (testa).*

7 f. *cetera*: *all else*, save words
 of cheer. It is possible that Hor-
 ace means, 'do not discuss poli-
 tics or refer to our present state,
 the losses we have suffered in the
 civil wars (*haec*).' — *benigna vice*:
with kindly compensation. Cf. *C.*
 4, 14, 13 *plus vice simplici*, 'with
 more than equal return.' — *sedem*:
 sc. *suam*; cf. *Suet. Aug.* 28 *ita
 mihi salvam ac sospitem rem pu-
 blicam sistere in sua sede liceat.*

8 f. *Achaemenio . . . nardo*:
 oriental perfume; cf. *C.* 3, 1, 44
Achaemenium costum. Achaeme-
 nes was the mythical founder of the
 Persian dynasty. — *fide Cyllenea*:
 the lyre was invented by Hermes,
 who was born on Mt. Cyllene in
 Arcadia.

10. Cf. *C.* 4, 11, 35 *minuentur
 atrae carmine curae.*

nobilis ut grandi cecinit centaurus alumno :

‘ Invicte, mortalis dea nate puer Thetide,
te manet Assaraci tellus, quam frigida parvi
findunt Scamandri flumina lubricus et Simois,
15 unde tibi reditum certo subtemine Parcae
rupere, nec mater domum caerula te revehet.
Illic omne malum vino cantuque levato,
deformis aegrimoniae dulcibus adloquiis.’

11 ff. Horace supports his exhortation by quoting the example of Chiron, as he introduces Teucer later (*C.* 1, 7) for a similar purpose. — *grandi*: full grown. Cf. *Iuv.* 7, 210 *metuens virgae iam grandis Achilles*. — *invicte*: used substantively, as *Verg. A.* 6, 365 *eripe me his, invicte, malis*. — *mortalis*: predicate with *nate*. For the order, see *Intr.* 21.

13. *Assaraci tellus*: Assaracus was king of Troy, great-grandfather of Aeneas. — *frigida*: probably with reference to one of the Scamander's sources. Cf. *Il.* 22, 151 f. ἡ δ' ἐτέρη (sc. πηγὴ) θέρεϊ προρέει εἰκυῖα χαλάζῃ | ἡ χιόνι ψυχρῇ ἡ ἐξ ὕδατος κρυστάλλῳ. — *parvi*: in Homer it is μέγας πόταμος.

14. *lubricus*: of the swift smooth current. Cf. *Ovid. Am.* 3, 6, 81 *supposuisse manus ad pectora lubricus amnis dicitur*. The Scamander and Simois are to be the witnesses of Achilles' mighty deeds.

So the Fates prophesy, *Catull.* 64, 357 ff. *testis erit magnis virtutibus unda Scamandri, | quae passim rapido diffunditur Hellesponto, | cuius iter caesis angustans corporum acervis | alta tepefaciet permixta flumina caede*.

15 f. *unde*: connect with *reditum*. — *certo subtemine*: instrumental ablative with *rupere*. The web of the Fates determines man's destiny. Cf. *Catull.* 64, 327 *currere ducentes subtegmina, currere, fusi*. Also *Verg. A.* 10, 814 f. *extremaque Lauso | Parcae fila legunt*. — *caerula*: for her home is in the sea. Cf. n. to *C.* 3, 28, 10, and *Ovid. Her.* 9, 14 *Nereus caerulus*.

17 f. *illic*: i.e. before Troy. When Agamemnon's envoys came to Achilles (*Il.* 9, 186) they found him cheering himself before his tent, τὸν δ' εὖρον φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ. — *adloquiis*: equivalent to *solaciis*. Cf. *Catull.* 38, 4 *quem tu . . . qua solatus es allocutione?*

14

Maecenas had urged Horace again and again to finish up some collection of verses, probably the book of epodes. Horace answers that he cannot now, for he is in love, and even Anacreon could not write polished verses when smitten with Bathyllus. The poem closes with the retort: 'You too are in love, Maecenas, and should understand; thank Heaven that your flame is not like mine.' The colloquial and familiar tone of the epode should be noticed. Metre, 75.

Mollis inertia cur tantam diffuderit imis
 oblivionem sensibus,
 pocula Lethaeos ut si ducentia somnos
 arente fauce traxerim,
 5 candide Maecenas, occidis saepe rogando:

1-4. Maecenas' constant question, given here in indirect form, dependent on *rogando*, v. 5. — *mollis*: the opening word gives the keynote of the reproach. Horace has grown 'soft,' and has forgotten all his promises. — *imis* . . . *sensibus*: dative, equivalent to *penitus*. Cf. Verg. *E.* 3, 54 *sensibus haec imis reponas*.

3. *Lethaeos* . . . *somnos*: the sleep of complete forgetfulness. Cf. Verg. *A.* 6, 714 f. *Lethaei ad fluminis undam | securos latices et longa oblivia potant*. — *ut si*: not to be connected with *tantam* only, but rather with *imis* . . . *sensibus*, showing how completely forgetfulness has taken possession of him. — *ducentia*: cf. *C.* 3, 1, 20 f. *non avium citharaeque cantus | somnum reducent*, also *Epist.*

1, 2, 31 *ad strepitum citharae cessantem ducere somnum*.

4. *traxerim*: like the Greek ἔλκειν; stronger than the ordinary *bibere* or *ducere*, which is used *C.* 1, 17, 21 *pocula . . . duces sub umbra*. The latter word, however, would be impossible here, as it has just been used in v. 3.

5. *candide Maecenas*: with general reference to Maecenas' upright character; here used because Horace recognizes the justice of his patron's reproaches. Cf. 11, 11 *candidum ingenium*. In similar fashion he addresses Tibullus *Epist.* 1, 4, 1 *Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex*. Cf. the English 'candid.' — *occidis*: colloquially extravagant. Cf. *C.* 2, 17, 1; also Plaut. *Pseud.* 931 *occidis me, quom istuc rogas*.

deus, deus nam me vetat
 inceptos, olim promissum carmen, iambos
 ad umbilicum adducere.
 Non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo
 10 Anacreonta Teium,
 qui persaepe cava testudine flevit amorem
 non elaboratum ad pedem.

6 f. **deus, deus**: 'for it is the god, the god, I tell you, who.' Emphatically stating the cause of his delay. Intr. 28 a. — **carmen**: used here apparently of the entire collection for which his friends have so long waited (**olim promissum**). For the order cf. *Epist.* 2, 1, 234 *acceptos, regale nomisma, Philippos*; and Verg. *E.* 2, 3 *inter densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos*. — **iambos**: this word seems to show that the poems in epodic form are meant, for this is the term Horace applies to them, *Epist.* 1, 19, 23; 2, 2, 59. Intr. 4.

8. **ad umbilicum adducere**: a stick was fastened to the last sheet of the strip of papyrus paper on which the book was written; when the book was finished the strip was rolled on this stick, which was called the umbilicus because it was in the center of the roll. See Schreiber's *Atlas*, pl. 90 ff. Therefore the phrase means, 'to finish the book.' So Martial opens the last epigram of his fourth book *ohe iam satis est, ohe libelle, | iam pervenimus usque ad umbilicos*.

9–12. None of Anacreon's poems to his favorite Bathyllus are preserved, so that we cannot determine the correctness of this statement. — **non aliter**: generally used to return to the main theme after an illustration, not as here to introduce the illustration itself. — **cava testudine**: 'the sounding box of the lyre. Cf. C. 1, 32, 13 f. *o decus Phoebi et dapibus supremi | grata testudo Iovis*. — **flevit amorem**: *gave sad expression to his love*. Domitius Marsus says in his elegy on Tibullus *te quoque Vergilio comitem non aequa, Tibulle, | mors iuvenem campos misit ad Elysios, | ne foret, aut elegis molles qui fleret amores, | aut caneret forti regia bella pede*. Dioscorides, a writer of the Hellenistic period, testifies that Anacreon often became lachrymose over his love and cups. *Anth. Pal.* 7, 31, 3 f. *τερπνότατε Μούσῃσιν Ἀνάκρεον, ὦ πῖ Βαθύλλῳ | χλωρὸν ὑπὲρ κυλίκων πολλάκι δάκρυ χέας*.

12. **non elaboratum**, etc.: probably meaning that Anacreon employed only simple measures for his love poems.

Vreris ipse miser; quod si non pulchrior ignis
 accendit obsessam Ilion,
 15 gaude sorte tua: me libertina nec uno
 contenta Phryne macerat.

13. *ipse*: 'you know how it is from your own experience, Maecenas.' — *quod si*: *now if*; introducing a supposition recognized as true. Cf. C. 3, 1, 41. — *ignis*: *flame*, with the same double meaning that the English word has. Cf. 3, 7, 10 f. Helen was the 'flame' that fired besieged Ilion. The early commentators think Maecenas' 'flame' was Terentia, whom he later married. Cf. C. 2, 12.

15 f. *me*: emphatic, *as for me*. Horace frequently thus concentrates attention on himself at the

end of his verses. Cf. e.g. C. 1, 1, 29, when after enumerating the interests of other men, he suddenly says, *me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium | dis miscent superis; me gelidum nemus*, etc. — *nec*: adding a second characteristic, — 'she is not only a libertina, but she is not even,' etc. Catullus complains of his Lesbia 68, 135 *uno non est contenta Catullo*. — *macerat*: cf. C. 1, 13, 6 *umor et in genas furtim labitur, arguens | quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus*.

15

Horace's reproach to faithless Neaera.

'In the depth of night thou didst swear thy constancy to me (1-10). Now thou art no longer true. I tell thee I am man enough to seek another love (11-16). Thy present lover may have all riches, wisdom, and the beauty of a Nereus, his triumph will be short, for presently he shall weep over thy broken faith. And I shall laugh last (17-24).'
 Metre, 75.

Nox erat et caelo fulgebat luna sereno
 inter minora sidera,
 cum tu, magnorum numen laesura deorum,

1 f. Night is the time for lovers' vows; the moon and stars their proper witnesses. Cf. Catull. 7, 7 f. *sidera . . . cum tacet nox, | furtivos hominum vident amores*. —

inter minora sidera: repeated C. 1, 12, 47.

3 f. *laesura*: *ready to outrage*. Intr. 110. — *in verba . . . mea*: *i.e.* repeating the oath after me. The

in verba iurabas mea,
 5 artius atque hedera procera adstringitur ilex
 lentis adhaerens bracchiis,
 dum pecori lupus et nautis infestus Orion
 turbaret hibernum mare
 intonsosque agigaret Apollinis aura capillos,
 10 fore hunc amorem mutuum.
 O dolitura mea multum virtute Neaera!
 nam si quid in Flacco viri est,
 non feret adsiduas potiori te dare noctis,
 et quaeret iratus parem;

phrase *in verba alicuius iurare* was originally a technical expression for taking the military oath of fidelity to the general; then extended to include any oath of allegiance. Cf. *Epist.* 1, 1, 14 *iurare in verba magistri*.

5. *artius atque*: cf. 12, 14 *minus ac*. For the figure, cf. *C.* 1, 36, 20 *lascivis hederis ambitiosior*.

7. *dum*, etc.: giving the oath in indirect form. In the form in which the sentence was first conceived v. 7 was a complete idea *dum pecori lupus et nautis infestus Orion (esset)*. The following verse contains an attribute of Orion which would naturally be expressed by *qui turbaret*, etc. This was, however, made the predicate of *infestus Orion* to parallel v. 9, so that *dum pecori lupus* is left without a verb. In translating supply *esset* with *lupus*. For the comparison of the wolf and the lamb, cf. 4, 1 and n. On Orion as a storm-

bringing constellation, cf. 10, 10 *tristis Orion*, and *C.* 1, 28, 21 f. *devexi rapidus comes Orionis | Notus*.

9 f. 'So long as Apollo's youth shall last,' i.e. 'forever.' Cf. *Tibul.* 1, 4, 57 *solis aeterna est Phoebus Bacchoque iuventas, | nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque deum*. — *hunc*: *this love of ours*. — *mutuum*: *requited*. Catullus says of Septimius and Acme 45, 20 *mutuis animis amant amantur*.

11 f. *virtute*: literally, 'spirit that becomes a man'; the idea is repeated in *si quid . . . viri est*. — *Flacco*: use of the proper name instead of *me* gives the same dignity to the expression that is lent to Teucer's words *C.* 1, 7, 27 *nil desperandum Teucro duce et auspice Teucro*.

13 f. *potiori*: *more favored rival*, as *C.* 3, 9, 2 *nec quisquam potior*. — *parem*: i.e. one who will return true love with like; in sense equivalent to *se dignam*.

15 nec semel offensi cedet constantia formae,
 si certus intrarit dolor.
 Et tu, quicumque es felicior atque meo nunc
 superbus incedis malo,
 sis pecore et multa dives tellure licebit
 20 tibi que Pactolus fluat,
 nec te Pythagorae fallant arcana renati,
 formaque vincas Nirea,
 heu heu, translatus alio maerebis amores;
 ast ego vicissim risero.

15 f. *offensi*: sc. *Flacci*, modifying *constantia*. Cf. n. to *calentis*, 11, 13. — *formae*: dative. — *si . . . dolor*: Horace has not yet completely shut the door of his heart; Neaera can still return. But if once his painful jealousy be confirmed (*certus . . . dolor*), then beware! Cf. 11, 15 ff.

17 f. *et tu, etc.*: the successful rival. Cf. Tibul. 1, 5, 69 *at tu, qui potior nunc es, mea fata timeto*. — *superbus incedis*: *struttest in thy pride*. Cf. 4, 5.

19 ff. Wealth, wisdom, beauty cannot oppose her fickleness. — *licebit*: future to conform to *maerebis* v. 23. — *tibi que Pactolus*

fluat: 'though you have Midas' riches.'

21 f. *Pythagorae . . . renati*: cf. n. to C. 1, 28, 10. — *arcana*: i.e. his esoteric teachings, reserved for his closest disciples. — *Nirea*: cf. *Il.* 2, 673 f. *Νιρεὺς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθεν | τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα*, and C. 3, 20, 15.

23 f. *heu heu*: in mocking pity for his rival. — *ast*: an archaic form, favored by Vergil, but used by Horace only here and S. 1, 6, 125; 8, 6. — *risero*: the fut. perf. expresses Horace's confidence. 'I shall certainly have my time to laugh.'

16

This epode was probably written at the outbreak of the Perusine War between Octavian and Antony, 41 B.C. At this time Horace had just returned broken in fortune after the defeat at Philippi, and had not yet met Maecenas, whose favor later relieved his personal necessities, or been reconciled to the new order of government. In this poem, however, he shows no thought for his personal needs, but is anxious solely

for the state, which doubtless seemed to many to be sinking into ruin. The difference between his feelings now and a few years later can be seen from the words *C. 1, 14, 17 f. nuper sollicitum quae* (sc. *navis = civitas*) *mihi taedium, | nunc desiderium curaque non levis*. Sellar (p. 122) has acutely observed that Horace seems to express the feelings of the losing side before the peace of Brundisium; Vergil, in his fourth eclogue, those of the winning side after its conclusion. The poem is not only the earliest, but the best of Horace's political verses. There is an intensity of feeling and a patriotic enthusiasm that did not appear later when the poet's anxieties had been calmed and somewhat blunted. In form also it is the most perfect of the epodes. Elision is wholly avoided in the hexameters—a new effect in Latin verse—and there are only three cases in the iambics. Furthermore there is a careful regard for assonance and a skillful use of alliteration that combine with other excellencies to make this one of the most remarkable productions of the Latin poets. The epode has been a favorite with many.

The mention of the Fortunate Isles may be due to the belief that Sertorius, after his defeat, wished to settle there. Cf. *Plut. Sert. 9*. The Scholiast says on v. 42 *ad quas (insulas fortunas) Sallustius in historia dicit victum voluisse ire Sertorium*. Probably the Canaries were meant. It is not impossible that some of the party defeated at Philippi had conceived the same plan. The thought running through the entire epode is that the state is hopelessly distracted by internal strife; it cannot escape ruin. Therefore all who are earnest and strenuous should settle in a new land where life can begin anew. The poem should be compared with *Epod. 7* and with Vergil's *E. 4*. Metre, 76.

Altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas,
suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.

1 ff. Solon had similar forebodings for the Athenian state, 4, 1 ff. ἡμετέρα δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὐποτ' ὀλεῖται | αἶσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων | . . . αὐτοὶ δὲ φθείρειν μεγάλην πόλιν ἀφραδίῃσιν | ἀστοὶ βούλονται χρήμασι πειθόμενοι, | δῆμον θ' ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος, οἷσιν ἑτοῖμον | ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν.

—altera . . . aetas: a second generation from that of Marius and Sulla, in whose time civil war began. —teritur: *is being wasted*.

2. suis et ipsa, etc.: cf. *Livy Praef. res . . . ut iam magnitudine laboret sua*, and *Aug. Civ. Dei 18, 45 Roma late orbi terrarum imperans tamquam se ipsa ferre non valens sua se quodammodo magnitudine fregerat*. In these

Quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi
 minacis aut Etrusca Porsenae manus,
 5 aemula nec virtus Capuae nec Spartacus acer
 novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox,
 nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube

passages, however, the idea is that Rome has grown too great, whereas Horace feels that the state is rushing to suicidal ruin.

3-8. An enumeration of the great dangers that have threatened Rome from without, arranged according to distance rather than time. — *quam*: *that city which*. — *Marsi*: who led in the Social War in 91 B.C.; they proposed to reduce Rome and to establish a new capital of Italy at Corfinium. — *Porsenae manus*: 'Lars Porsena of Clusium,' who adopted the cause of the banished Tarquins and accordingly brought the city to surrender. Tacitus in writing of the burning of the Capitol in the year of anarchy 69 A.D. employs a similar expression, *Hist.* 3, 72 *nullo externo hoste . . . sedem Iovis . . . , quam non Porsena dedita urbe neque Galli capta temerare potuissent, furore principum excindi!*

5. *aemula nec virtus Capuae*: cf. the reminiscence in Auson. *Ord. Urb. Nobil.* 49 f. *de Capua: nunc subdita Romae | aemula*. After the battle of Cannae in 216 B.C. the Capuans went over to Hannibal, and openly aimed to become the leaders in Italy. The Romans

never forgot this perfidy. Cf. Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2, 87 *quo in oppido maiores nostri nullam omnino rem publicam esse voluerunt; qui tres solum urbes in terris omnibus, Karthaginem, Corinthum, Capuam, statuerunt posse imperii gravitatem ac nomen sustinere*. — *Spartacus acer*: the gladiator who carried on the war against the Romans 73-71 B.C. Cf. *C.* 3, 14, 19.

6. *novis rebus*: abl. of time. — *Allobrox*: with reference to the conspiracy of Catiline in 63 B.C., when an attempt was made to win over to the side of the conspiracy the Allobrogian envoys then in Rome. They hesitated, but finally decided it was for their interests to betray the plot. Cf. Sall. *Cat.* 40 ff., Cic. *in Cat.* 3, 4. In 54 B.C., however, they revolted but were subdued by C. Pomptinus, and this revolt was thought to be due to the conspiracy. Cf. Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 32 *C. Pomptinus . . . ortum repente bellum Allobrogum atque hac scelerata coniuratione (sc. Catilinaria) excitatum proeliis fregit eosque domuit, qui lacesierant*.

7. The greatest danger to Rome since its capture by the Gauls in 390 B.C. was the invasion of the

parentibusque abominatus Hannibal,
 impia perdemus devoti sanguinis aetas,
 10 ferisque rursus occupabitur solum.
 Barbarus heu cineres insistet victor et urbem
 eques sonante verberabit ungula,
 quaeque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini
 (nefas videre) dissipabit insolens.

Teutones and Cimbri, who were defeated and cut to pieces by Marius at Aquae Sextiae in 102 B.C., and at Versellae in the following year. — *caerulea*: *blue-eyed*. The blue eyes and fair hair of the Germans excited the wonder of the dark Italians. Cf. Iuv. 13, 164 f. *caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam | caesariem?*

8. *parentibus abominatus*: cf. C. 1, 1, 24 *bella matribus detestata*.

9 f. *impia . . . aetas*: in opposition with the subject of *perdemus*. Cf. C. 1, 35, 34 *quid nos dura refugimus aetas?* — *devoti sanguinis*: *with a taint in the blood*, caused by the *scelus fraternae necis* 7, 18. — *rursus*: as before the founding of Rome.

11 f. *barbarus*: the Parthian particularly was in Horace's mind, as *eques* in the following verse shows. Cf. 7, 9. — *cineres*: *i.e.* of fallen Rome. Accus. with *insistet*. — *sonante*: 'and the hoofs of the victor's horse will clatter and echo through the empty streets.' Cf. Ezek. 26, 11 'with the hoofs of his horses shall he tread down all thy streets.'

13. *carent*: *now are safe from*. Tradition placed the tomb of Romulus — in spite of his apotheosis — behind the *rostra*. So Porph. *Varro post rostra fuisse sepultum Romulum dicit*. Whether it was at the spot marked by a slab of black stone was uncertain, according to Festus, p. 177 M. *niger lapis in Comitio locum funestum significat, ut alii, Romuli morti destinatum*. In 1899–1900 the spot beneath this *niger lapis* was excavated, but nothing that could be regarded as a tomb of a hero was discovered; yet the place was clearly hallowed, as the remains of sacrifices show. The most important discovery was a fragmentary ancient inscription, which can hardly be later than 500 B.C.

14. *nefas videre*: *sc. est*. Said with reference to the entire act of desecration. — *insolens*: *all unwittingly*. Cf. C. 1, 5, 8. With the expression in the last two verses, cf. Jeremiah 8, 1 'At that time, saith the Lord, they shall bring out the bones of the kings of Judah, and the bones of his princes, and the bones of the

- 15 Forte quid expediat communiter aut melior pars
 malis carere quaeritis laboribus.
 Nulla sit hac potior sententia : Phocaeorum
 velut profugit exsecrata civitas
 agros atque laris patrios habitandaque fana
 20 apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis,
 ire pedes quocumque ferent, quocumque per undas
 Notus vocabit aut protervus Africus.
 Sic placet, an melius quis habet suadere? Secunda

priests, and the bones of the prophets, and the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, out of their graves: . . . they shall be for dung upon the face of the earth.'

15 ff. The poet dramatically appeals to his audience as if it were assembled in council.—*forte*: equivalent to *forsitan*. Instead of putting the clause in the form of a condition, *si* . . . *quaeritis*, a direct statement is used.—*communiter*: equivalent to *omnes*, in contrast to *melior pars*.—*aut*: *or at least*.—*carere*: *to escape*. An infinitive of purpose, dependent on *quid expediat*. Intr. 107. Cf. *C.* 1, 26, 1 *metus tradam* . . . *portare ventis*.

17 f. *nulla sit*, etc.: 'no proposal shall prevail over this.' The proposal proper begins v. 21 *ire*, etc.—*Phocaeorum*: in 534 B.C. the Phocaeans left their home rather than submit to the Persian yoke. The story is told by Herodotus 1, 165.—*exsecrata*: *having bound themselves by a curse* (if any should

try to return). Herod. *l.c.* ἐποιήσαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἑαυτῶν τοῦ στόλου. They furthermore sunk a mass of iron in the sea and swore they would not return to Phocaea until the iron should come to the surface again. This act became proverbial. Cf. Callim. *Frg.* 209 Φωκαέων μέχρις κε μένη μέγας εἶν ἀλλὶ μύδρος.

19. *laris patrios* . . . *fana*: 'their hearths and temples.'—*habitanda*, etc.: marking the desolation of their city. Cf. n. to v. 10 above.

21 f. *pedes* . . . *per undas*: 'by land and sea.'—*quocumque* . . . *quocumque*: the anaphora marks the poet's feeling. Intr. 28 c.—*vocabit*: of a favorable wind. Cf. Catull. 4, 19 f. *laeva sive dextera* | *vocaret aura*.

23 f. *sic placet*: the language of the Roman senate, where the form of putting the question was *placetne*? Thus Horace continues the dramatic figure of a deliberative assembly.—*suadere*: with *habeo*, like the Gr. ἔχω πείθειν—*secunda* . . . *alite*: cf. n. to 10, 1.

- ratem occupare quid moramur alite ?
 25 Sed iuremus in haec : ' Simul imis saxa renarint
 vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas ;
 neu conversa domum pigeat dare lintea quando
 Padus Matina laverit cacumina,
 in mare seu celsus procurrerit Appenninus,
 30 novaque monstra iunxerit libidine
 mirus amor, iuvet ut tigris subsidere cervis
 adulteretur et columba miluo,
 credula nec ravos timeant armenta leones,
 ametque salsa levis hircus aequora.'
 35 Haec et quae poterunt reditus abscindere dulcis
 eamus omnis exsecrata civitas,
 aut pars indocili melior grege ; mollis et exspes.
 inominata perprimat cubilia.

25. *sed* : ' but before we set sail, we must bind ourselves by an oath as the Phocaeans did.' — *in haec* : sc. *verba*. Cf. n. to 15, 4. — *simul*, etc. : the simple ' never ' which we might expect is expanded into four *ἀδύνατα*, a favorite figure with the Romans. Cf. C. 1, 29, 10 ff. ; 33, 7 f. Verg. *E.* 1, 59 ff. — *vadis* : abl. of separation.

28. *Matina* . . . *cacumina* : in Apulia. Cf. 1, 28, 3. ' The river shall climb the mountain heights.' Then follows the opposite figure of the Apennines running into the sea.

30. *nova* : *strange, unnatural*. — *monstra* : proleptic, changed to unnatural monsters by their strange passion (*mirus amor*).

31 f. *subsidere* : *mate with*. The reversal of nature is the more

complete as the tiger and the lion become gentle, the deer and cattle bold ; the dove too is to be wanton, whereas it was typical of fidelity. Cf. Prop. 3, 7, 27 *exemplo iunctae tibi sint in amore columbae*. — *miluo* : trisyllabic.

33 f. *credula* : proleptic, *trustful*. — *lēvis* : also proleptic, *become smooth*, like a sea animal.

35 f. *haec* : resuming the preceding oath ; object of *exsecrata*. — *et quae* : *and whatever else*. — *civitas* : for the construction, cf. v. 9 *aetas*.

37 f. *aut pars* . . . *melior* : cf. n. to v. 15. The dull crowd, the inactive (*mollis*), and the faint-hearted (*exspes*) may remain behind. — *inominata* : equivalent to *male ominata* ; found only here.

Vos, quibus est virtus, muliebrem tollite luctum,
 40 Etrusca praeter et volate litora.
 Nos manet Oceanus circumvagus; arva beata
 petamus, arva divites et insulas,
 reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis
 et imputata floret usque vinea,
 45 germinat et numquam fallentis termes olivae
 suamque pulla ficus ornat arborem,
 mella cava manant ex ilice, montibus altis

39 f. **vos**: *i.e.* the **melior pars**.
 — **virtus**: *manly courage*, in contrast to **muliebrem** . . . **luctum**. — **Etrusca** . . . **litora**: on the voyage to the West. — **et**: for the position, see Intr. 31.

41 f. **nos**, etc.: the decision is now made, and the poet returns to the glories of their new home in the Fortunate Isles. — **circumvagus**: apparently coined by Horace to reproduce the Homeric ἀψόρροος, the stream that circles around the world. Ovid. *Met.* 1, 30 uses *circumfluius* for the same purpose. Cf. Aesch. *P. V.* 138 ff. τοῦ περὶ πᾶσάν θ' εἰλισσομένου | χθόν' ἀκοιμήτῳ ῥεύματι παῖδες πατρὸς Ὀκεανοῦ. 'Children of father Ocean, who circles round the entire earth with stream unwearied.' — **arva** . . . **arva**: Intr. 28 c. — **divites insulas**: *i.e.* the Fortunate Isles in the Western sea; Homer's Elysian Plain (*Od.* 4, 563 ff.). Hesiod's Islands of the Blest (*Op.* 170 ff.), where the heroes dwell. Cf. also Tenn. *Ulysses*, 'It may be that the gulfs will wash us down: | It may

be we shall touch the Happy Isles, | And see the great Achilles, whom we knew.' The 'Fortunate Isles' of later times are probably to be identified with the Madeiras or the Canaries, which were visited by the traders. In this distant western land poets thought that nature supplied all man's needs without effort on his part.

43. **reddit**: *i.e.* as man's due.

45 f. **numquam fallentis**: cf. *C.* 3, 1, 30 *fundus mendax*. This, like *imputata* and *inarata* above, emphasizes man's ease and confidence there. — **suam**: emphatic. The better varieties of figs can be obtained only by grafting. Cf. 2, 19 *insitiva pira* and n. So Vergil says of a grafted tree, *G.* 2, 82 *miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma*. — **pulla**: *i.e.* 'ripe.'

47. **mella**: typical of abundance, like the Biblical 'land flowing with milk and honey.' Cf. *C.* 2, 19, 10–12, and Tibul. 1, 3, 45 f. *ipsae mella dabant quercus, ultroque ferebant* | *obvia securis ubera lactis oves*. — **montibus**: Intr. 95.

levis crepante lympa desilit pede.
 Illic iniussae veniunt ad mulctra capellae,
 50 refertque tenta grex amicus ubera,
 nec vespertinus circum gemit ursus ovile,
 neque intumescit alta viperis humus;
 61 nulla nocent pecori contagia, nullius astri
 gregem aestuosa torret impotentia.
 53 Pluraque felices mirabimur, ut neque largis
 aquosus Eurus arva radat imbribus,

48. The music of this verse has been noted by commentators ever since Porphyrio's day. Cf. *C.* 3, 13, 15 f. *unde loquaces lymphae desiliunt tuae*. In this verse the *p*-sound is added to that of the liquid. This new home will also have an abundant supply of water, which is far more important in such countries as Italy, especially in the *siticulosa Apulia*, or in our California, where there is a long dry season, than in the middle and eastern part of the United States. — *pede*: carrying the figure in *desilit* to its extreme. Anticipated by Lucretius 5, 272 *qua via secta semel liquido pede detulit undas*.

49 ff. The cattle need no herdsman to bring them home, no protection against wild beasts. A little later Vergil used the same description to picture the golden age that was approaching, *E.* 4, 21 f. *ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae | ubera*. In Vergil's verse *ipsae* is equivalent to Horace's *iniussae*, and *distenta* replaces the simple *tenta*.

51. *vespertinus*: in effect an adverb. Cf. Verg. *G.* 3, 537 f. *non lupus insidias explorat ovilia circum | nec gregibus nocturnus obambulat*. — *circum gemit*: Intr. 33.

52. *intumescit*: the action of the angry snake is transferred to the ground. Cf. Intr. 99. — *alta*: proleptic with *intumescit*, *swells and rises with*.

61 f. These verses stand in all the Mss. after v. 60, but are obviously out of place; by transferring them to this position the continuity of thought is maintained. — *nulla . . . nullius*: Intr. 28 c. — *astri*: especially such as Sirius: cf. *C.* 3, 29, 17 ff. — *aestuosa . . . impotentia*: the dog-star's furious heat, which brings disease on the flocks and herds. With this meaning of *impotentia*, cf. *impotens C.* 1, 37, 10; 3, 30, 3.

53–56. 'They shall be oppressed neither by too abundant rains as in the Italian winter, nor by too great drought as in the Italian summer.' — *ut*: *how*. — *radat*: cf.

- 55 pinguia nec siccis urantur semina glaebis,
 utrumque rege temperante caelitem.
 Non huc Argoo contendit remige pinus,
 neque impudica Colchis intulit pedem;
 non huc Sidonii torserunt cornua nautae,
 60 laboriosa nec cohors Ulixei:
 63 Iuppiter illa piaie secrevit litora genti,
 ut inquinavit aere tempus aureum;
 65 aere, dehinc ferro duravit saecula, quorum
 piis secunda vate me datur fuga.

Lucret. 5, 256 *ripas radentia flumina rodunt*. — siccis: proleptic.

57–60. ‘That land is yet uncontaminated by man; no adventurers or traders have ever reached its shores.’ — Argoo remige: collectively, an instrumental abl. With the use of the adjective, cf. *Etrusca* v. 4 above and n. to 10, 12. — pinus: i.e. the ship made from the pines of Pelion. Cf. Eurip. *Med.* 3 f. μηδ’ ἐν νάπαισι Πηλίου πεσεῖν ποτε | τμηθεῖσα πεύκη. ‘Would that the pine had ne’er fallen under the ax in the vale of Pelion.’ And Catull. 64, 1 f. *Peliaco quondam prognatae vertice pinus | dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas*. — impudica Colchis: Medea, queen of sorceresses, who helped Jason win the golden fleece, and then fled with him in the Argo, murdering her brother Apsyrtus to delay her father’s pursuit.

59 f. Sidonii: the great traders of antiquity. — torserunt cornua:

swung their yards, i.e. directed their ships. — laboriosa: the epithet proper to Ulysses — Homeric πολύτλας, πολυτλήμων — is transferred to his companions. Cf. 17, 16. Intr. 99.

63 f. secrevit: set apart for an upright people (piaie genti), i.e. the melior pars, comprising Horace and his friends. — ut: temporal. — inquinavit: alloyed.

65. aere: in the same construction as ferro. For the anaphora, cf. *arva*, *arva* v. 42. Intr. 28 c. The present age is the age of iron. — quorum: from which, objective gen. with fuga. — vate me: according to my prophecy; vates, ‘inspired bard,’ was the earliest word for poet among the Romans, but had been displaced by *poeta* until the poets of the Augustan Age restored it to its former dignity. Cf. Verg. *A.* 6, 662 *quique pii vates et Phoebus digna locuti*. Cf. C. 1, 1, 35.

17

A mock palinode addressed to Canidia; in pretended terror at the sorceress' power Horace pleads for mercy. Yet in his very prayer (1-52), as also in Canidia's reply (53-81), he makes his sharpest attack by rehearsing again all the charges he has ever made against her. Cf. *Epod.* 5 and *S.* 1, 8. With the palinodic form, cf. *C.* 1, 16. The date of composition naturally falls after these other two poems; it cannot be more accurately fixed. Metre, 58.

Iam iam efficaci do manus scientiae,
 supplex et oro regna per Proserpinae,
 per et Dianae non movenda numina,
 per atque libros carminum valentium
 5 refixa caelo devocare sidera,
 Canidia, parce vocibus tandem sacris
 citumque retro solve, solve turbinem.

1. **iam iam**: cf. 2, 68, where the meaning, however, differs, owing to the tense of the verb. So Catullus says 63, 73 *iam iam dolet quod egi*. Intr. 28 c. — **efficaci** . . . **scientiae**: for it has accomplished its end, and Horace is forced to recognize its power. — **do manus**: yield like a captive who extends his hands for fetters.

2 ff. Horace adjures her by the divinities and powers under whose protection she stands. — **et**, etc.: for the position of the conjunctions, see Intr. 31. — **Dianae**: *i.e.* Hecate. Cf. n. to 5, 51. — **non movenda**: according to Porphyrio, equivalent to *non lacessenda* — *not to be disturbed with impunity, inviolable*.

4 f. **libros**, etc.: books containing formulae for incantations and magic. Cf. *Acts* 19, 19 'And not

a few of them that practiced curious arts brought their books together, and burned them in the sight of all.' — **valentium** . . . **devocare**: cf. v. 78 and n. to 5, 45. — **refixa**: proleptic — *unfix and*, as if the stars were fastened to the vault of heaven. Cf. Verg. *A.* 5, 527 f. *caelo ceu saepe refixa | transcurrent crinemque volantia sidera ducunt*.

6. **parce**: *refrain from*. Cf. *C.* 3, 14, 12 *male ominatis parcite verbis*. — **sacris**: intentionally ambiguous, meaning both 'holy' and 'accursed.' Cf. n. to 7, 20.

7. **citum**: a participle (*ciere*), proleptically used with **retro**, *whirl swiftly backward, and*, etc. — **solve**, **solve**: Intr. 28 b. — **turbinem**: a rhombus, or 'bull roarer,' employed in magic rites. It was a smooth

Movit nepotem Telephus Nereium,
 in quem superbus ordinarat agmina
 10 Mysorum et in quem tela acuta torserat.
 Unxere matres Iliæ addictum feris
 alitibus atque canibus homicidam Hectorem,
 postquam relictis moenibus rex procidit
 heu pervicacis ad pedes Achillei.

board which, when whirled at the end of a string, made a whirring noise, and was supposed to exercise a charm over the intended victim. To loose the spell it was whirled in the opposite direction (retro). It is still in use among some uncivilized peoples. See Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 29 ff. Cf. Theoc. *Id.* 2, 30 f. *χῶς δινεῖθ' ὅδε ῥόμβος ὁ χάλκεος, ἐξ Ἀφροδίτας | ὥς κείνος δινοῖτο ποθ' ἀμετέρησι θύρῃσι.* 'And as whirls this brazen wheel, so restless, under Aphrodite's spell, may he turn and turn about my doors, (Lang). Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* 4, 5 describes its use.

8-18. Three mythical examples of the effect of supplication. Telephus, King of the Mysians, was wounded by Achilles when the Greeks landed at Troy. His wound would not heal, and he was finally forced to come as a suppliant to his enemy, in accordance with an oracle which said he could be cured only by the rust of the spear that had struck him. Aged Priam's prayers made Achilles relent and give back Hector's body. Circe

allowed Odysseus' companions to regain their human form.—**nepotem** . . . **Nereium** : Achilles' mother Thetis was the daughter of Nereus.

11. **unxere** : *i.e.* prepared for burial Hector's body.—**addictum** : *i.e.* destined to be the food of, etc., as a consolation to Patroclus' shade. Cf. *Il.* 23, 179 ff. *χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ Πάτροκλε, καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι· πάντα γὰρ ἤδη τοι τελέω, τὰ πάροιθεν ὑπέστην. | δώδεκα μὲν Τρώων μεγαθύμων νείας ἐσθλοὺς | τοὺς ἅμα σοὶ πάντας πῦρ ἐσθίει· Ἴεκτορα δ' οὐ τι | δώσω Πριάμειδην πυρὶ δαπτέμεν, ἀλλὰ κύνεσσιν.*

12. **homicidam** : reproducing the Homeric Ἴεκτωρ ἀνδροφόνος.

13 f. **rex** : Priam. For the Romans the pathos of the situation lay not in Priam's loss of his son, but in the fact that this mighty king was forced to humiliate himself and weep for his son before Achilles. Cf. *Il.* 24, 509 f. *ὁ μὲν Ἴεκτορος ἀνδροφόνιοι | κλαῖ' ἀδινά' προπάροιθε ποδῶν Ἀχιλῆος ἐλυσθείς.* It is said this passage moved Macaulay to tears.—**pervicacis** : *obstinate*, but yielding in the end.

- 15 Saetosa duris exuere pellibus
 laboriosi remiges Ulixei
 volente Circa membra ; tunc mens et sonus
 relapsus atque notus in voltus honor.
 Dedi satis superque poenarum tibi,
 20 amata nautis multum et institoribus.
 Fugit iuventas et verecundus color,
 reliquit ossa pelle amicta lurida,
 tuis capillus albus est odoribus ;
 nullum a labore me reclinat otium,
 25 urget diem nox et dies noctem, neque est

15 f. The example of Circe is well chosen. The poet prays that Canidia like the early sorceress will reverse her spell. — **saetosa** : *i.e.* with swinish bristles. — **duris pellibus** : abl. with **exuere**. — **laboriosi** : Homeric *πολύτλας, πολυτλήμων*; best taken with **Ulixei**. Still, cf. 16, 60.

17 f. **mens** : Horace supposes that Circe's victims lost their minds as well as shapes, but in the Homeric account their fate is made the more pathetic because their wits remain. — **sonus** : *voice*. — **honor** : in contrast to the ugly swinish faces they had just put off.

20. **amata**, etc. : in this ironical compliment Horace gives Canidia the best thrust. — **nautis** . . . **et institoribus** : the lowest classes ; cf. n. to 3, 6, 30.

21–36. With mocking extravagance Horace describes his sufferings. — **fugit**, **reliquit**, etc. : note the animated asyndeton. — **iuven-**

tas et . . . **color** : *modest youth's fresh color*.

22. Horace is reduced to skin and bones. He may have derived his description from Theoc. 2, 88 ff. *καί μεν | χρώς μὲν ὁμοῖος ἐγένετο πολλάκι θάψω, | ἔρρευν δ' ἐκ κεφαλᾶς πᾶσαι τρίχες · αὐτὰ δὲ λοιπὰ | ὅστι' ἔτ' ἦς καὶ δέρμα*. 'And oftentimes my skin waxed wan as the color of boxwood, and all my hair was falling from my head, and what was left of me was but skin and bones' (Lang). Cf. also Sil. Ital. 2, 466 ff. *iam lurida sola | tecta cute et venis male iuncta trementibus ossa | extant, consumptis visu deformia membris*.

23. **albus** : *whitened*. — **odoribus** : *sweet smelling* (magic) *unguents*. Cf. 5, 59.

24 f. **labore** : *distress*. — **urget** : *presses close*. Cf. C. 2, 18, 15 *truditur dies die*. Note the effective order of the following. — **neque est levare** : a Greek construction.

levare tenta spiritu praecordia.

Ergo negatum vincor ut credam miser,

Sabella pectus increpare carmina

caputque Marsa dissilire nenia.

30 Quid amplius vis? O mare et terra, ardeo

quantum neque atro delibutus Hercules

Nessi cruore nec Sicana fervida

virens in Aetna flamma: tu, donec cinis

iniuriosis aridus ventis ferar,

35 cales venenis officina Colchicis.

Quae finis aut quod me manet stipendium?

Effare! Iussas cum fide poenas luam,

paratus expiare seu poposceris

26 f. *tenta spiritu*: *gasping, strained*. — *negatum*: sc. *a me*, equivalent to *quod negaveram*.

28 f. In apposition with *negatum*. — *Sabella . . . Marsa*: the Sabines, Marsi, and (v. 60) Paeligni, all mountain folk, were skilled in magic. — *increpare*: *distress, assail*. — *dissilire*: *split in two*. Popular belief held that incantations literally had this power over snakes. Cf. Verg. *E.* 8, 71 *frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis*, and Ovid. *Am.* 2, 1, 25 *carmine dissiliunt abruptis faucibus angues*.

30. *o mare et terra*: a common expression like our 'great heavens.' Cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 1070 *mare terra caelum, di vostram fidem!* and Ter. *Ad.* 790 *o caelum, o terra, o maria Neptuni!*

31 f. *atro*: *deadly*. Cf. *C.* 1, 28, 13. — *delibutus Hercules*: cf. n. to 3, 17. — *Sicana*: with *flamma*.

33 f. *virens*: *ever burning*. — *cinis*: *a cinder*. — *iniuriosis*: *relentless*. Cf. *C.* 1, 35, 13 f. *iniurioso ne pede proruas | stantem columnam*.

35. *cales*: *art hot*, Canidia being identified with *officina*, — she is a very 'still-house' of poisons. Cf. Plaut. *Truc.* 581 *stabulum flagiti*, 'a very stall of sin.' — *Colchicis*: cf. n. to 5, 21; also *C.* 2, 2, 13, 8.

36. *stipendium*: *service, penalty*. The figure of the defeated foe (*do manus* v. 1, *vincor* v. 27) is continued in this word.

37 f. Horace is willing to do most extravagant penance (*poenas luam*), whether she require a hundred bullocks or even ask that he proclaim her brilliant purity.

— *seu . . . sive*: the same variation *C.* 1, 4, 12.

centum iuencis, sive mendaci lyra
 40 voles, 'sonare 'Tu pudica, tu proba
 perambulabis astra sidus aureum.'
 Infamis Helenae Castor offensus vicem
 fraterque magni Castoris, victi prece
 adempta vati reddidere lumina :
 45 et tu (potes nam) solve me dementia,
 o nec paternis obsoleta sordibus,
 nec in sepulcris pauperum prudens anus
 novendialis dissipare pulveres !
 Tibi hospitale pectus et purae manus,

39. **mendaci**: a telling thrust. This word like *sacris* v. 6, has a double meaning. His lyre may be **mendax** in what it has already said or in what it will proclaim.

40 f. **sonare**: *sound abroad*. Cf. C. 2, 13, 26. — **tu pudica, tu proba**: so Catullus in mockery 42, 24 *pudica et proba, redde codicillos*. — **perambulabis**: for her virtues Canidia shall be raised to heaven and wander among the other stars.

42-44. Helen's brothers, Castor and Pollux, punished her defamer Stesichorus with blindness (cf. C. 4, 9, 8); his recantation is preserved by Plato, *Phaedr.* 243 A. οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος | οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν νηυσὶν ἐυσέλμοις, οὐδ' ἴκεο Πέργῃ Τροίης.

— **vicem**: *lot*. — **vati**: *a bard*. Cf. n. to 16, 66.

45. **et tu**: 'you too have divine power.' For the complimentary **potes nam**, cf. S. 2, 3, 283 f., 'unum

me surpite morti! dis etenim facile est' orabat.

46-52. At the very climax of the appeal Horace repeats the worst slanders current against Canidia. — **o nec paternis**, etc.: 'unsullied by disgraceful parents,' implying that Canidia's parentage was dubious. With the phrase, cf. C. 2, 10, 6 *obseleti sordes tecti*, and Cic. *pro Sest.* 60 (*virtus*) *neque alienis unquam sordibus obsolescit*.

47 f. **prudens anus**: *nor art thou a hag skilled to scatter*, etc. The ashes of the poor whose relatives could not protect their tombs were stolen by such witches for their magic rites. — **novendialis**: *i.e.* just put away. According to Apul. *Met.* 9, 31 the funeral rites were not ended until the ninth day (*nono die completis apud tumulum sollemnibus*). They closed apparently with a sacrifice and banquet in honor of the dead. — **pulveres**: plural, to match **sepulcris**.

- 50 tuusque venter Pactumeius, et tuo
 cruore rubros obstetrix pannos lavit,
 utcumque fortis exsilis puerpera.
 Quid obseratis auribus fundis preces?
 Non saxa nudis surdiora navitis
 55 Neptunus alto tundit hibernus salo.
 Inultus ut tu riseris Cotyttia
 volgata, sacrum liberi Cupidinis,
 et Esquilini pontifex venefici
 impune ut urbem nomine impleris meo?
 60 Quid proderit ditasse Paelignas anus

49. tibi: sc. *est*. — hospitale pectus, etc.: some wish to see here a reference to *Ep.* 5, but perhaps the sneer should be taken in a general sense.

50–52. tuusque . . . tuo: Intr. 28 c. The charge implied in 5, 5. — venter: cf. Livy 1, 34, 3 *ignorans nurum ventrem ferre*. — Pactumeius: a genuine Roman name. — utcumque, etc.: *as often as*, implying that Canidia has practiced this deceit more than once; her recovery is so rapid and complete (fortis exsilis) that all the world knows her children are supposititious.

53. Canidia's answer. The poet skillfully makes his victim condemn herself by her threats of vengeance on him, her accuser.

54 f. non saxa, etc.: this line continues the figure, and we may translate, — *rocks are not . . . when Neptune*. Cf. *C.* 3, 7, 21 *scopulis surdior Icari*. — nudis: ship-

wrecked and stripped of all they owned.

56. inultus: emphatic, expressing the gist of her exclamation. — ut: with the subj. in exclamation, — 'What, shall you,' etc. — Cotyttia: this reference to the sensual orgiastic worship of the Thracian Cotytto is only literary; there is no evidence that it was practiced at Rome. — sacrum, etc.: added in explanation of the foregoing. The rites are those of unrestrained passion (liberi Cupidinis).

58. Esquilini, etc.: the interpretation of this is doubtful. It probably means that Canidia in scorn calls him pontifex, *i.e.* censor and judge of her magic rites, for the part he had presumed to play in representing her and Saggana (*S.* 1, 8) busy with their foul work among the burial places of the poor on the Esquiline. The pontifices had oversight over all sacra.

- velociusve miscuisse toxicum?
 Sed tardiora fata te votis manent:
 ingrata misero vita ducenda est in hoc,
 novis ut usque suppetas laboribus.
 65 Optat quietem Pelopis infidi pater,
 egens benignae Tantalus semper dapis,
 optat Prometheus obligatus aliti,
 optat supremo conlocare Sisyphus
 in monte saxum: sed vetant leges Iovis.
 70 Voles modo altis desilire turribus,
 modo ense pectus Norico recludere,
 frustra que vincla gutturi nectes tuo
 fastidiosa tristis aegrimonia.

60 f. *quid proderit*: 'if I fail now to punish you, what will be the gain?' etc. — *Paelignas anus*: from whom she had learned sorcery. — *velociusve*: *i.e.* in its effect; connect with *toxicum*.

62. *sed tardiora*: 'do not imagine that you will quickly meet your doom, as you pray you may; I will bring on you a lingering death with all the pangs a Tantalus ever suffered.'

63. *misero*: for the metre, see Intr. 58. — *in hoc*: *to this end*; defined in the following verses.

64. *usque*: temporal, *ever, constantly*. — *laboribus*: the regular expression for the torments of the damned. Cf. v. 24 and C. 2, 13, 38; 14, 19 f. *damnatusque longi | Sisyphus Aeolides laboris*.

65 ff. Three examples of long continued punishment such as

Canidia will inflict on Horace. — *optat . . . optat . . . optat*: for a similar anaphora, cf. C. 2, 16, 1. 5. 6. Intr. 28 c. — *infidi*: because he treacherously threw into the sea his charioteer Myrtilus, through whose aid he had won Hippodamia as bride. Sophocles says this was the beginning of the curse that rested on all of Pelops' line. — *egens . . . semper*: *ever longing for*. — *benignae*: *abundant*, and so increasing his suffering.

67 f. *obligatus aliti*: the vulture that continually fed on his vitals. — *supremo*: equivalent to the more common *summo monte*.

70 ff. 'Thou wilt try all means of suicide in vain.' — *ense . . . Norico*: cf. n. to C. 1, 16, 9. — *pectus . . . recludere*: cf. Verg. A. 10, 601 *tum, latebras animae, pectus mucrone recludit*. — *vincla*:

75 Vectabor umeris tunc ego inimicis eques,
 meaeque terra cedet insolentiae.
 An quae movere cereas imagines,
 ut ipse nosti curiosus, et polo
 deripere lunam vocibus possim meis,
 possim crematos excitare mortuos
 80 desiderique temperare pocula,
 plorem artis in te nil agentis exitus?

i.e. a noose. — *fastidiosa*: *with loathing weariness*. Cf. *C.* 3, 29, 9.

74. She will tame him and ride in triumph on his shoulders. In certain children's games the one defeated had to carry the victor about on his back. Cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 699 *vehes pol hodie me*. Such scenes were represented in certain terra-cotta groups and in vase paintings. See Schreiber's *Atlas*, pl. 79, 8; Baumeister no. 836.

75. She will spurn the earth in her pride and mount to the very stars. Cf. *v.* 41.

76 ff. *an*: introducing an interrogative conclusion. Cf. 6, 15

'or shall I with all my power have to weep over the failures of my art.' Canidia's claims here repeat the account of her practices given in *S.* 1, 8, 30-41. — *cereas imagines*: *i.e.* puppets representing the person to be affected. They are mentioned in Theoc. 2, 28 and Verg. *E.* 8, 80; similar images are still used in hoodoo charms.

78. *deripere lunam*: cf. 5, 45 f. and n.

80 f. *desiderique poculum*: love philters. Cf. 5, 38 *amoris poculum*, and n. — *plorem*: deliberative subjunc. — *artis . . . nil agentis*: proleptic with *exitus*, giving the cause of her grief. — *in te*: abl. *in thy case*. — *exitus*: accusative.

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